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THEOLOGICAL WORKS



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WESTMINSTER.

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MDCCCXLIV.

**THE RIGHT OF THE CHURCH
IN A CHRISTIAN STATE.**

TO THE READER.

AT the beginning of these troubles, I published a short discourse, of "The Primitive Government of Churches," and after it a larger, of "The Apostolical Form of Divine Service at the Assemblies of the Church;" thinking it easy to infer what ought to be done, if it could be made to appear what the Apostles had done. Since that time, congregations have been erected, and presbyteries ordained, though with some tincture of Erastus's doctrine, which dissolveth all

* "The same day that the House of Lords passed this ordinance of attainder against the Archbishop of Canterbury, they likewise passed an ordinance, That the Book of Common Prayer should be laid aside, and for establishing the Directory for Public Worship, which had been framed by the Assembly of Divines, and sent in parts to the Parliament, where the same had been debated and confirmed with such small variations as they thought necessary."—Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 839. This was passed January 4, 1645. On the 28th of August 1646, was passed An Ordinance of the Lords and Commons . . . for the Ordination of Ministers by the Classical Presbyters; to continue in force for three years. It contains these words: "That all presbyters, who are hereby appointed and authorized to ordain, and shall according to this Directory ordain any one or more presbyters, are hereby declared to perform an acceptable service to this Church and kingdom, and shall have the protection of both Houses of Parliament for their indemnity." The presbyterian system had been established and recognised in forbidding the use of the Book of Common Prayer, by an Ordinance of Parliament, which on the 20th of October, 1645, directed, "that the several elderships respectively within their respective bounds and limits, have power to suspend from the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper all ignorant

and scandalous persons within the rules hereafter following, and according to the said rules and directions." But if any person should be dissatisfied with the sentence of the elders of his parish, he was at "liberty to appeal to the classical eldership, and from them to the provincial assembly, from thence to the national, and from thence to the Parliament."—Rushworth, part iv. vol. i. pp. 210, 212. Baillie in his Letters just published gives the same account of the spirit of the new system: "The model of government we have gotten it through the Assembly according to our mind: it yet sticks in the hands of the Houses. They have passed four ordinances at least about it, all pretty right, so far as concerns the constitution and erection of general assemblies, provincial synods, presbyteries and sessions, and the power of ordination. In the province of London and Lancashire the bodies are set up. That the like diligence is not used long ago in all other places it is the sottish negligence of the ministers and gentry in the shires more than the Parliament. That the power of jurisdiction in all things we require, excepting appeals from the General Assembly to the Parliament, is not put in ordinances long ago, it is by the [cunning] of the Independents and Erastians in the House of Commons."—January 28, 1647. Baillie's Letters and Journals, vol. iii. pp. 1, 2. Edinburgh, 1842.

ecclesiastical power into the secular, in states that are Christian. Here I thought it worth the while to try how the reasons heretofore advanced might be improved, not only to establish the society of the Church upon the power of the keys granted by our Lord, or to declare what persons, and upon what terms, it is trusted with on behalf of the Church, and every part of it, which I had begun to do afore, but in what right and interest the secular power concurs to the effect of it, in establishing or reforming the Church of any Christian state. This is the reason that I refer so often to those two discourses, intending at the first but to supply and improve what I had said; but finding by the process, that I could not compass the brevity which I first aimed at, I have added a Review, whereby as some parts are enlarged, so the whole perhaps remains not so suitable, because other points, that might seem to require the like enlargement, are left as they were, because an end must be made. My reasons are general to all states, and all parts of the Church; and that generality will make them obscure to such as consider them not as the consequence of the subject deserves. But it is well, if a subject containing so great difference of particulars, can be comprised in any general truth.

Many things might have been better said, could all have been copied again; but a single heart will make the best of all that, which is tendered with no other design but to remonstrate how hard it is, and yet to shew how it is possible to keep or recover the conscience of a good Christian in such a trial as this. I had a desire to have added herewith, to the other two discourses, a review of some passages, which those things which I have said here give me occasion to enlarge. But the delays of the press, and my absence, enforce me to defer it till opportunity serve.

CHAPTER I.

THE CHURCH HATH NO TEMPORAL POWER, BUT STANDS BY GOD'S PRIVILEGE OF HOLDING ASSEMBLIES. THE GROUND OF THE SECULAR POWER'S INTEREST IN CHURCH MATTERS. THE POWER OF THE KEYS WHAT IT IS, AND THAT IT CANNOT BE TAKEN FROM THE CHURCH.

It is visible to all understandings that there are two states of God's Church; for there must needs be a great difference between the Church, as it was first established, by the ordinances of the Apostles, before the exercise of Christianity was allowed and privileged by the laws of the Roman empire; and as it now standeth, protected by the laws of Christian kingdoms and commonwealths. And my purpose is here to debate, what power the Church ought to have in this later state, and what right accrues to secular powers in Church matters, when they profess Christianity, and the maintenance of it: which one dispute will necessarily conclude the chief matters now in compromise, concerning the state of the Church in this kingdom.

§ 2. To understand this aright, we must suppose that the Church is not endowed with any manner of the secular power of this world, and the civil societies of it, which constraineth men to obedience by force. For it will be easy for ordinary understandings, after the miserable disputes which this civil war hath advanced, to perceive, that though there be many points of that right wherein sovereign power consisteth, yet all of them are resolved into the power of the sword: seeing that there is no manner of public act, either of sovereign power, or any derived from it, that could be effectual, as the use of civil society requires, did not all men's senses tell them that there is force ready to reduce the refractory to obedience.

§ 3. Now, that our Saviour did, and was to disclaim all title to the sword, is manifest by the Gospel, and the profession

CHAP.
I.

The
Church
hath no
temporal
power

[The cross
of Christ]

CHAP. 1. of it. For being suspected in His lifetime by His enemies, and lastly accused to Pilate, as one that sought to usurp it, His renouncing it so publicly, because it clears Him, therefore convinces the injustice of the sentence against Him. And truly, what entertainment shall we imagine His Gospel would have found in the world, had it pretended to establish itself by force? For this profession must needs have produced that effect which Mahometism did afterwards, to wit, the subversion of all states which it might prove able to juggle with and to prevail. But, Christianity being first initiated by the cross of Christ, and professing nothing but to follow Him in bearing His cross, it is manifest that those which saw not reason to believe it, must be convinced that they ought not to persecute it. For if it preserve the power of the sword in those hands wherein it is found, when the Gospel is preached and received any where, then, of necessity, all rights, all goods of this world, in the possession whereof the power of the sword professes to maintain all subjects, are by the Gospel maintained in those hands that have them by just title of human right.

§ 4. And so, that which I here suppose is no more than the received position of Divines, that temporal dominion is not founded in grace*: for men's rights, powers, and privileges in civil societies, are no less their own, and concern their estate no less, than their goods and possessions. Therefore, though much more evidence might be brought to prove this, from the Apostle's commanding Christians to obey secular powers, children their parents, slaves their masters, wives their husbands, and the like, according to the laws, but above the laws, for conscience to God, obliging thereby all states to maintain Christianity; yet, this being a point which no party professes to stick at, I will hereupon presume to take it for granted.

* One of the propositions of Wicliffe, condemned in the council of Constance, was this: *Ad verum seculare dominium requiritur justitia dominantis, sic quod nullus existens in peccato mortali, est dominus alienius rei.* — Labbei, tom. xvi. col. 244. Huss, condemned in the same council, expressed the doctrine thus: *Nullus est dominus*

civilis, nullus est prælatus, nullus est Episcopus dum est in peccato mortali. — *Ib.*, col. 250. ed. Venet. The University of Oxford, by a decree of Convocation, July 21, 1683, condemned certain propositions, the eighteenth of which is this, *Dominion is founded in grace.* Wicliffe's Council, tom. iv. p. 611. London, 1737.

§ 5. But, though the Church is not endowed with any CHAP. I. coactive power by divine right, yet by divine right, and by patent from God, it is endowed with a power of holding But stands by God's privilege of holding assemblies. assemblies for the common service of God, before any grant of the powers of the world, and against any interdict of them, if so it fall out. For the communion which the gospel establisheth among Christians, is not only invisible in the heart, believing the same faith, and disposed to live according to it, but also outwardly visible, not only in the profession of the same faith, which may be common to those that communicate in nothing else, but also in the common service of God. For seeing God hath given His Church the ordinances of His worship, wherewith He requireth to be served in common by His Church—some of them common both to the Church and the synagogue, that is, to Jews and Christians, others delivered by the gospel only to the Church—it is manifest that the Church is privileged by God, because commanded, to join in serving Him according to those ordinances. And therefore we are not to ask an express warrant in Scripture for this, whether duty, or privilege, because it was always in force among the people of God, though not always free from the bondage of strangers.

§ 6. The Apostle truly, writing to the Hebrews not to fall away from Christianity to Judaism, for the persecutions which the Jews their natives brought upon them—which, he that will diligently observe, shall find to be the full scope of that epistle^a—inferreth, as a consequence, Heb. x. 25, “not to forsake the assembling of themselves.” Shewing that Christianity cannot be professed without so doing, though it bring persecution with it: as we know the primitive Christians frequented the service of God, when they were in danger of the laws, because that which the laws for-

[The Church not a civil society though human.]

^a “The subject of the Epistle to the Hebrews is this: the Jews being privileged by the laws of the empire in the exercise of their religion, disclaiming those of their nation that had professed Christianity, found means by the power of the Romans to constrain them by persecution to return to Judaism. The question is, whether they can obtain salvation, turning Jews again, which

they persuade themselves they might obtain, being such before they embrace Christianity. That is the question; let him that will take the pains to compare the proposition of it, in the beginning of the second chapter, and the reasons it is pursued with until the sixth, with the conclusion of the dispute in the thirteenth.”—Epilogue, bk ii chap. viii.

CHAP. L bade was their assemblies. Wherefore as within several commonwealths there are particular societies, colleges, and corporations, subsisting by grant of their sovereigns; and as by the law of nations there is a kind of society, and commonwealth, among those that are bound in the same vessel, upon the same voyage, which Aristotle^c calls *σύμπλοισιν*, as there is also among them that travel together in the caravans of the East, because they submit to some rule in regard of some common interest: so must we understand the Church to be a human, though not a civil society, corporation, or commonwealth; not as these last-named, which consist of subjects to several states, warranted and protected by the law of nations; nor as the former, by charter from some sovereign; but by that law of God whereby all nations are called to serve Him, by those ordinances which He hath established in the Church.

§ 7. Therefore the main point of that charter, which makes the Church such a society or commonwealth, is the right of assembling and holding such assemblies, without warrant, against all law of the world that forbids it: the particulars of it are those rights which God hath given His Church, to preserve unity and communion in the celebration of those ordinances for which it assembleth. For since the principles of Christianity profess one Church, and that the unity thereof extendeth to this visible communion, it is manifest hereby that the will of God is, that all Christians communicate with all Christians, in all ordinances of His service, when occasion requires; a thing which the practice of all sides confesses. For though this communion be interrupted with so many schisms, yet since all parties labour to shew that the cause of separation is not on their side, they acknowledge all separation to be against God's ordinance, when they labour to clear themselves of the blame of it.

§ 8. In the next place we are to inquire upon what title of right the Church is ingrafted into civil societies and sovereignties; by virtue whereof secular powers exercise that

The ground of the secular power's interest in Church matters.

^c Προσαγορεύουσι γοῦν ὡς φίλους, τοὺς σύμπλους, καὶ τοὺς συστρωμάτας. . . . αἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλαι κοινότητες . . . οὐκ ἔστιν. —Ethic. Nicom. lib. viii. cap. ix. Ἐν κοινότητι μὲν οὖν πᾶσα

φιλία ἐστίν. . . . ἀφορίσει δ' ἄν τις τὴν τε συγγενικὴν, καὶ τὴν ἰταυρικὴν αἱ δὲ πολιτικὰ, καὶ φυλετικὰ, καὶ συμπλοῖ- καί, . . . —Id., cap. xlii.

right to which they pretend in Church matters. For I perceive those of the Congregations oftentimes demand what ground we have in Scripture for national Churches^d. Now the term of national Churches, it seems, is something improper, because as one and the same nation may be divided into several sovereignties, and the Churches thereof, by consequence, subject to several sovereigns, so may the same sovereignty contain several nations, and the Churches of them; which, in these cases, are not properly national Churches, and yet are properly that which is signified by the term of national Churches.

§ 9. But setting aside this exception, I conceive those of the Congregations have reason to make the demand, and that the answer to it, if once well made, will be of consequence to settle many things in debate. For that the same right, in matters of religion, is due to Christian princes and states, which the kings of Judah practised under the law, of itself no way appears, because of the general difference between the law and the gospel. To which may be added, to tie the knot faster, that there is this clear difference between them, in the particular in hand, that the law was confined to one people, as being the condition of that covenant whereby God undertook to give them the land of promise, and to maintain them in the free and happy possession of it; they undertaking, on their part, to serve Him, and rule themselves by it: but the gospel is the new covenant by which God undertakes to give life everlasting to those that take up Christ's cross to perform it.

§ 10. The persons, therefore, of whom the Church consists, being of all nations, all of them of equal interest in that

[Difference between Jewish and Christian kings.]
[Christian kings have power in the Church.]

^a "A national Church since Christ's death, and the dissolution of the Jewish Church, is a monstrous compound, and savours of Judaism."—Robinson's Justification of Separation, p. 217. A.D. 1638

"Let me tell you that that which you call Independent is the only true original and primitive presbyterial. Which presbytery is proper and peculiar to every particular Church of Christ; and is not a presbytery collective of many Churches by way of jurisdic-

dition [over] one, or many over each, or a national Church as you term it. For neither of these can you find either in the New Testament or in the Old."—Burton's Vindication of Churches called Independent, p. 18. "I deny that you can bring any infallible proofs, or one proof, that there either are, or ever have been, any national Churches by any other institution but merely human, nor any one of divine institution, but only that of the Jews in the Old Testament, and now wholly dissolved."—*ib.*, p. 30.

CHAP. I. wherein they communicate, and therefore in the rules by which: it is manifest that no sovereign can have more interest than another, in creating that right by virtue whereof the subjects of several sovereignties communicate. Otherwise, the unity of the Church must needs suffer, one sovereign prescribing that as necessary to the communion of the Church in his dominions, which the sovereigns over other parts of the Church, perhaps, allow not. But though, as a Divine, I admit this debate, yet as a Christian and a Divine both, I condemn the separation which they have made, before it be decided. The Church of England giveth to the king that power in Church matters, which the kings of God's ancient people, and Christian emperors after them, always practised. This possession was enough to have kept unity, though the reason appeared not why Christian princes should have the same right in the Church as the kings of Judah had in the synagogue. For, if they observe it well, this right is nowhere established upon the kings of God's ancient people, by way of precept, in the law. For, seeing the law commanded them not to have a king, but gave them leave to have a king when they would, upon such terms as it requireth Deut. xvii. 14, it cannot be said that any right in matters of religion is settled upon the king, by that law which never provided that there should be a king.

[Upon what title.] § 11. The question is then, not whether the kings of Judah had power in matters of religion, which is express in Scripture, but upon what title they had it, which is not to be had but¹⁰ by interpretation of the law. And this we shall find, if we consider that the law was given to that people when they were freed from bondage, and invested in the sovereign power of themselves, as to a body politic, such as they became, by submitting to it. So that, though many precepts thereof concern the conscience of particular persons, yet there are also many that take hold of the community of the people; for which, particular persons cannot be answerable, further than the rate of that power by which they act in it: as the destroying of malefactors; idolaters in particular. These precepts, then, being given to the community of the people, and the common power of the people falling to the king, constituted according to the law aforesaid, it followeth, that being

invested with the power, he stands thereby accountable for the laws to be enforced by it. CHAP.
I.

§ 12. And then the question that remains will be no more but this, whether civil societies, and the sovereign powers of them, are called to be Christian, as such, and not only as particular persons. A thing which Tertullian seems to have doubted of, when he made an "if" of it, *Apologet. cap. xxi., Si possent esse et Cæsares Christiani**; "If emperors could be Christians;" and Origen—when he expounds the words of Moses, "I will provoke them to jealousy, by a people which are not a people,"—so he reads it—of the Christians, whereof there were some in all nations, and no whole nation professed Christianity—in *x. ad Rom. lib. viii.*¹ and in *Psal. xxxvi. Hom. i.*², seems to count this estate and condition essential to the Church. But, since anabaptists are no more anabaptists, in denying the power of the sword to be consistent with Christianity, it seems there is no question left about this, as indeed there ought to be none. For, the prophecies, which went before, of the calling of the Gentiles to Christianity, were not fulfilled, till the Roman empire professed to maintain it. And, thereby, the will of God being fulfilled, it is manifest that the will of God is, that civil societies, and the powers of them, should maintain Christianity by their sword, and the acts to which it enableth. But always, with that difference from the synagogue which hath been expressed. For if the Church subsist in several sovereignties, the power which each of them can have in Church matters, must needs be concluded by that power which God hath ordained in His Church, for the determining of such things, the determining whereof shall become necessary to preserve the unity of it.

* Sed et Cæsares credidissent super Christo, si aut Cæsares non essent aeterni necessarii, aut si et Christiani potuissent esse Cæsares.—P. 53. ed. Pam. Rothomag. 1662.

¹ Ipse, inquit, Moyses dicit ex persona Dei. Ego ad emulationem tei adducam in non gentem, de Christianis sine dubio dicens Christiani vero non est una gens, sed ex omnibus gentibus unus populus, et ideo Moyses pro unum honore, non gentem eam nominavit, quia non erat una gens, sed si ita dici potest, omnium gentium gens.—Comment. in Rom. lib. viii. 6 tom. iv.

p. 628. ed. Ben.

² Cum ergo videris Judæos odio habentes Christianum, et insidiantes ei, intellige quia completur prophetia illa quæ dicit, *Et ego concitabo eos in non gentem.* Nos enim sumus non gens qui pauci ex ista civitate credimus, et alii ex alia, et nusquam gens integra ab initio credulitatis videtur assumpta. Non enim sicut Judæorum gens erat vel Egyptiorum gens, ita etiam Christianorum genus gens est una, vel integra, sed sparsim ex singulis gentibus congregantur.—Homil. i. in Ps. xxxvi. 1 tom. ii. pp. 655, 656. ed. Ben.

CHAP. § 13. Thus much premised, the first point we are to debate ¹²
^{i.} is; whether excommunication be a secular punishment
 [Excom- amounting to an outlawry, or banishment, as Erastus would
 muni- have it^b; or the chief act of ecclesiastical power, the power of
 ca- tion ac- the spiritual sword of the Church, cutting from the visible
 counted a communion thereof, such as are lawfully presumed to be cut
 civil pe- off from the invisible, by sin. For, if there be a visible society
 nalty] of the Church, founded by God, without dependence from
 man, there must be in it a visible power, to determine who
 shall be or not be members of it; which, by consequence, is
 the sovereign power in the society of the Church, as the
 power of the sword is in civil societies. But excommunication
 in the synagogue was a temporal punishment, such as I said^c;
 and therefore it is argued, that our Lord meant not of that,
 when He said, *dic Ecclesiæ*; that term, in the Old Testament,
 being used for the congregation of God's people, in the
 quality of a civil society^k. And therefore when He addeth,
 "Let him be unto thee as a heathen or a publican," they say
 it is manifest that neither ethnics nor publicans were excom-
 municated out of the synagogue, nor the excommunicate
 excluded from the service of God in the temple or syna-
 gogue^l; and when our Lord addeth, "whatsoever ye bind

^b I. Excommunicationis nomen videtur ex 1 Corinth. x. desumptum esse, atque amotionem significare a communione illa quæ ibidem Corpus Christi nominatur. Sane excommunicatio nunc ab omnibus fere definitur exclusione e societate et communione fidebunt.

VI. Qui ex Ecclesiæ communione externa ejicitur,—id est, qui excommunicatur,—vel ab omnibus hisce tribus, vel a duobus, vel ab uno tantum removetur. Sed a duobus primis, nempe a confessione fidei, et a Christianæ doctrinæ approbatione—sub qua volo comprehendere etiam verbi seu doctrinæ auditionem—repelli nullus debet: quin potius huc invitandi et quavis ratione adducendi sunt omnes. Quocirca relinquatur ut, qui excommunicatur, a sola ex tribus commemoratis sacramentorum participatione prohibeatur. Erasti Explicat. graviss. Quæst. pp. 1, 2. Pesclavii, 1589.

^c See Prim. Govern. chap. xi. sect. 8.

^k "Die Ecclesiæ in St Matthew was the courts of law which then sat in Jerusalem."—Selden's speech in Parlia-

ment, quoted in Rushworth, p. iv. vol. i. p. 203. He spoke more at length in the preface to *Dissertatio de Adu Civilib*: Cum revera juxta linguam et mores tempore Christi in usu ac doctrinam Talmudicam, Ecclesia seu Synagoga, tum pro Synedrio sumantur Judaico—sive Magno, seu Septuaginta, unusvirali, sive minorum aliquo seu Vigintrivirali adeoque pro civilibus plane republica illius tribunalibus.—Præfat. p. vii.

^l Quid tanquam ethnicus seu gentilis et publicanus haberi; nomen par quo simpliciter sumpto, ut extra mores mere Judaicos eosque quatenus Christianismo solum præbant, hand ulla tunc existimationis sequioria nedum infamia irrogabatur, ita neque intra mores illos, aliter atque gentili, qua simpliciter gentili nequum in Judaismo recepto, fraternitas Judaica ejusque effectus singulares, publicano vero utpote molestiori imperii quod gravate ferebatur Romani instrumento, ideoque eum peccatoribus insignioribus non senel pariter in Evangelio censito,

13 and loose on earth," it is manifest, say they, in the language of the Jews, used among the Talmud doctors, that "bound" and "loose" is nothing else but that which is declared to be bound or loose, that is, prohibited and permitted; and therefore the effect of the keys of the Church, which is binding and loosing, reaches no further than declaring what was lawful, and what unlawful as to the Jews, by the law of Moses, in point of conscience^m.

§ 14. The first argument that I make against this opinion, is drawn from the power of baptizing, thereby understanding, not the office of ministering, but the right of granting that sacrament: which we in this state of the Church do not distinguish, because all are born within the pale of the Church, and by order thereof baptized infants: but may see a necessary ground so to distinguish by St. Paul, when he denies "that he was sent to baptize, but to preach the Gospel," 1 Cor. i. 17. Whereas the words of our Lord in the Gospel are manifest, where He chargeth His Apostles "to preach and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost." [St. Matt. xxviii. 19.] For the baptizing of all that should turn Christians, could not be personally commanded the Apostles; but to preach to all nations, and to make disciples out of all nations, this they might do to those that might be baptized, by such as they should appoint.

§ 15. We must note that it is in the original *μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη*, *make disciples*, as the Syriac truly translates it: commanding first, to bring men to be disciples, then to baptize.

etiam si Judæus esset, effectus ejusmodi fraternitatis aliquot arctiorque amicitia conjunctio denegabatur; Hinc interea omnimodis, si Judæus esset, aut justitiam prosequitur, cum Judæis reliquis, sacerdotum, illi autem sacerdotum gentilibus in templo proprium, licet non ipsorum Judæorum, libertate nunquam non permissa. — Selden, *ut supra*.

^m Quidam potestas seu facultas. . . ligandi et solvendi, id est, . . . facultas decernendi, explicandi, interpretandi, declarandi, de ligato et soluto, seu quid ligatum et quid solutum, quod plane nullius in Talmudicis ex vetustissimo Ecclesiæ illius usu denotat quid vetitum et a lege sacra, quid permissum, — quemadmodum et Græcis scimus *δέσσειν* quod

ligare est, etiam interdicare sonare, et *λύειν* quod est solvere etiam *permittere* seu obligationem sive auferre, sive nondum inductam monstrare aut asserere. — adeoque ad docendi seu interpretandi seu theologiam præceptivæ — ut præceptiva philosophia et præceptores, qui præcepta tantum docebant, Latine dictum munus solum ibi attinuit. — Selden, *ut supra*. See also the de Synedrion lib. i. cap. viii. where Selden explains himself more at large — Lightfoot in his Hebrew and Talmudical Exercitationes, who adopts the same explanation, gives several instances of the Talmudical phrase. — Works, vol. xi. pp. 226, 227. London, 1823.

[Refuted from the power of baptizing.]

[Not all admitted to baptism.]

§ 17. This is it which is here called the doctrine of baptisms, in the plural number, not for that frantic reason which the distemper of this time hath brought forth, because there are two baptisms^p, one of John by water, another of Christ by the Spirit; but because it was severally taught several persons before they were admitted to their several baptisms. And therefore called also the doctrine of imposition of hands, because we understand by Clemens Alexandrinus, *Pedagogus*, iii. 11^q, and by the Apostolical Constitutions, vii. 40^r, that when they came to the church to be catechised, and were catechised, they were then dismissed by him that catechised them with imposition of hands, that is, with prayer for them, that they might, in due time, become good Christians. All visible marks of the power of the Church, in judging whether a man were fit for baptism or not. To which I will

CHAP.
I.
[Doctrine
of bap-
tisms.]

^p Socinus seems to have laid the foundation of this opinion in his tract against baptism. *Neque enim hic de aquæ baptismo ipso agitur, sive vox baptismatum, cum sequente voce doctrinæ coniungi debeat. . . . sive ab ea disjungi, ut nonnulli sentire videntur. . . . nam priore modo non de baptismo ipso, sed de doctrina baptismatum verba fieri palam est, posteriore vero, cum baptismorum, non autem baptismi fiat mentio, certum est, utrumque baptismum, Johannis scilicet, et Apostolorum intellegi debere.*—Faust. Socin. de Bapt. Aquæ Disput. cap. xi. p. 729. Irenæus. 1656 Brenius interprets them thus. *Pœnitentibus et credentibus in Christum baptismus duplex, puta exterior qui per aquam, et interior qui per Spiritum fit, proponitur solebat.*—Not. in Hebr. vi. 2 fol. 103. Amsterdam 1668.

William Dell, Master of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, published this opinion in 1648. He professes to have discovered it for himself. The title of his book is *Βαπτισμῶν διδασχῆ*, or, The Doctrine of Baptisms.

"Now in this inquiry from the word, I met with that place, Hebrews vi. 2, where the Apostle, speaking of some of the first and initial points of Christian religion, names *Βαπτισμῶν διδασχῆ*, the doctrine of baptisms, whence I perceived that in the primitive Church they had the doctrine of baptisms in the plural number, and therefore did

apply myself to search from the word what these baptisms might be, and so met with the Baptist's own doctrine touching baptisms, . . . having first spoken meanly of his own baptism, and then magnified Christ's person above his own, now he proceeds also to magnify Christ's baptism above his own; 'He,' saith he, 'shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with fire;' that is, I am a servant do baptize with water, but He that is the Son baptizes with the Spirit; my baptism washes but the body from the filth of the flesh, but His the soul from the filth of sin. . . . Now hence I gather clearly, even from the Baptist's own mouth, that John's baptism and Christ's were distinct baptisms, the one water-baptism, the other fire-baptism. . . . The Scripture saith that Christ's baptism was to follow John's, and did not accompany it at the same time. . . . but was to follow it, and that He was to baptize with the Spirit after John's water-baptism had had its full course."—Pp. 2, 3. London, 1648.

^q *Τίνα γὰρ ὁ πρεσβύτερος ἐκτίθησι χεῖρα, τίνα δὲ εὐλογήσει.* He is arguing against adorning of the head in this place.—P. 201. ed. Potter. Venet. 1757.

^r *Ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τοῖς ἀκόλουθα μαρτυρεῖται ἐν τῇ κατηχήσει. ὁ προμὴν προσηνέτω δὲ ὁ χειροθετῶν αὐτὸν τὸν Θεὸν τὸν τῶν ὁλῶν δεσποτὴν.* . . . Labbei. tom. i. col. 145. ed. Venet.

CHAP. ^L add only that of Eusebius, *De Vita Constantini*, iv.^a, where, speaking of the baptism of Constantine, he saith, ἐξομολογούμενος: ἔνθα δὴ καὶ πρῶτον τῶν διὰ χειροθεσίας εἰχὼν ἤξιστόν, that "confessing his sins, he was there first admitted to the prayers with imposition of hands."

§ 18. If it be said that there were added to the Church three thousand in a day, Acts ii. 41, which could not be thus catechised and tried, my answer is, that two cases were always excepted from the rule; the first was, in danger of death: the second, when, by the eagerness of those that desired baptism, the hand of God appeared extraordinary in the work of their conversion to Christianity. Besides, it is not said that they were baptized that day, but that "they were added to the Church that day:" which is true, though 17 they only professed themselves disciples for the present, passing nevertheless their examination and instruction, as the case required. If, therefore, there be a power settled in the Church by God, to judge who is fit to be admitted into it, then is the same power enabled to refuse him that shall appear unfit; then, by the same reason, to exclude him that proves himself unfit after he is admitted.

[Excommunication a spiritual penalty shewn from the practice of penance]

§ 19. This is the next argument, which I will ground upon the discipline of penance, as it was anciently practised in the Church; which is opened by the observation advanced in p. 27 of this little discourse, that those, who, contrary to this contract with the Church, fell into sins destructive to Christianity, were fain to sue to be admitted to penance: which supposeth, that, till they had given satisfaction of their sincerity in Christianity, they remained strangers to the communion of the Church. For, it appeareth, by the most ancient of Church writers, that, for divers ages, the greatest sinners, as apostates, murderers, and adulterers, were wholly excluded from penance. For Tertullian was a Montanist, when he cried out upon Zephyrinus, bishop of Rome, for admitting adulterers to penance, in his book *De Pudicitia* ^t,

^t Cap. lxi. p. 567. ed. Vales.

^t Audio etiam edictum esse propositum, et quidem peremptorium; Pontifex scilicet Maximus, Episcopus Episcoporum dicit. Ego et moechia et fornicationis delicta penitentia functis dimitto. O edictum cui ascribi non

poterit bonum factum. Et ubi proponetur liberalitas ista? Ibidem opinor in ipsis libidinum jannis, sub ipsis libidinum titulis. Illic ejusmodi penitentia promulganda est, ubi delinquentia ipsa versabitur . . . Absit absit a sponsa Christi tale præconium. Illa

18 yet it is manifest by his case, that it had formerly been refused in the Church, because the granting of it makes him a Montanist. And St. Cyprian, *Epist. ad Antonianum*^o, testifieth that divers African bishops afore him had refused it, maintaining communion nevertheless with those that granted it.

§ 20. Irenæus also i. 9. * saith of a certain woman, that had been seduced and defiled by Marcus the heretic, that, after she was brought to the sight of her sin, by some Christians, she spent all her days in bewailing it: therefore without recovering the communion of the Church again. And he that shall but look upon the canons of the Eliberitan council, shall easily see many kinds of sin censured, some of them not to be admitted to the communion till the point, others not at the point, of death. In this case, and in this estate, these only who were excluded from being admitted to penance were properly excommunicate: neither could those that were admitted to penance be absolutely counted so, because in danger of death they were to receive the communion, though in case they recovered, they stood bound to complete their penance. And from hence afterwards also, those that had once been admitted to penance, if they fell into the like sins again, were not to be admitted to penance the second time.

19 *Concil. Tolet. iii. Can. xi. ; Eliber. Can. iii. and vii. ; Ambros. de Penitentia ii. 10, 11 ; Innocent. I, Epist. iii. ; Augustin. Epist. l. and liv. v*

CHAP.
I

[Severity
of the an-
cient dis-
cipline.]

quæ vera est, quæ pudica, quæ sancta, carebit etiam aurum macula. Non habet quibus hoc reponmittat. Et si habuerit, non reponmittit: quoniam et trecentum Dei templum citius spelunca latronum appellari potuit a Domino, quam moechorum et fornicatorum.—Cap. i. p. 989. ed. Pam. Rothomag. 1602.

* Et quidem apud antecessores nostros quidam de Episcopis istæ in Provincia nostra dandam pacem moechis non putaverunt, et in totum penitentiarum locum contra adulteria clausurunt; non, tamen a coepiscoporum suorum collegio recesserunt, aut Catholico Ecclesiarum unitatem vel duritiæ, vel censure suæ obstinatione ruperunt; ut quia apud alios adulteris pax dabatur, qui non dabat, de Ecclesia separaretur. Manente concordie vinculo et perseverante Catholica Ecclesie individuo sacramento, autum suum dispenit, et

dirigit unusquisque Episcopus rationem propositi sui Domino redditurus.—p. 110. ed. Oxon. 1682.

* Ἐπειτα μετὰ πολλοῦ κόπου τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐπιστρέψαντων, αὐτῇ τὴν ἅπαντα χρόνον ἡγομολογουμένη διετέλεσε, πενθοῦσα καὶ θρηνηῖσα ἵνα ἢ ἑκάθεν ὑπὸ τοῦ μάγου διαφθερῇ. —S. Iren. Opp., lib. i. cap. xiii § 5 p. 63. ed. Ben.

v Quoniam comperimus per quasdam Hispaniarum Ecclesias, non secundum canonem, sed fœdissime pro suis peccatis homines agere poenitentiam, ut quotiescumque peccare libuerit, totiens a presbytero, se reconciliari expostulent; et ideo pro coercenda tam execrabil præsumptione, id a sancto concilio jubetur, ut secundum formam canonum antiquorum dentur poenitentiar, hoc est, ut prius eum, quem sui poenitet facti, a communione suspensum, faciat inter reliquos poenitentes ad manus impositionem crebro recurrere, expleto autem

CHAP.

L

[Brought
in by the
Apostles.]

§ 21. It is an easy thing to say that this rigour was an infirmity in the Church of those times, not understanding

satisfactionis tempore, sicuti sacerdotalis contemplatio probaverit, eum communioni restituat. Hi vero qui ad priora vicia, vel infra poenitentiae tempus, vel post reconciliationem relabuntur, secundum priorum canonum severitatem damnentur.—Concil. Tolet. iii. A.D. 589. can. xi. Labbei, tom. vi. col. 708. ed. Venet.

Item flamines qui non immolaverint sed munus tantum dederint, eo quod se a funestis abstinerunt sacrificiis, placuit, in fine eis praestari communionem; acta tamen legitima poenitentia. Item ipsi si post poenitentiam fuerint marcati, placuit, ulterius his non esse dandam communionem, ne lusisse de Dominica communione videantur.—Concil. Eliberitan. circa A.D. 313. can. iii. Labbei, tom. i. col. 992. ed. Venet.

Si quis forte fidelis post lapsum marcat, post tempora constituta, accepta poenitentia denuo fuerit fornicatus, placuit, nec in fine habere eum communionem.—*Ib.*, can. vii.

Merito reprehenduntur qui saepius agendam poenitentiam putant; quia luxuriantur in Christo. Nam si vere agerent poenitentiam iterandam postea non putarent; quia sicut usum baptismi, ita una poenitentia, quae tamen publice agitur, nam quotidiani nos debet poenitere peccati: sed haec delictorum leviorum, illa graviorum.—S. Ambros. de Poenitent., lib. ii. cap. x. col. 436. ed. Ben.

Melius est ergo tunc quiescere cum exerecere non queas opera poenitentiae, ne in ipsa poenitentia fiat, quod postea indiget poenitentia. Quae si semel fuerit usurpata, nec jure celebrata, nec prioris fructum obtinet, et auferet usum posterioris.—*Ib.*, cap. xi. col. 439. ed. Ben.

Et hoc quaesitum est quid de his observari oporteat, qui post baptismum non tempore continentiae voluptatibus dediti, in extremo sine vicio cum poenitentiam simul et reconciliationem communione exposcunt. De his observatio prior durior, posterior interveniente misericordia melioratur est. Nam commutatio prior trinit, ut concederetur eis poenitentia, sed communio neperetur. Nam cum illa temporibus tribus poenitentes essent, ne communionem concessa fugititas homines de reconciliatione servatos tam revocaret a lapso, rogata merito communio est,

concessa poenitentia, ne totum poenitus negaretur. et duriorum remissionem fecit temporis ratio. Sed postea quam Dominus noster pacem ecclesiae suis reddidit, jam terrore depulso communionem dari absentibus placuit, et propter Domini misericordiam quasi vaticum profecturis et ne Novatiani haeretici negantis veniam, asperitatem et duritiam sequi videamur. Tribuitur ergo cum poenitentia extrema communio: ut homines inijusmodi, vel in supremis suis poenitentes, miserante Salvatore nostro, a perpetuo exitio vindicentur.—Innocent. i. Ep. iii. cap. ii. Labbei, tom. iii. col. 14. ed. Venet.

Ut enim constitueretur in Ecclesia ne quisquam post alicujus criminis poenitentiam clericatum accipiat, vel ad clericatum redeat, vel in clericatu maneat, non desperatione indulgentis, sed rigore factum est disciplinae: alioquin contra claves datas ecclesiae disputabitur, de quibus dictum est, *Quae solveritis in terra, soluta erunt et in caelo*. Sed ne forsitan etiam detectis criminibus, spe honoris ecclesiastici animus intumescens superbe ageret poenitentiam, severissime placuit, ut post actum de crimine damnabili poenitentiam, nemo sit clericus, ut desperatione temporalis altitudinis medicina major et verior esset humilitatis. Nam et sanctus David de criminibus mortiferis poenitentiam egit et tamen in honore suo persistit. Et beatus Petrus, quando amarissimas lacrymas fudit, utique Dominum negasse poenituit, et tamen Apostolus mansit. Sed non ideo supervacua putanda est posteriorum diligentia, qui ubi salutis nihil detrahebatur, humilitati aliquid addiderunt, quo valius tutius muniretur experti credo aliquorum fictas poenitencias per affectatas honorum potentias.—S. Augustin. *Epist.* clxxxv. cap. x. tom. ii. coll. 660, 661. ed. Ben.

Quamvis ergo caute salubriterque provisum sit, ut locus illius humillimae poenitentiae semel in Ecclesia concedatur, ne medicina viliis minus utilis esset aegrotis, quae tanto magis salubris est, quanto minus contemptibilis fuerit: quae tamen audent dicere Deo, Quare hinc homini qui post primam poenitentiam rursus se laqueis iniquitatis obstringit, adhuc iterum pareis.—S. Augustin. *Epist.* clxiii. cap. iii. tom. ii. col. 520. ed. Ben.

might free justification by faith²: but as it is manifest that this rigour of discipline abated more and more, age by age, till that now it is come to nothing; so, if we go upwards and compare the writings of the Apostles with the original practice of the Church, it will appear that the rigour of it was brought in by them, because it abated by degrees from age to age, till at length it is almost quite lost: that the reformation of the Church consists in retaining it,—that we shall do so much prejudice to Christianity, as we shall by undue interpretation make justification by faith inconsistent with it. And, in fine, it will appear that all penance presupposeth excommunication, being only some abatement of it. “There is a sin unto death,” saith the Apostle, 1 John v. 16, “I say not that ye pray for it.” This is commonly understood of denying God’s truth, against that light which convinceth the conscience. Which, if it were true, the Apostle’s precept could never come into practice, seeing no man can know, unless by revelation, against what light his neighbour sinneth.

20 But the Novatians, at the council of Nice, as Socrates and Sozomenus both report, *Eccles. Hist.* i. 10, i. 22,^a answering Constantine, that they refused penance only to those that sinned the “sin unto death,” do give us to understand that St. John was understood by the Church not to command that apostates be admitted to penance. And so also Tertullian in many places of his book *De Pudicitia*, as cap. xix,^b

^a Mendacium ergo et impostura fuit quod de Sacramento penitentiae committitur. Eminentiam hoc sacramentum omnium quo decebat elogio, secundam esset abulam post naufragium. quia et quis vestem innocentis in Baptismo perceptam peccando corruperit, per penitentiam reparare potest.—Calvini Instit. lib. iv. cap. xix. § 17.

Tertium locum satisfactionis in penitentia assignant, de qua quisquis blaterant, uno verbo subverti potest. Dicunt non sufficere penitenti a praeteritis malis abstinere, et mores in melius commutare, nisi de his quae facta sunt satisfecerit Deo. Esse autem multa adiuvacula, quibus peccata redimamus: lacrimas, jejunia, oblationes, charitatis officia. . . . Talibus mendacium oppono gentulum peccatorum remissionem, quam nihil in Scriptura clarius praedicatur.—*Ib.*, lib. in. cap. iv. § 26.

One of the propositions among the *Disputationes* of Philip Melancthon, at the end of the first volume of Luther’s works, *Witebergae* 1556, is this. Imprudentissime locuti sunt canonice de penitentia qui nullam ibi mentionem fidei fecerunt.—*Disp. de Poen. Laps.* fol. 448.

^b Ὅτι μετὰ τὸ βάπτισμα κοινωνίας οὐκ ἀξιοὶ μυστηρίων τοῦ ἁμαρτίας ἐνδοχούς. ἢν πρὸς θάνατον καλοῖσιν αἱ θεῖαι γραφαί. Θεοῦ γὰρ ἐξουσίας μόνου, οὐχ ἑτέρων ὑπερῆσθαι τὴν ἐξουσίαν. Sozomen. *Eccles. Hist.* i. 22. p. 437. ed. Vales. The passage from Socrates is to the same effect but longer.

^c Est enim delictum ad mortem. Non de eo dico ut quis postulet. . . . Scimus autem quod omnis ex Deo natus sit non derelinquat, scilicet delictum quod ad mortem est. Ita nihil jam superest, quam aut neget maculam et fornicationem mortalia esse delicta, aut irre-

CHAP.
1

argueth from this place, that penance was not to be granted to adulterers. Which sheweth that the Church understood the place in the same sense, though it admitted not his consequence. So also Origen, in *Matt.* xviii. 15, Tract vii.^c

[Of sin
unto
death.]

§ 22. I was long doubtful of the truth of this interpretation, because the Apostle premising, "If any man see his brother sin a sin not unto death, let him ask of God," seems to speak of private prayers of particular persons. But the words of St. James v. 16, have cleared me of this doubt: "Confess your sins one to another," saith he, "and pray for one another that ye may be healed;" in which words I make no doubt but he speaketh of public penance. For having premised that the presbyters be sent for to the sick, that they confess their sins to the presbyters, that they pray for them, anointing them with oil, that their sins may be forgiven them; to shew nevertheless, that, according to the custom aforesaid, in case they recovered, they were to stand bound to penance, he addeth, "confess your sins to one another," to signify that this confession and penance remained due before the Church, as we understand by the twelfth canon of Nice^d, that the practice was so long afterwards. And this is proved by the precept of both Apostles, "to pray for one another." For it is manifest that there were two means to obtain remission of sins, in this case; the humiliation which the Church prescribed, and the penitent performed; and the prayers of the Church, which St. John prescribeth not to be granted to apostates.

[Apostates
not a.t.
mitted to
penance.]

§ 23. The very same is the meaning of the Apostle to the Hebrews vi. 6, when he pronounceth it "impossible that those that fall away be renewed again to repentance." For, as they that stood for baptism, when they were catechised in Christianity, were properly said, *ἐγκαινισθῆναι εἰς μετάνοιαν*, to be instructed or dedicated to repentance, because of the repentance from dead works, which they professed; so they

missibilia faceris, pro quibus nec exorare permittitur.—p. 1013. ed. Pam. Rothomag. 1662.

^c Origen. Comment. in S. Matth. tom. xiii. § 30. tom. iii. p. 611. ed. Ben.

^d Περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐξορευόντων ὁ παλαιὸς καὶ κανονικὸς νόμος φυλαχθήσεται καὶ νῦν· ὥστε οἱ τοῦ ἐξορευομένου τοῦ τελευταίου καὶ ἀναγκασμένου ἱεροῦ μὴ ἀποστα-

ρεῖσθαι, εἰ δὲ ἀπογνωσθεὶς, καὶ κοινωνίας πάλιν τυχῶν, πάλιν ἐν τοῖς ζῶσιν ἐξετάσθῃ, μετὰ τῶν κοινωνούντων τῆς εὐχῆς μόνῃς ἵσταται. Καθόλου δὲ καὶ περὶ παντὸς ἀπονοσοῦν ἐξορευόντος, αὐτοῦντος τοῦ μετασχεῖν εὐχαριστίας, ὁ ἐπίσκοπος μετὰ δοκιμασίας ἐπιβάστω. —Concil. Nicen. A D 325, can. xiii Labbe, tom. ii. col. 40. It is the twelfth in Isidore.

that forfeited their Christianity by violating the contract of baptism, are no less properly said, ἀνακαινισθῆναι εἰς μετέ-
 22 the earth that receives rain, and renders no fruit, is near the
 curse," therefore the Church will not easily believe that such
 a one shall lightly obtain of God the grace to become a
 sincere Christian. And therefore the Apostle says not, that
 it is impossible that such an one should repent, but, "that he
 should be instructed again to repentance," to wit, by the
 Church. As the Novatians answered Constantine, that they
 remitted such persons to God, not prejudicing their salvation,
 but not admitting them to the means of reconciliation by the
 Church.

§ 24. And herewith agreeth the example of Esau, used by
 the Apostle, again xii. 17, saying that "he found not place of
 repentance;" alluding to that room in the Church, where
 penitents were placed apart by themselves. And again, x. 26,
 the allusion which he maketh to the custom under the law—
 understood by the Hebrews to whom he writeth—consisteth in
 this, that, as there was no sacrifice to be made for apostates,
 though for ethnics—for this was the use of the law, as we
 understand by Moses Maimoni* in the title of Dressing
 Oblations, cap. iii. num. 3—5.—so the Christian sacrifice, of
 the prayers of the Church, was not to be offered for those
 that had renounced Christianity. If it be thus, you will ask
 23 this text right? and my answer is, that nevertheless they are
 heretics, extending the name of heretics to those whom now
 we call schismatics, as I have shewed you in the little Dis-
 course, p. 197², that it is often used. For St. John, as he
 commands not, so he forbids not, that they be admitted to
 penance; the other Apostle tells them, "it is impossible,"
 to let them know that they must not expect it: but neither
 says that the Church could not give it.

§ 25. When therefore the Church, to preserve unity, was
 necessitated to grant it, as we see by St. Cyprian³, the Nova-

CHAP.
I.

[Error of
the Nova-
tians.]

[Admis-
sion to
penance
with im-
position of
hands.]

* De Ratione Sacrificiorum facien-
 dorum, pp. 150, 161, translated into
 Latin by de Veil, Paris, 1678.

¹ Primitive Government of Churches,

chap. xiv. sect. 2.

² In unum convenimus, et Scripturis
 diu ex utraque parte prolatis, tempera-
 mentum salubri moderatione hbravimus,

CHAP. 1. tians were no less schismatics in making separation upon the quarrel—though perhaps the reason be not urged by their adversaries—than if they had understood the text amiss; the unity of the Church being of more moment than much understanding in the Scriptures. And so, perhaps, St. Paul's words will belong to this purpose, 1 Tim. v. 22, as not only the Socinians of late^b, but Pacianus among the ancients, *Parænesis ad Pœnitentiam*^c, and Matthæus Galenus^d among modern writers, do expound them: to wit, that when he saith, "Lay hands suddenly on no man, nor partake of other men's sins," he leaves it to Timothy's judgment whom to admit, whom not to admit to penance; because this blessing with imposition of hands, was not the mark of absolution,²⁴ but of admission to penance, as well as the ceremony of ordinations.

[Imposition of hands, its meaning.]

§ 26. And though this text of the Apostle be understood in particular of ordinations, yet, by the same reason which he allegeth, it is to be extended to all acts of the Church that are blessed, by the prayers of the Church, with imposition of hands. For if Timothy, by imposing hands upon those whom he ordains, become accessory to their sins, if they be unfit to be ordained; by the same reason, if he impose hands, that is, grant penance unto them that are not fit for it, he becomes accessory to the sins which they commit by being

*ut nec in totum spes communicationis et pacis lapsis denegaretur: ne plus de-
spiratione deficerent, et eo quod sibi
Ecclesiam cluderetur, secuti seculum
gentiliter viverent; Postea
tamen sicut collegii concordia et colligenda
fraternitatis, ac medendi vul-
neris utilitas exigebat, necessitati tem-
porum succubuisse, et salutem multorum
providendum putasse, et nunc ab his
non recedere, quæ semel in concilio
nostro de communi collatione placu-
erunt; quamvis multa multorum vocibus
ventilentur, et mendaciis adversus sacer-
dotes Dei de diaboli ore prolata, ad rum-
pendam Catholicæ unitatis concordiam
ubique jactentur.*—Ep. ad Antonianum,
pp. 102, 103. ed. Oxon. 1682.

^b Socinus interprets it of ordination: Crellius also, but adds, Quidam id de admissione peccatorum respicientium ad Ecclesiam, inter quos possunt et seniores comprehendi, accipiunt. He then adds that there is no sufficient

evidence that penitents were reconciled with imposition of hands.—Comm. in loc. Brenius explains it of ordination, adding, Nisi forte proverbialis est locutio, qua Timotheum monere voluit, ne quem presbyterum peccati legitime accusatum temere absolvat.—Comm. in loc.

^c Ecce iterum Apostolus ad Sacerdotem, Manus cito nulli imponas, nec communices peccatis alienis. Quid facies tu qui decipis sacerdotem? Qui aut ignorantem fallis, aut non ad plenum scientem probandi difficultate confundis? Rogo ergo vos, fratres, etiam pro periculo meo, per illum Dominum quem occulta non fallunt desinere vulneratam tegere conscientiam.—Bibliothec. Patrum, tom. iv. p. 316. Lugdun. 1677.

^d De Christiano et Catholico Sacerdotio, cap. iii. p. 35. Dilingæ. 1563. See Hammond's commentary on the text.

admitted to it. Imposition of hands being nothing else but a ceremony of that benediction, which signifieth, that those acts to which it is granted, are allowed and authorized by the public power of the Church. So imposition of hands in confirmation, is the admission of him that is confirmed to the communion of the visible Church; in penance, the restoring of him; in ordination, to the exercise of this or that function in the Church. Prayer over the sick, which the Apostle commands, James v. 14, and our Lord, in the Gospel, made with imposition of hands, signified the admitting of the sick to penance; and it is said, that in some eastern Churches, to this day, marriages are blessed with imposition of hands, in signification that the Church alloweth of them, which, as it was always the right of the Church to do, as I shall observe in another place¹, so it appeareth so to be, in that marriage was never celebrated among Christians without the prayers of the Church^m. And this observation I insist upon the more cheerfully, because it much strengtheneth the argument, which the Church maketh, for the baptism of infants, from the act of our Saviour in the Gospel, when He blessed the infants with imposition of hands. For if all imposition of hands be an act of the public power of the Church, allowing that which is done with it, then can this imposition of hands signify no less than that those to whom our Lord granteth it, belong to His kingdom of the visible Church.

§ 27. One little objection there lies against this, from the incestuous person at Corinth, whom St. Paul, in his second epistle, seems to re-admit to communion, his crime being as deep as adultery, which, we say, the rigour of Apostolical discipline admitted not to penance. To which I have divers things to answer. That this cannot be objected, but by him that acknowledges that he was excommunicate by the former epistle. That Tertullian, in his book *De Pudicitia*ⁿ, disputes

[The incestuous Corinthian.]

¹ In chap. iv. and in the Epilogue bk. in chap. xii, xiii, xiv, xv.

^m Ceterum quid ad ritum spectat. primum non aliunde quam ab Apostolica traditione fluxisse, ut non sine sacerdotis presentia matrimonium contrahatur.—Baron. Ann. Eccles. lvi. 47.

ⁿ Suspicantur Apostolum Paulum in secunda ad Corinthios eidem fornicatori veniam dedisse, quem in prima deden-

dum Satanæ in interitum carnis pronuntiavit, after reciting the Absolution in the second epistle he proceeds thus:—Quid hic de fornicatore, quid de paterni thori contaminatore?—cap. xii. Again, Sufficit ejusmodi homini increpatio ista quæ a multis, non in fornicatoris personam convenire. Si enim dedendum Satanæ pronuntiaverat in interitum carnis, utique damnaverat

CHAP. 1. at large that it is not the same case which is spoken of in 28 both epistles. That the crime here specified, perhaps, is not of the number of those which from the beginning were excluded from penance. But, waiving all this, as I excepted two cases, in which men were baptized without regular trial, so supposing the rule to take hold in this case, it is no inconvenience to grant that St. Paul might waive the rigour of discipline so settled, as supposing there might be cause to waive it.

[Penance instituted by the Apostles.] § 28. If this opinion seem new, my purpose requires but these two points, that the penance practised by the ancient Church, supposed excommunication, which it only abateth; and that it was instituted by the Apostles; and, for that, there is enough said, I suppose, even to them that believe not that the Apostles excluded any kind of crimes from penance. Beside that of St. Paul, blaming the Corinthians that "they were puffed up, and had not rather lamented, that he that had done the evil might be put from among them," 1 Cor. v. 2. And again, fearing that "when he returned, he should be forced to lament many," 2 Cor. xii. 21. Which, if we compare with the primitive solemnity of excommunication, which by the Constitutions of the Apostles, ii. 16^a, and other ways we understand, was to put the person out of the Church doors with mourning, it will appear that Epiphanius is in the 27 right in expounding this latter text to this purpose, *Hæres.* lix. num. 5. ^p The power of excommunication then, by all this, is no more than the necessary consequence of the power of admitting to communion by baptism; which, if it imply a contract with the Church to live according to the rule of Christianity, then it is forfeit to him that evidently does that, which cannot stand with that rule, and the Church not tied to restore it, but as the person can give satisfaction, to observe it for the future.

[Excommunication shall stand under the law.] § 29. Now, I will make short work with Erastus' long labour, to prove that there is no excommunication commanded

enim magis quam increpaverat. *Alius ego erat cui valuit sufficere increpationem.* Superdum formator non inculpationem dissensionis eius retulerat, and damnationem.—Cap. xiv. p. 1007. ed. Paut. Rothomag. 1602.

^p Ἦσαν δὲ οὗ τὸν ἡμαρτηκότα πικρῶς κέλευσαν αὐτὸν ἔξω βαλθῆναι, καὶ ἐξελεῖν αὐτῷ πικραίνεσθαι οἱ

διδάκοντες, καὶ ἐπισητοῦντες κατεχέτωσαν αὐτὸν ἔξω τῆς Ἐκκλησίας. Lubbei, tom. i. col. 244. ed. Venet.

^p Ὡς δεικνύς, ὅτι εἰ καὶ παρέπεσαν καὶ μετενόησαν εἰσθεκοὶ αὐτοὶ γίνονται, καὶ οὐκ ἀποβαλθήσονται τοῦ Κυρίου γινώσκοντες τι μετὰ ἐκδότου ποιήσει. — Contr. Callaros, p. 497. ed. Col. 1682.

by the law. I yield it; and make a consequence which will be thought a strange one: but I have it from the speculation of Origen, in *Levit.*, Hom. xi.¹, and others, why the Church should only be enabled to excommunicate, whereas the synagogue was enabled to put to death; from the observation of St. Augustine, *Questiones in Deuteronom. lib. v. Quest. xxxix.*², *De Fide et Operibus*, cap. ii.³ and others, that excommunication in the Church is the same that the power of life and death [is] in the synagogue. My argument is, then, that the Church is to have the power of excommunication, because the synagogue had the power of life and death. And the reason of the consequence this: because, as the law, being the condition of the covenant by which the benefit of the commonwealth of Israel was due, enabled to put to death such as destroyed it: so the Gospel being the condition of the covenant that makes men denizens of the spiritual Jerusalem, must enable to put them from the society thereof that forfeited it.

§ 30. It is not my intent hereby to say that there was no excommunication under the law: for, I do believe, that we have mention of it in *Ezra*, x. 8⁴, grounded, if I mistake not,

CHAP.
1.

(In use
under
Ezra.)

¹ Manet igitur hoc firmum, immutabile, et incommutabile, in Veteri Testamento nullum fuisse propter delicta mortum a Sacramento revocatum, sed ad eorundem celestium omnium cunctos secundum legem a pro sacerdotibus, prophetis, iudicibus, regibus, tandemque ab ipso quoque antecessore Christi clarissimo et sanctissimo Johanne Baptista, fuisse invitatos magis quam repulsos.—Thesis xvi. p. 17 *Pescha* 1589.

² Secundum legem adulter et adultera morte moriebantur, nec poterant dimitte, penitentiam petimus, et veniam deprecantur. Non erat lacrymarum locus, nec emendationi ulla concedebatur facultas, sed omnimode puniri necesse erat, qui inieisset in legem. Hoc autem servabatur, et in singulis quibusque criminibus quibus erat poena mortis adscripta. Apud Christianos vero si adulterium fuerit admissum, non est preceptum ut adulter vel adultera corporali interitu puniantur, nec potestas latet Episcopo Ecclesie adulterum presentem morte damnare, cum tunc secundum legem fideat a peccatoribus populi. Quid igitur? dicemus, quod lex Moysi crudelis sit. . . Et Evangelium Christi per indulgen-

tiam resolvit auditores in deterius? Non ita est. . . Nunc vero non inferitur poena corpori, nec purgatio peccati per corporale supplicium constat, sed per penitentiam. Origen, *Opp.*, tom. ii. p. 218, ed. Ben.

³ Hoc enim nunc agit in Ecclesia excommunicatio, quod agebat tunc interfectio.—Tom. iii. col. 570. ed. Ben.

⁴ Et Phineas sacerdos adulteros simul inventos ferra ultore confixit. Quod utique degradationibus et excommunicationibus significatum est esse faciendum hoc tempore, cum in Ecclesie disciplina visibilis fuerat gladius cessaturus.—Tom. vi. col. 166. ed. Ben.

⁵ Ne illud quidem nobis adversatur, quod in libr. I *Ezra* cap. x. legitur. Etenim res illa politica fuit: ad sacramenta non pertinet. Nam magister, non sacerdos Esdras solus . . . edictum promulgavit, ut sub poena confiscationis honorum, et exclusionis, non a sacramentis et sacrificiis, sed a populo, qui ex captivitate redierat, omnes intra trientem Hierosolymis adessent. . . Ex omnibus patet impossibile esse, ut hoc iuvetur excommunicatio.—*Erat. Thes.* xxi pp. 14, 15

CHAP. I. upon the commission of the king of Persia, recorded Ezra vii. 26; for, that which is here called "rooting out," seems to be the same that is called in the other place, "dividing from the synagogue of the captives." Being, indeed, a kind of temporal outlawry, to which is joined confiscation of goods. For, so saith Luther^a truly, that the greater excommunication among Christians is every where a temporal punishment, to wit, in regard of some temporal punishment attending it in Christian states, which in Christianity is accidental, by act of those states, in Judaism essential, so long as those temporal advantages, which were the essential condition of the law, were not forfeited. And this without doubt is the same punishment which the gospels call "putting out of the synagogue:" though, I cannot say so peremptory for the temporal effects of it: which several sovereigns could easily limit to several terms. For the right that Ezra might have to introduce this penalty, is clear by the law of Deut. xvii. 12, which enabling to put them to death that obeyed not the synagogue, enabled to excommunicate, to banish, to outlaw them much more. But, as we see, the Romans allowed them not the power of life and death, which the Persians granted them, so I am not to grant, that, putting out of the synagogue in the Gospel, implieth the extinguishing of the civil being of any Jew. The Talmud doctors say, that, those that were under the greater excommunication, were to dwell in a cottage alone, and to have meat and drink brought them till they died. *Arba Turim*, or *Shulchan Aruch*, in *Jore Dea*, *Hilcoth Niddui Ucherem*. A speculation suitable to their condition in their dispersions, which no man is bound to believe how far it was in force and practice.

§ 31. But, suppose the synagogue in the same condition with the Church afore Constantine, enjoying no privilege, but to serve God according to the law, as the Church according to the Gospel: and then, as the synagogue must always have power to excommunicate, which had power to put to death; so so, I say, is the Church enabled by our Lord to do what I have shewed the Apostles did do, by Matt. xviii. 18. I yield,

^a Excommunicatio sic est temporalis et corporalis, ut tamen ordinetur, non contra, sed pro communione interiore, vel reparanda, si juste lata fuerit, vel

augenda si injusta fuerit.—Conc. de Virtut. Excomm. tom. i. fol. 63. Witebergæ 1558.

that the terms of "binding and loosing" are used by the Jews CHAP.
I. to signify the declaring of what is prohibited and permitted by the law, but I yield not, that it can be so understood here, because the ground of this declaration ceaseth under the Gospel; being derived from the six hundred and thirteen precepts of the law, and from the power of the priests and doctors to determine all cases, which the law had not determined, in dependence upon the great consistory at Jerusalem, by the law of Deut. xvii. 12, which precepts, and which power, being voided by the Gospel, can any man think that the power of "binding and loosing" here given the Church, is to be understood of it?

§ 32. Besides, it is in the promise made to St. Peter, Matt. xvi. 19, said expressly to be the act of the power of the keys. And what is that? Is it not an expression manifestly borrowed from that which is said to Eliakim, son of Hilkiah, Is. xlii. 22, "I will give thee the keys of the house of David;" whereupon our Lord, Apoc. iii. 7, is said to have "the key of David," that is, of the house of David? whereby the Apostles The power of the keys what it is. under our Lord are made stewards of the Church, as Eliakim of the court, to admit and exclude whom he pleased? And so it is manifest, that the power of the keys, given to St. Peter, Matt. xvi. 19, as the Church, Matt. xviii. 18, is that power

* Illas vero papales claves non agnoscimus. Jesuita per claves summam intelligi potestatem tribus argumentis probat. Primum, metaphora clavium sic in Scripturis accipitur. *Habeo clavem domus David*, hic per 'claves' intelligitur principatus Ecclesiasticus: *Habet clavem David, qui aperit et nemo claudit*. Accedit communis consuetudo, in urbium desitione claves offeruntur, et æconomis claves tradi solent. *Respondet*. Quod ad priorem locum attinet, claves promissæ Eliakimo sunt, id est, fideior, principatus, is quem Shobna ante obtinebat, quemadmodum ex hoc capite constat. Et nactus principatum est et o Shobna dejecto, factoque scriba et princeps, ut abli Scriptura docet. Sed fallit Jesuitam sua opinio, quando Ecclesiasticum hunc fuisse principatum exstatuat potestatem enim fuit. Nam Shobna non est functus sacerdotio summo, neque id cuiusvis potest et fideior deinde scriba est quasi ab episcopo, non igitur sacerdos ante fuit,

et Eliakimo promittuntur claves domus David, quæ regalis fuit, non sacerdotalis potestas. Nam per domum David intelligere templum, quia David ædificari templum præceperat, ut quidam respondet, nimis ineptum est. Debebat potius dici Domus Salomonis, Quamquam autem claves domus David principatum quæquam arguant, non tamen claves per se talein principatum semper significant, non ergo hæc loca conveniunt instituto, quia Petrus Christus non promittit claves domus David, sed claves regni caelorum, quæ sunt alterius generis et nature. Quod ad secundum locum attinet, *Qui habet clavem David*, fideior hic quidem summam potestatem ecclesiasticam simul et politiceam intelligi. Sed hæc claves Christus non papa habere dicitur. Non enim Papæ sed Christo convenit illa vox, 'Data mihi potestas omnis est in celo ac in terra.' Whitaker. Opp. tom. ii. Controvers. iv. quest. ii. cap. v. § 1. p. 364. Gen. v. 1610.

CHAP. I. which you have seen practised under the Apostles, of admitting to, and excluding from the Church, by baptism and penance. So St. Cyprian expressly understandeth the power of the keys to consist in baptizing, *Epist. lxxiii.** And of penance, that which followeth is an express argument, as I have observed p. 129^a of that short Discourse: for having said, "whatsoever ye bind," He addeth immediately, "again I say to you, that if two of you agree to ask any thing, it shall be done you by My Father in Heaven." For the means of pardon being the humiliation of the penitent, enjoined by the Church, and joined with the prayers thereof, as hath been said, the consequence of our Saviour's discourse—first of informing the Church, then of binding and loosing, lastly of granting the prayers of the Church—shews that He speaks of those prayers which should be made in behalf of such as were bound for not hearing the Church; and hereby we see how binding and loosing of sins is attributed to the keys of the Church: to which, being made a visible society, by the power of holding assemblies, no man is to be admitted till³² there be just presumption that he is of the heavenly Jerusalem that is above. As the power of judging, who is and who is not thus qualified, presupposes a profession, so that, an instruction, obliging the obedience of them which seek remission of sins by the Gospel, and therefore confidently assuring it to them which conform themselves.

[Its greatness.]

§ 33. In a word, because admitting to, or excluding from the Church, is, or ought to be, a just and lawful presumption of admitting to, or excluding from Heaven, it is morally and legally the same act that intitleth to Heaven, and to the Church, that maketh an heir of life everlasting, and a Christian, because he that obeyeth the Church, in submitting to the Gospel, is as certainly a member of the invisible, as of the visible Church. Herewith agree the words of our Lord, "Let him be unto thee as a heathen and a publican:" not as if heathens could be excommunicate the synagogue, who

* Unde intelligimus non nisi in Ecclesia Prepositis et in Evangelica lege, ac Dominica ordinatione fundatis licere baptizare, et remissionem peccatorum dare, tamen autem nec ligari aliquid posse nec solvi, ubi non sit qui aut ligare possit

aliquid aut solvere.—p. 201. ed. Oxon. 1682.—See Relig. Assembl. chap. x. sect. 81.

* Primitive Government, chap. xi. sect. 1.

never were of it, or as if the Jews then durst excommunicate publicans, that levied taxes for the Romans: but because, by their usage of publicans and Gentiles, it was proper for our Lord to signify how He would have Christians to use the excommunicate; there being no reason why He can be thought by these words to regulate the conversation of the Jews in that estate, so long as the law stood, but to give His Church rules, to last till the world's end^b. The Jews then abhorred the company, not only of idolaters, to testify how much they abhorred idols, and to maintain the people in detestation of them—by ceremonies brought in by the guides of the synagogue for that purpose—but all those that conversed with idolaters. For this cause we see they murmur against our Lord for eating with publicans, [St. Matth. ix. 11]; they wash when they come from market, [St. Mark vii. 4.] where commonly they conversed with Gentiles, and, which is strange, such as Cornelius was, being allowed to dwell among them by the law, professing one God, and taking upon them the precepts of the sons of Noe; yet are the converted Jews scandalized at St. Peter for eating with Cornelius, Acts xi. 2.

§ 34. These rules are made void by the Gospel: for St. Paul tells the Corinthians expressly, that they are not to forbear the company of the Gentiles, for those sins which their profession imported; but if a Christian live in any of those heathen vices, with him they are not so much as to eat, 1 Cor. v. 11, to wit, as it followeth immediately, being condemned by the Church upon such a cause: for, saith he, "What have I to do to judge them that are without? do not ye judge those that are within? but those that are without God judgeth: and ye shall take the evil man from among you." That is, Are not you, by the power you have of judging those that are within, to take away him that hath

CHAP.
I.

^b Bilson held this opinion. "What is meant by the Church, whether the Church of Christ, or the Churches and assemblies of the Jews, that God ordained in that commonwealth to govern His people, and determine their quarrels: this breedeth some question among divines: howbeit the reasons are many and weighty that move me to think the Church of Christ is not com-

prised in these words. first, *this was a direction to the Jews for their present state and time*; and then had Christ no Church in Jewry to which they might complain. . . . Next, the matters of which they must complain were such as the Church of Christ might not challenge to hear and determine." *Deput. Govern.* chap. iv. p. 32 London, 1573.

CHAP. L. done evil, leaving to God to judge those without? Here the case is plain, there is power in the Church to judge, and take away offenders: of which power the Apostle speaks, Tit. iii. 11, when he says that "heretics are condemned of themselves," if we follow St. Hierome's exposition, which seems unquestionable^c. For experience convinces, that most heretics think themselves in the right: so far they are from condemning themselves in their consciences. But they condemn themselves, by cutting off themselves from the Church, which other sinners are condemned to by the Church.

[Delivering to Satan, what it means.]

§ 35. Neither is it any thing else than excommunication which the Apostle signifieth by delivering to Satan, 1 Cor. v. 5, saying that he expresseth an extraordinary effect that followed it in the Apostles' time, to wit, that those which were put out of the Church became visibly subject to Satan, inflicting plagues and diseases on their bodies, which might reduce them to repentance, which the Apostle calleth the "destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus." As he saith of Hymenæus and³⁵ Philetus, 1 Tim. i. 20: "whom I have delivered to Satan, that they may learn not to blaspheme." For it is not to be doubted that the Apostles had power, like that which St. Peter exercised on Ananias and Sapphira, thus to punish those that opposed them, as St. Paul divers times intimates in the texts which I have quoted in another place^d; provided by God, as the rest of miraculous graces, to evidence His presence in the Church.

[Degrees of excommunication.]

§ 36. These particulars, which I huddle up together by the way, might have been drawn out into several arguments, but I content myself with the consequence, by which the patent of this power in the Gospel is cleared, upon which patent all the power of the Church is grounded. That is, if Christians are only to abstain from eating with excommuni-

^c Qui enim semel bisque correptus, audito errore suo, non vult corrigi, errare existimat corrigentem; et e contrario se ad pugnas et jurgia verborum parans, cum vult lucrifacere a quo docetur. Propterea vero a semetipso dicitur esse damnatus: quia fornicator, adulter, homicida et cætera vitia per sacerdotes de Ecclesia propelluntur.

Hæretici autem in semetipsos sententiam ferunt suo arbitrio de Ecclesia recedentes, quæ recessio propriæ conscientie videtur esse damnatio.—Comm. in Tit. cap. iii. 10, 11. tom. iv. col. 439. ed. Ben.

^d See chapp. iv. and v. of Religious Assemblies.

cate persons, as Jews did with publicans and Gentiles, then excommunication is to be understood when our Lord saith, "Let him be to thee as a heathen and a publican." As for that which is said, that the excommunicate among the Jews were not excluded either temple or synagogue, therefore it was a secular punishment, it is a mistake^c. That which the Jews call חרם was not excommunication, no more than that which the Constitutions of the Apostles call ἀφορισμός^d, which is the same, being but a step to it, like that which is now commonly called the less excommunication; and therefore he that was under this censure among the Jews, was but in part removed from the communion, as well of sacred as civil society; for it hath been shewed very learnedly in the book of the Power of the Keys^e, that he stood as much removed from the one as from the other, because that, as well in the synagogue as at home, no man was to come within his four cubits.

§ 37. But when the Talmud doctors determine that the excommunicate dwell in a cottage apart, and have sustenance brought him, such an one was past coming into the temple or synagogue. And so, I suppose, was he that was put out of the synagogue for acknowledging our Lord Christ to be a true prophet, John ix. 35^b. For they which afterwards were wont to curse all his followers in their synagogues—as Justin Martyr, *Dialog. cum Tryph.*^f, and Epiphanius, *Hæres. xxix.*^g,

^c Nec sane locis sacris ejectos fuisse Apocynagogos seu excommunicatos, sed benedictum tantum cultu, inde satis evincitur, quod etiam templum ipsam ingreditur excommunicatis ejusmodi nefas non esset.—Selden, de Jure Natur. et Gent. lib. iv. cap. ix.

^d ὁστως οὐ καὶ ὑμῶν δέον ἐστὶ ποιεῖν, τοῦ ἐφ' ἁμαρτίας λέγοντας μετανοεῖν, ἀποχεῖν χρόνον ἱεροῦ κατὰ τὴν ἀναλογία τοῦ ἁμαρτήματος. ἔπειτα μετανοήσας προσλαμβάνεσθαι, ὡς πατέρες οἰοῦν.—Lib. ii. cap. xvi. Labbei, tom. i. col. 241. ed. Venet.

^e Excommunicatio non est totalis remotio vel separatione neque a sacris neque a civilibus, sed solummodo a sacris—being you know but the first degree or species—but only ad separationem sacris, that none come within the distance of four paces of him that is under the censure, and this degree of separation being extended to sacred as well as civil assemblies, yet excluded

him not either from praying with the congregation, or learning, or, if he were a doctor, teaching in it."—Dr. Hammond, Power of the Keys, chap. iv. sect. 57. p. 93. London, 1617.

^f Superest unica illa e synagoga ejectio, que nonnulli sibi mite placent, dum pro excommunicato non reverenda producunt, que Johan. ix. xii. et xvi. de hac re scribuntur. . . . Ex tali synagoga ejectio, erat politica quædam ignominia et pœna adæque veluti civilis quædam relegatio, ut ex ix. cap. i. ac. concinnus.—Erast. Thea. xxii. pp. 15, 16.

^g Τυχεῖς γὰρ ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς ὁμῶν καταρῶσθε πάντων τῶν ἀπ' ἐκείνου γενομένων Χριστιανῶν.—Cap. xvi. p. 192. ed. Ben.

^h Οὐ μόνον γὰρ οἱ τῶν Ἰουδαίων κατέδοντο πρὸς τοὺς ἐκκλησιαστικούς, ἀλλὰ ἀριστοί τε ἦσαν, καὶ μέγας ἡμέρας, καὶ περὶ τὴν ἑσπέραν, τῇς τῆς ἡμέρας διεύχας ἐπιτελοῦσιν ἐν ταῖς αὐτῶν

CHAP. I. tell us that they did in their time—are not like to endure in their society, whether sacred or civil, him that, in their interpretation, was fallen from Moses. And thus is the power of the keys clearly grounded upon this charter of the Gospel, and all the right of the Church upon it.

[Power of the Church in private causes.]

§ 38. Only one objection yet remains, which to me hath³⁷ always seemed very difficult, for it is manifest that our Lord speaketh here of matters of interest between party and party, when He saith, "If thy brother offend thee;" and it may justly seem strange, that our Lord should give the Church power to excommunicate those that will not stand to the sentence of the Church in such matters. But so it is. The Jews in their dispersions were fain to have recourse to this penalty to enforce the jurisdiction of their own bodies, lest, if causes should be carried thence before heathen courts, God's name should be blasphemed, and the Gentiles scandalized at His people, saying, See what peace and right there is among those that profess the true God! For the same causes our Lord here estateth the same power upon the Church; whereof I cannot give a more sufficient and effectual argument, than by shewing that it was in use under the Apostles; though the place out of which I shall shew this is hitherto otherwise understood, because men consider not that it is not against Christianity that there be several seats for several ranks and dignities of the world in the Church, and therefore that it is not that which the Apostle finds fault with, James ii. 1, when he forbids them "to have the faith of God with respect of persons."

[Courts Christian.]

§ 39. But the synagogue which he speaketh of in the next³⁸ words, is to be understood of the court where they judged the causes and differences between members of the Church. For that the Jews were wont to keep court in their synagogues, we learn, not only by the Talmud doctor, Maimoni by name, in the title of Oaths, cap. ix., where he speaketh particularly of the case of an oath made in the synagogue when the court sat there, but by that which we find in the New Testament, Matt. x. 17; xxiii. 34; Mark xiii. 9; Acts xxii. 19; xxvi. 11;

Συναγωγὰς, ἐπαρῶνται αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἀναθεματίζουσιν φασκόντες, ὅτι ἐπικαταπαύσαι ὁ θεὸς τοῖς Ναζωπαίοις. Contr.

Nazaræos. num. ix. p. 124. Colon. 1682. See Pelavius' note on the place, tom. ii. p. 54.

as well as in Epiphanius, *Hæres.* xxx.¹, that they used to scourge in their synagogues; to wit, where sentence was given, there justice was executed; wherefore being converted to Christianity, they held the same course, as appears by the words of the Apostle that follow: "Do ye not make a difference among yourselves, and are become judges of evil thoughts?" And again: "If ye respect persons, ye commit sin, being reproved by the law." By what law but by that which saith, "Thou shalt not accept persons in judgment?" Lev. xix. 15. For the execution of which law it is expressly provided, by the Jews' Constitutions, in Maimoni, *Sanedrîn*, cap. xxi., that when a poor man and a rich plead together, ³⁹ the rich shall not be bid to sit down, and the poor stand or sit in a worse place, but both sit, or both stand, which, you see, is the particular for which the Apostle charges them "to have the faith of Christ with respect of persons;" that is, to shew favour in the causes of Christians according to their persons.

§ 40. The same course, we may well presume, was settled by the Apostles at Corinth, by the blame St. Paul charges them with, for going to law before infidels, 1 Cor. vi. 1, 2, for how should he blame them for doing that which they had not order before not to do? And therefore if our Lord in this place give the Church power to excommunicate those that stand not to the sentence of the Church, much more those that violate the Christianity which they have professed. And this is also here expressed when from the particular He goes to the general, saying, "Whatsoever ye bind on earth," giving thereby the same power to the Church here, which He gave to St. Peter, Matt. xvi. 19, and to the Apostles, John xx. 23. And so we have here two heads of the causes of excommunication: the first, of such things as concern the conscience and salvation of particular Christians, when they commit such sins as destroy Christianity; the second, of such as concern the community of the Church and the unity ⁴⁰ thereof, in which not the act, but the contumacy—the not hearing of the Church—makes them subject to this sentence.

§ 41. It is not my purpose to say that these nice reasons

¹ Ἀπαγορεύει μὲν εἰς τὴν συναγωγὴν, cap. xi. p. 135. Colon. 1682
καὶ παύειν αὐτοὺς τούτων —Conte. Eldon.

CHAP. I. are to be the title upon which the right of the Church to this power standeth or falleth: but that being in possession of it, upon a title as old as Christianity, and demonstrable by the same evidence, it cannot be ejected out of this possession by any thing in the Scripture when it is rightly understood. One objection there is more, in consequence to this last reason, that if the Church have power to sentence civil causes of Christians, and by excommunication to enforce that sentence, when states profess Christianity, all civil laws will cease, and all judicatories be resolved into one consistory of the Church.

[Even in a Christian state.]

§ 42. The answer to this I defer till I come to shew the right of the states that profess Christianity in Church matters, where it will easily appear how this inconvenience ceaseth^m. In the meantime, the sovereign power of the Church consisting in the sword of excommunication, upon which the society thereof is founded, it is necessarily manifest that this power is not lost to the Church, nor forfeit to the state, that professes Christianity, and undertakes the protection of the Church. For the Church and civil societies must needs remain distinct bodies, when the Church is engrafted into the state, and the same Christians members of both, in regard of the relations, rights, and obligations, which in the same persons remain distinct, according to the distinct societies and qualities of several persons in the same. Therefore, as I said in the beginning, that no Christian, as a Christian, can challenge any temporal right by his Christianity, which the state wherein he is called to be a Christian giveth him not: so on the other side, no man, by his rank in any state, is invested with any power proceeding from the foundation of the Church, as it is the Church. So that which is true in the parts holds in the whole.

[The Christian state has no ecclesiastical power.]

§ 43. The Church is endowed with no temporal right, therefore the state is endowed with no ecclesiastical right, though it hath great right in ecclesiastical matters, of which in due time. For all this right supposeth the Church already established by that power on which it standeth, and so must maintain it upon the same terms which it findeth. The homage which the Church payeth to God for the protection

^m In chapter ix.

of the state, is, not to betray the right, founded on the express charter of God, to powers subsisting by the works of

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I.

42 His mediate providence: but to subdue subjects to that obedience for conscience, which the state exacteth by force. For there is necessarily this difference between the principles upon which the Church and civil communities subsist. The charter of the one is revealed by grace; the others stand upon the laws of nature and nations, and acts, which Providence enables men to do agreeable to the same. Therefore as no state stands by the Gospel, so no right settled by the Gospel can belong to any state, or person, as a member of any state. Besides, kingdoms and states have their several bounds: many sovereignties are contained in Christendom, whereas the Church is, by God's ordinance, one visible society of all Christians: now it is manifest, first, that there are some things which equally concern the whole Church and all parts of it: secondly, that in things which concern the whole Church, no part thereof, in any state or kingdom, can be concluded by that state or kingdom.

§ 44. Again, the Apostle's rule is, 1 Cor. vii. 24, that every man abide in the state wherein he is called to be a Christian: and this proves that no Christian can challenge any temporal right by his Christianity, because states subsist before they are Christian: therefore it proves also, that no
43 state, or member of it is, by being such, endowed with any right grounded on the constitution of the Church. And therefore, seeing the Church subsisted three hundred years before any state professed Christianity, whatsoever rights it used during that time, manifestly it ought therefore still to use and enjoy: this being the most pertinent evidence to shew the bounds of it. In particular, as to the power of the keys, and excommunication the act of it, seeing the intent of it is to admit into the visible society of the Church, upon presumption, that by the right use of it sin is taken away, and the person admitted to the invisible society of life everlasting: and, seeing no commonwealth, no quality in any pretendeth to take away sin, or to judge in whom it is taken away, it followeth, that no man whatsoever, by virtue of any rank, in any state, is qualified to manage this power, or can presume so to do.

[And cannot have by the constitution of the Church.]

CHAP.
II.

CHAPTER II.

THAT THE WHOLE BODIES OF CHRISTIANS, CONTAINED IN SEVERAL CITIES AND THE TERRITORIES OF THEM, MAKE SEVERAL CHURCHES, DEPENDING UPON THE CHURCHES OF GREATER CITIES—THEREFORE THE PEOPLE IS NOT ENDOWED WITH THE CHIEF POWER IN ANY CHURCH.

HAVING seen thus far upon what patent the community of the Church is established, and the power thereof founded, it will be necessary further to dispute, in what hands this power is deposited by the Apostles, and what persons are trusted with it: which point before it be voided, we can neither determine what form of government God hath ordained in His Church, nor how it may be exercised in Christian states, without crossing the right which they challenge in Church matters.

[Fruits of
the pres-
byterian
theory.]

§ 2. The presbyterians, having designed several presbyteries, for the government of several congregations, that assemble together for the service of God, and having cried up this design for the throne of Christ, the new Jerusalem, and the kingdom of God—seeing there is no question made, that where there is a presbytery there is a Church, and where there is a Church there is the power of the keys, which God hath endowed His Church with—seem to have given those of the Congregations occasion to infer, that every congregation that assembles for the common service of God, is, by consequence, to have the power of the keys to excommunicateⁿ: whereunto

• "That the Church which Christ in His Gospel hath instituted, and to which He hath committed the keys of His kingdom, the power of binding and loosing, the tables and seals of the covenant, the officers and censures of His Church, the administration of all His public worship and ordinances, is *ecclesia fidelium*, a communion of Saints, a combination of faithful godly men, meeting for that end, by common and joint consent into one congregation, which is commonly called a particular visible Church. For the Church to the which Christ committed the power of binding and loosing, was a company of such,—as whereof Peter was one,—believers professing that faith on Christ, whereon,

as on a rock, the Church is built, Matt. xvi. 18, 19, and such as unto whom Peter or any brother offended, might in due order tell the offence which any brother had given him, and persisted in, Matt. xviii. 17. And the Church of Corinth, to which the Apostle commendeth the casting out of the incestuous Corinthian, 1 Cor. v., was such a Church, of which the Apostle saith 'They were saints by calling, sanctified by Jesus Christ,' 1 Cor. i. 2. And all of them, even the whole Church, did meet together every Lord's Day, in one place for the administration of the holy ordinances of God, to public edification, 1 Cor. xiv. 23, and xvi. 1, 2 which frequent meeting every Lord's Day in one

adding another principle, that the chief power of every congregation is in the people^o, it follows, that they are all absolute, without dependence on the rest of the Church.

§ 3. But all this while, both run away with a presumption, for which they can shew us never a title, or syllable of evidence in all the Scriptures. For presbyters and presbyteries they may shew us in the Scriptures, and no grand-mercy, unless they can shew us how to understand them better than they do: but, that every congregation that assembles together to serve God in common, should have a company of presbyters for the government of it, is a thing so contrary to all the intelligence we have concerning the state of the Church, either under the Apostles themselves, by the Scriptures, or any primitive records of the Church, or in the succeeding ages of the Church, that they must demand of all men to renounce common sense, and all faith of historical as well as
 46 divine truth, before they can believe it. Whereas, by the same evidence by which the rest of Christianity is conveyed and commended unto us—that is, by the Scriptures interpreted by the original and universal practice of the Church—it will appear, that the Apostles, planting Christianity not only in those cities where they preached most, because there the harvest was greatest, but in the countries adjoining, which by the custom of all civil nations, every where resort to their cities for justice, designed the several bodies of Christians, that should be found abiding in several cities, and the territories of the same, to make several Churches, the government whereof they planted in those cities, both for themselves and for the countries that resorted unto them: and as in the civil government of all civil people, particular cities depend upon mother cities, heads of provinces, governments, or sovereignties, so the Churches of particular cities to depend upon the Churches of those mother cities, that, by the union and

place to such ends cannot possibly be compatible to any Diocesan, Provincial, or National Assembly.—Cotton's Way of the Churches in New England, pp. 1, 2. London, 1645.

Though the office of a pastor in general be immediately from Christ, and the authority from Him also, yet the application of this office and of this authority to this elect person is by the

Church; and therefore the Church hath sufficient and just warrant, as to elect and call a presbyter into office, so to ordain him to it, by imposition of hands. They that have power to elect a king have power also to depute some in their name to set the crown upon his head.

—Cotton's Way of the Churches, chap. ii. sect. 7. p. 43. London, 1645.

CHAP. II. correspondence of those Churches, drawing along with them all the Churches under them, the unity of the whole Church, consisting of them all, might be established and entertained.

§ 4. This is the effect of that observation which I advanced in the little Discourse in page 16^p, that whereas it is said, Acts xiv. 23, "that Paul and Barnabas ordained presbyters in every Church;" St. Paul saith that he left Titus in Crete, "to ordain presbyters in every city," Tit. i. 5; and again Acts xvi. 4, "as they passed by the cities, they delivered unto them the decrees determined by the Apostles and presbyters at Jerusalem." "The cities," of which he had said before, that "they ordained presbyters in every Church," planted in those cities, as Titus in every city. So nice as this evidence may seem to those that consider not the state of the whole Church, when it shall appear to any man—as to all that consider with their eyes open it must appear—that always, everywhere, all congregations of Christians, remaining in the country adjoining to any city, made one Church with the Christians of that city; common sense will enforce, that the Apostles' design was the model, from which this form was copied out, in all parts of the Church.

That the whole bodies of Christians, contained in several cities and the territories of them, make several Churches depending upon the Churches of greater cities

§ 5. To which purpose we are to consider, in the next place, an excellent observation of that pious and learned prelate, the Lord Primate of Ireland, published in a little Discourse, Of the Original of Bishops^a, upon the Seven Churches of Asia, to which St. John is commanded to direct that epistle, contained in the second and third chapters of the Apocalypse. The observation consists in this, that the seven cities, wherein those seven Churches are said to be, were seven chief cities, or mother cities of the province of Asia; whereby it is manifest that the chief Churches, upon which inferior Churches were to depend, were planted in the chief mother cities, to which the countries about them resorted for justice. But, certainly, no man will offer such violence to his own common sense as to say, that there were, at the time of writing this epistle, but seven congregations of Christians in

^a Praefatus Tractatus of Churches, Chap. 16. sect. 2.

^b The Original of Bishops and Metropolitans, by Archbishop Usbert.

among the Certain Brief Treatises concerning the Government of the Church. Oxford, 1641.

that province, where St. Paul first, and after him St. John, had taken such pains. And if more congregations, but only seven Churches, for what reason, but because many congregations make but one Church, when they are under the city in which that Church is planted?

§ 6. There hath been, indeed, an objection made from the words of this epistle, when it is said at the end of the address to every particular Church, "He that hath ears to hear, let him hear what the Spirit saith to the Churches;" the address beginning always thus, "To the Church of Ephesus, thus saith the Spirit;"—"To the Church of Smyrna, thus saith the Spirit;" and so of the rest. The objection pretendeth that by these words it appears that there were, in Ephesus, for example, many Churches, constituting the presbytery of that city, which is there called the Church of Ephesus. For if this were so, I would acknowledge that this argument were overthrown, and that Churches were not convertible with cities, but that many Churches are here called the Church of Ephesus, because the seat of the presbytery was at Ephesus, according to the presbyterian design. But this objection both carries with it an answer to discover the mistake upon which it is grounded, and draws after it an effectual argument to choke the opinion which it supports. For is not St. John expressly commanded, Apoc. i. 11, to "write and send one letter to all those seven Churches?" and can any man be so senseless, as, when it is said, "what the Spirit saith to the Churches," to understand several Churches of Ephesus,

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II.

[Presbyterian objection.]

"Though but one angel be mentioned in the forefront, yet it is evident that the epistles themselves are dedicated to all the angels and ministers in every Church, and to the Churches themselves. . . . Whereas in the beginning of His speech which He makes to the seven Churches, He saith, 'and write to the angel of the Church;' yet in the close of the same He doth not say, 'He that hath an ear let him hear what the Spirit saith to the angel,' but 'what He saith to the Church.'"—*Smectymundus* sect. xlii.

"... in mysterious and prophetic writings . . . a number of things or persons is usually expressed in singulars, and this in various is the usual way of representation of things, a thousand persons making up one

Church is represented by one candlestick, many ministers making up one presbytery by one angel." The Answer of the Divines at the Treaty at Newport, p. 24. London, 1648.

... Sequitur, angelum Ecclesie in Apocalypsi Johannis, quam pro vere Apostolica recipimus, aliter intelligendum esse, quam vulgo accipiunt, siquidem sibi et aliis Apostolis videri velit consensum scripsisse. *Συλλαγματικῶς* ergo per angelum singularem Ecclesiarum ejusque Ecclesie prefectorum et senatum, quod idem est, *πρεσβυτερίαν*, intelligi debere dicimus. Nam presbyterium eo tempore, hoc est presbyterorum cretus, communis consilio, et pari auctoritate regebat singularem civitatum Ecclesias. *Salmas Apparat* pp. 53, 54. Lugdun. Bat. 1615.

CHAP. II. Smyrna, and the rest, and not the seven Churches, to which the one letter is directed? and therefore the argument stands good, that in these seven cities, there were but seven Churches, and that the letter is directed to these mother Churches, planted in the mother cities; because inferior cities, receiving their Christianity from them, were to depend upon them for the regulation of all things concerning the exercise of it; as the original and universal condition and state of the Church convinces.

[No mention of Churches in cities but in provinces.]

§ 7. Now the argument which this objection and the answer draws after it, is this, that in all the New Testament you shall never find any mention of several Churches in any city, as Rome, Ephesus, Antiochia, Jerusalem; but, when there is speech of any province, be it never so small, you shall find mention of a plural number of Churches in it. For, of the Churches of Asia, Syria, Cilicia, Macedonia, Achaia, Galatia, Judea, and Samaria, and of the Hebrews in their dispersions, we find express mention upon several occasions, Acts viii. 5, 40; ix. 31; xv. 41; 1 Cor. xvi. 1; 2 Cor. viii. 23; 1 Thess. ii. 14; Apoc. i. 11; ii. 7, 11, 17, 29; iii. 6, 13, 22. Though Samaria, among the rest, were a province of no great extent, yet, for example, you have in that province the city whereof Simon Magus was, called Gittha, saith Epiphanius, *Heres.* xxi.⁴, now a village, but in those days a city, saith he,—of which Acts viii. 5: “and Philip went down to a city of Samaria,” not “the city,” as we translate it,—and Caesarea, which Josephus shews us was in that province, xv. 9. Now tell me what reason can be given for this, by any man that will pretend to understand either Scripture or any record of learning, but that Churches are convertible with cities? For had there been many Churches within the city of Ephesus, for example, of parallel power and privilege, making up one *classis* or presbytery, or whatsoever new name can be given a new thing, without the least syllable of example, from the Apostles to Calvin, must not these have been called the Churches, not the Church of Ephesus¹?

⁴ Οὗτος ὁ Σίμων γόης ἦν, ἀπὸ Γερθῶν δὲ ὁμῶς τῆς πόλεως τῆς ἐν τῇ Σαμαρείᾳ νυνὶ κώμης ὑπαρχούσης.—Contr. Simonian, cap. i. p. 55 ed. Colon.

¹ “That there were more congrega-

tions than one in the Church of Ephesus appears by Acts xx. 31, where is mention of Paul’s continuance at Ephesus, in preaching for the space of three years; and Acts xix. 18—20, where

§ 8. I come now to a very express mark of this dependence, during the time and in the actions of the Apostles, and therefore, by their order, acknowledged not only by themselves, but by all employed by them in the planting of the Churches: and it is the going of Paul and Barnabas to Jerusalem, in behalf of the Churches of Syria and Cilicia, troubled by some that taught at Antiochia, from whence those Churches received their Christianity, that Christians are to keep the law of Moses, Acts xiii. 1; xv. 1. For were not Paul and Barnabas able to resolve this question at Antiochia, Paul especially protesting, "that he received not the doctrine of the Gospel which he preached from man, or by man," Gal. i. 1, who is constrained, both to the Galatians and elsewhere, to oppose his calling, as a bulwark, against all that laboured to bring Judaism into the Church? Surely in regard of the thing, they were, but in regard of authority to the Church, 52 they were not. Barnabas was employed by the Apostles to Antiochia, who found Christians there, but made them a Church, by ordering their assemblies, Acts xi. 20, 24, 25, 26. And he it was that first brought Saul into that service, by his authority from the Apostles; though afterwards both of them were extraordinarily employed by the Holy Ghost to preach the Gospel and plant Churches, Acts xiii. 1.

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II.

[Dependence of Churches acknowledged by the Apostles.]

§ 9. All this while the Church could not look upon Saul in the quality and rank of the twelve Apostles, which afterwards, he shews us, was acknowledged by the twelve themselves at Jerusalem, Gal. ii. 8, 9: to wit, when he went to Jerusalem with Barnabas about this question, Acts xv. 2; for I can see no reason to doubt that all that he speaks of there passed during the time of this journey. And, in the meantime, it was easy for those that stood for the law to pretend revelation from God, and authority from the Apo-

[In the council at Jerusalem.]

the especial effect of the word is mentioned, and 10 and 17 of the same chapter, where is a distinction of Jews and Greeks, and 1 Cor. xvi. 8, 9, where is a reason of Paul's stay at Ephesus and Pentecost, and verse 19, where is mention of a particular Church, in the house of Aquila and Priscilla then at Ephesus, as appeareth xviii. 19, 24, 26, all which laid together do prove that the multitude of believers did make more congregations than one in the Church

of Ephesus."

"That there were many elders over these many congregations as one flock appeareth Acts xx. 17, 25, 26, 30, 36."

"That those many congregations were one Church, and that they were under one presbyterial government appeareth, Rev. ii. the first six verses joined with Acts xx. 17, 28."—Reasons of the Dissenting Brethren and the Answer of the Assembly of Divines, London, 1648.

CHAP. II. stles, in matters of Christianity, as well as Paul and Barnabas. What possible way was there then to end this difference but that of the Apostle, 1 Cor. xiv. 32, 33: "The spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets, for God is not the God of unquietness, but of peace, as in all Churches of the saints?" Whereupon vindicating his authority, and challenging obedience to his order, even from prophets, which might be lifted up with revelations to oppose, he addeth, 33 "Came the word of God from you, or came it to you alone? If any man think himself a prophet or spiritual, let him acknowledge the things that I write you to be the commandments of God." That is, that Apostles being trusted to convey the Gospel to the world, were to be obeyed, even by prophets themselves, as the last resolution of the Church in the will of God, granting His revelations with that temper, that as one prophet might see more in the sense, effect, and consequence of revelations granted to another, than himself could do, in which regard "the spirits of the prophets were to be subject to the prophets;" so for the public order of the Church all were to have recourse to the Apostles, whom He had trusted with it.

[In the publishing of its decrees.]

§ 10. If then the Church of Antiochia, in which were many prophets, and among them such as Paul and Barnabas, endowed with the immediate revelations of the Holy Ghost, Acts xiii. 1, must resort to Jerusalem, the seat of the Apostles, to be resolved in matters concerning the state of the Church, how much more are we to believe that God hath ordained that dependence of Churches, without which the unity of no other human society can be preserved, when He governeth them not but by human discretion of reasonable persons? Besides, we are here to take notice, that the Church of Antiochia being once resolved, the Churches of Syria and Cilicia are resolved by the same decree, Acts xvi. 4. Because, being planted from thence, they were to depend upon it for the rule and practice of Christianity. Therefore it is both truly and pertinently observed, that the decree made at

* Verum quod ad dicta per Paulum et Silam promulgata Apostolorum decreta pertinet; quamdiu eadem unum cum Sila circumiit loca, quibus olim cum Barnaba Evangelium prædicaverat,

de custodiendis quæ ab Apostolis statuta erant, sæpius inculcasse. Lucas testatur: postquam vero illos fines sunt egressi, nihil ejusmodi credentes ulanuisse, Lucas, ut prius fecerat, refert. Ut ex his

Jerusalem was local, and not universal, which, had it been made for the whole Church, there could not have been that controversy which we find was at Corinth, by St. Paul, 1 Cor. viii. 1, about eating things offered to idols; neither could the Apostle give leave to the Corinthians to eat them materially, as God's creatures, nor formally, as things offered to idols, as he does, 1 Cor. viii. 7, had the body of the Apostles at Jerusalem absolutely forbade the eating of them to Gentile Christians, for avoiding the scandal of the Jewish Christians. But because the decree concerned only the Church of Antiochia, and so by consequence the Churches depending upon it, therefore among those that depended not upon it, for whom the rule was not intended, it was not to be in force.

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§ 11. There is yet one reason behind, which is the ground of all, from the original constitution of the synagogue. Moses, by the advice of Jethro, ordained the captains of thousands, hundreds, fifties, and tens, to judge the causes of the people, under himself, Exod. xviii. 24, 25. To him God joined afterwards seventy persons for his assistance, Num. xi. 16. But these captains were to be in place but during the pilgrimage of the wilderness; for when they came to be settled in the land of promise, the law provideth that "judges and ministers be ordained in every city," Deut. xvi. 18; who, if there fell any difference about the law, were to repair to Jerusalem, to the successors of Moses, and his consistory, for resolution in it, Deut. xvii. 8—12; by which law, wheresoever the ark should be, this consistory was to sit, as inferior consistories in all inferior cities.

[Dependence of Churches shadowed in the synagogue.]

§ 12. Most men will marvel what this is to my purpose, because most men have a prejudice that the power of the Church is to be derived from the rights and privileges of the priests and Levites during the law, though there be no reason for it. For these rights and privileges were not only temporary, to vanish when the Gospel was published, but also, while the law stood but local and personal, not extending beyond

partimque intelligi possit, illas tantum potestatem esse illis statuta essent, Paulum et Salom. eadem Apostolorum promissum decessit. Et ut non miris si legat Corinthios horum cogitatio, qui-

bus Paulus ab his diversa videtur dedisse præcepta, . . . et Thessalonicenses ut abstinerent a fornicatione tantum admonuit. . . —Baron. Annal. Eccles. 51. num. 58.

CHAP. II. the temple, or land of promise, over any but their own tribe. But it is very well known that from the time of the Greek empire, and partly afore it, Judaism subsisted in all parts wheresoever the Jews were dispersed, and that wheresoever it subsisted, there were the people to be governed and regulated in the observation of the law, and the public worship of God, according to the same, frequented also all over the land of promise, whereas the temple stood but in one place.

§ 13. It is also manifest that this law, which gave the consistory power of life and death, to preserve the body of that people in unity, and to prevent schisms upon different interpretations of the law, was found requisite to be put in practice in their dispersions; to wit, as to the determining of all differences arising out of the law, not as to the power of life and death to enforce such sentences, this power being seldom granted them by their sovereigns. For at Alexandria, we understand by Philo, in his book *De Legatione ad Caium*², that there was such a consistory, as also in Babylonia there was the like, as the Jews' writings tell us; for the little chronicle which they call *Seder Olam Zuta*, gives us the names of the heads thereof for many ages. And after the destruction of the temple, it is manifest, not only by their writings, as *Semach David*, *Sepher Juchasin*, and the like; but by *Epiphanius*, in the *Heresy of the Ebionites*, and the *Constitutions of the emperors remaining in the codes*, *Tit. de Judæis et Cœlicolis*³, that there continued a consistory at Tiberias for many ages, the heads whereof were of the family of David; as *Epiphanius*, agreeing with the Jews, informeth us in the place afore named; and as by the story of *Saul*, in the *Acts*, it appears that the Jews of *Damascus* were subject to the government at *Jerusalem*, so by *Epiphanius*, in the *Heresy of the Ebionites*⁴, it appears that the synagogues of

² Philonis Opp., p. 1020. Paris. 1640.

³ Erant Patriarche Judæorum, Babylonenses, Tiberiadenses de quibus *Seder Olam*, Rabbi Abraham, Rabbi David in *Zemach*, Benjamin *Hinc-rario*, . . . istos Patriarchas videri voluisse esse de tribu Juda . . . quod *Cyrillus* . . . negat, ut et *Theodoretus*, qui eos ad stirpem *Herodis* refert, *Epi-*

phanus ad Gamaliel, . . . — *Gothofred. Comment. in xvi. Cod. Theodos. Tit. viii. leg. i. tom. vi. p. 216. Lugdun. 1665.*

⁴ Contr. Ebion. cap. xi. p. 134. *Colan. 1682.* Unde etiam discere liceat, Ciliam attributam fuisse præfecturæ Patriarchæ Tiberiadensi. *Gothofred. Comment. in xvi. Cod. Theodos. Tit. viii. leg. i.*

Syria and Cilicia were subject to the consistory at Tiberias, as I have shewed out of "Benjamin's Itinerary," in the Discourse of the Apostolical Form of Divine Service, p. 67^a, that the synagogues of the parts of Assyria and Media were to that in Bagdad; and, without doubt, that great body of Jews dispersed through Egypt was to that at Alexandria. As for the law of Deut. xvi. 18, the Jews need not tell us, as they do, Maimoni by name, *Tit. de Synedrion*^b, that they were not bound to observe that in their dispersions; for how could there be consistories for the Jews in all cities all over the world? but this they tell us withal, in particular *Arba Turim*, in the same title *sub init.*, that thereby they hold themselves
 58 bound to erect consistories in the chief cities of their dispersions.

§ 14. In this condition, what is the difference between the state of the synagogue and the Church, setting aside that essential difference between the law and the Gospel, by which Judaism was confined to one nation, but Christianity had a promise to be received by the Gentiles: by reason whereof the law ceased, as it was proper to the Jews, and Christians became obliged only to the perpetual law of God, beside a very few positive precepts of our Lord, as of Baptism, and the Eucharist, and the power of the Keys, by virtue whereof, and by the general commission of the Apostles, all ordinances whereby they should regulate the society of the Church were to be received as the commandments of God. Here is the reason for which it is probable that the Apostles, in designing the government of the Church, should follow no other pattern than that which they saw in use, by the law, in the synagogue. For the design in both being to maintain the law of God, and the unity of His people in His service, saving the difference between them, what form should they follow but that which the law had taught their forefathers? But when the effect hereof appears in the first lines of this model,
 59 traced by the Apostles, and filled up by their successors, it is manifest that these laws were the pattern, but the order of the Apostles the act which put it in being and force.

§ 15. The Churches of Jerusalem, Antiochia, Rome, and

^a Religious Assemblies, chap. iii.
 sect. 1^a

^b Maimon. de Synedr. et pœn. cap.
 i. pp. 3, 4. Amstelod. 1695.

CHAP. II. Alexandria, no man can deny were planted by the Apostles, in person, and by their deputies. That they became afterwards heads of the Churches that lay about them, is no more than that which the consistories planted at Jerusalem or Tiberias, and in the chief cities of the Jews' dispersions, were to the synagogues underneath them by virtue of the law. This is therefore the original of the dependence of Churches upon the greatest mother-Churches. And therefore it is no marvel that Jerusalem, once the mother-city of Christianity, became afterwards the seat of a patriarch indeed, in remembrance of that privilege, but inferior in dignity, and nothing comparable in bounds to the rest, because it was none of the greatest and most capital cities: the rule of the Apostles' design being this, that the greatest cities should be the seats of the greatest Churches. And that Constantinople, when it came afterwards to be a seat of the empire, was put in the next place to the chief; as it was no act of the Apostles, so it is an argument of the rule, by which the rest had been ordered for the same reason. As for the other law of Deut. xvi. 18, I know not what could be more agreeable to it, than that rule of the ancient Church, which is to be seen, not only in those few ancient canons, alleged in the Discourse of the Primitive Government of Churches, p. 67^c, but in innumerable passages of Church writers, that cathedral churches and cities be convertible, that is, both of the same extent.

§ 16. Thus the Epistle of Ignatius to the Romans is inscribed *ἐκκλησία . . . ἥτις προκάθηται ἐν τόπῳ χωρίου Ῥωμαίων^d*, the precedence here expressed argueth the eminence of that Church above the rest of the Churches about it; but Clemens directeth his epistle from the Church of Rome to that at Corinth thus: *Ἡ ἐκκλησία τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡ παροικοῦσα Ῥώμην, τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ παροικοῦσῃ Κόρινθον^e*, whereby we understand, that the country lying under the city, belonged to the Church founded in the city, and was therefore called *παροικία*, signifying that which we now call the diocese, in opposition to the mother-Church^f. That this is the reason of the name *παροικία* appears, because Polycarp addresses his epistle to the Philippians in this style: *τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ*

^c Chap. vi. sect. 5.

^d Cotelier, tom. ii. p. 25.

^e Ib. tom. i. pp. 143, 144.

^f See Prim. Govern., chap. xii. sect. 19.

τῇ παροικούσῃ Φιλιππίοις^a: for if the Church of the Philippians dwelt near Philippi, then the country adjoining belonged to the Church of that city. CHAP. II.

§ 17. This reason, therefore, was well understood by him that wrote the epistle to the Antiochians in Ignatius' name, granting it to be of an age much inferior to his; for he inscribeth it, ἐκκλησία ἡλεημένη ὑπὸ Θεοῦ, . . . παροικούσῃ ἐν Συρίᾳ, . . . τῇ ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ^b, signifying thereby that all the Christians of Syria belonged to the Church of Antiochia; for which reason, Ignatius himself, in his epistle to the Romans, calls himself Bishop of Syria^c, not of Antiochia, because, being Bishop of the head city Church, the Christians of Syria either belonged to his Church or the Churches that were under it. A thing so necessary to be believed, that there are many marks in his epistles to shew that the Churches also of Cilicia belonged to his charge, as we saw they did by their foundation in the Apostles' time^d, and as the reason of the civil government required; those parts where Paul and Barnabas first preached having continued longest in the dominion of the kings of Syria, and therefore continuing under the government that resided at Antiochia. And thus are the words of (Clemens^e), in his epistle to the Corinthians, fulfilled, where he saith that the Apostles, having preached the Gospel in cities and countries, constituted bishops and ministers of those that should believe; to wit, according to the cities and countries adjoining to them. These marks come from the ancientest records the Church hath after the writings of the Apostles; of the rest there would be no end, if a man would allege them.

§ 18. If any man object that it cannot be made to appear how this rule was ever observed in the Church, the extent of cathedral churches being in some countries so strait, in others so large; the answer is, that it ceaseth not to be a rule, though the execution of it was very different in several countries, either because it was not understood so well as it

[Observance of the rule in the East and the West.]

^a Coteler., tom. ii. p. 184

^b Id. tom. ii. p. 189.

^c Ὁν τὸν Ἐπίσκοπον Συρίας κατη-
λίσσει ὁ Θεὸς εἰρηθεῖν εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἀπὸ
ἀντιοχείας μετασχηδόμενος — Cap. ii.
p. 27. ed. Coteler.

Μνημονεύεται ἐν τῇ εὐχῇ ὑμῶν τῇ
ἐν Συρίᾳ Ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἥτις αὐτ' ἐμοῦ
ποιμένη τῷ Θεῷ χρεῖται. — Cap. ix.
p. 30. *ib.*

^d Sect. 7.

^e See Prim. Govern., chap. vii. sect. 3

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II.

should have been, or because the condition of some countries was not so applicable to it as that of others. For the East, we have these words of Walafridus Strabo, lib. *de Rebus Ecclesiasticis*: [cap. xxxi.]^m "*Fertur enim in Orientis partibus per singulas urbes et præfecturas, singulas esse Episcoporum gubernationes*:" whereby we understand that cathedral churches stood very much thicker in the eastern parts than in the west: for thereupon it became observable to Walafridus. In Africa, if we look but into the writings of St. Augustine, we shall find hundreds of Bishops resorting to one council. In Ireland alone St. Patrick is said by Nenniusⁿ, at the first plantation of Christianity, to have founded three hundred three score and five bishoprics. And Sozomenus, vii. 19^o, saith that in Cyprus and Arabia, it was usual to consecrate Bishops in villages; as also among the Novatians and Montanists in Phrygia. On the other side, in England, we see still how many counties remain in one diocese of Lincoln^o: and yet if we look into Almain, and those mighty foundations of Charles the Great, we may find perhaps larger than it.

[Evil resulting from its neglect.]

§ 19. The rule, notwithstanding all this, is the same, that cathedral churches be founded in cities, though cities are diversely reckoned in several countries; nay, though perhaps some countries where the Gospel comes have scarce any thing worth the name of cities, where the rule must be executed according to the discretion of men that have it in hand, and the condition of times. This we may generally observe, that churches were erected in greater number when they were erected without endowment, established by temporal law; so that in one of the African canons it is questionable whether a Bishop have many presbyters under him^o; fewer still, where

^m Bibliothec. Patrum Max., tom. xv. p. 198. Lugdun, 1677.

ⁿ Sanctus itaque Patricius Evangelium Christi externis nationibus per annos quadraginta prædicabat, Scripsit abegetoria trecenta sexaginta quinque, aut eo amplius, Ecclesias quoque eodem numero fundavit trecenta sexaginta quinque. Ordinavit Episcopos trecentos sexaginta quinque, aut eo amplius, in quibus Spiritus Dei erat.—*Histor. Briton.* § 54. pp. 44, 45. London 1838.

^o Ἐν ἄλλοις δὲ θύρασις ἔσταν θρησκ.

καὶ ἐν κήμασι ἐπίσκοποι ἱερῶνται, ὡς παρὰ Ἀραβίαις καὶ Κυπρίαις ἔγνων, καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἐν Φρυγίαις Νουατιανοῖς καὶ Μοντανισταῖς. — p. 734. ed. Valce.

^p The counties of Lincoln, Leicester, Huntingdon, Bedford, Buckingham, and part of Hertfordshire. The bishoprics of Ely, Oxford, and Peterborough, were formerly in the bishopric of Lincoln.

^q Postumianus Episcopus dixit. Deinde qui unum habuerit, nunquid debet illi unus presbyter auferri? — *Can. iv. Justel.* tom. i. p. 357. Labbei. tom. ii. col. 1293, ed. Venet.

they were founded by princes professing Christianity, upon temporal endowments. And upon this consideration, it will be no prejudice to this rule, that in Egypt, till the time of Demetrius, there was no cathedral church but that of Alexandria, if it be fit to believe the late antiquities of that Church, published out of Eutychius^{*}, because they seem to agree with
 64 that which St. Hierome reporteth of that Church[†]; as to this day, if we believe the Jesuits, whose relation you may see in Godignus, "*de Abassinorum Rebus*," i. 32[‡], there is but one for all Prester John's dominion, or the country of the Abas-sines. For though men would not, or could not, execute the rule so as it took place in more civil countries, yet that such a rule there was is easy to believe, when we see Christianity suffer as it does, in those countries professing Christ, by the neglect of it.

§ 20. Before I leave this point, I will touch one argument to the whole question, drawn from common sense, presupposing historical truth. For they that place the chief power in congregations, or require at all several presbyteries for the government of several congregations, are bound at least to shew us that congregations were distinguished in the times of the Apostles, if they will entitle their design to them. Which I utterly deny that they were. I do believe the presbyterians have convinced those of the congregations, that in St. Paul's time, the Churches to whom he writes contained such numbers as could by no means assemble at once[§]; but several Churches they could not make, being not distinguished into several congregations, but meeting together from time to
 65 time according to opportunity and order given.

§ 21. About St. Cyprian's time, and not afore, I find mention of congregations settled in the country; for in his twenty-eighth epistle[¶], you have mention of one Gaius, *presbyter Did-*

^{*} Eutychii, *Ecclesiarum suarum origines*, p. 33, see note 20 p. 136. London 1642.

[†] See Prim. Govern. chap. vi. sect. 2.

[‡] Unde habent Abassini, qui aliquo modo sacris præest, Alius dicitur, id est, Pater, nomine alio Marcus appellatur. Penes Alexandrinum Patriarcham ejus electio et creatio est. Monachis et clericis confert ordines; vix præstat animam, in quo ullam in ipsos videtur habere potestatem. Præter Societatis regnum in Æthiopia degentes, qui

hoc sæpius scripsere, testis est Joannes a Sanctis Dominicani professor instituti quem supra laudavi. Ia in octavo capite libri quarti operis sui ista scribit. Qui sacerorum est in his locis præses, ab Alexandrino mittitur Patriarcha. Præter hunc nemo alius munera exerceat Pontificalia — p. 198. Lugdun. 1615.

[§] See note i. sect. 7.

[¶] Integre et cum disciplina feceratis, fratres carissimi, qualis consilio collegarum meorum qui præsentibus erant,

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densis, which was the name of some place near Carthage, the Church whereof was under the cure of this Gaius; and in the life of Pope Dionysius about this time, it is said that he divided the dioceses into Churches⁷; and in Epiphanius against the Manichees⁸, speaking of the beginning of them under Probus⁹, about this time there is mention of one Trypho, presbyter of Diodoria, a village, as it seems by his relation there, under Archelaus, then Bishop of Caschara in Mesopotamia; likewise, in an epistle of Dionysius of Alexandria, reported by Eusebius, *Eccles. Hist.* vii. 24^b, there is mention of the “presbyters and teachers of the brethren in the villages.” And those Churches of the country, called Mareotes, hard by Alexandria, which Socrates, *Eccles. Hist.* i. 27^c, saith were parishes of the Church of Alexandria in the time of Constantine, must needs be thought to have been established long before that time whereof he writes there. After this, in the canons of Ancyra and Neocæsarea, and those writings that follow, there is oftentimes difference made between city and country presbyters^d.

§ 22. In cities, this must needs have been begun long afore, as we find mention of it at Rome, in the life of Pope Caius^e, where it is said that he divided the titles and cœmeteries among the presbyters: and the distribution of the wards of Alexandria, and the Churches of them mentioned by Epi-

Gaius Diddensi presbytero, et diacono ejus censuris non communicandum.—*Ep.* xxiv. p. 67. ed. Oxon. Pamelius' note is as follows:—*Si quid in re incerta dubitare licet, sit mihi verisimile, Diddam pagum quonpiam fuisse in Carthaginiensi diocesi et Gaium hunc fuisse illius loci presbyterum, id est, quem nunc vocamus pastorem sive curatum, idque quia diaconi illius mentionem facit.*—*Ed. Pam.* p. 57. Paris. 1633.

⁷ Hic presbyteris ecclesias divisit et cœmeteria, parochiasque et dioceses constituit.—Labbei, tom. i. col. 847. ed. Venet.

⁸ Αναχωρήσας δὲ ἔρχεται εἰς κώμην γινὰ τῆς Καρχήρων εἰς Διοδορίδα καλουμένην, ἐν ᾗ Τρύφων τι ἐπισκόπος κατ' ἐκείνου καιροῦ ἐτύχχανε τῶν αὐτῶν πρεσβύτερος.—*Il. res.* lxxi. cap. xi. p. 627. Colon. 1682.

⁹ M. Aurelius Probus, Aug. Consul.

^b Συγκαλέσας τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους καὶ διδασκάλους τῶν ἐν ταῖς κώμαις ἀδελφῶν.—p. 272. ed. Vales.

^c Μαρτυρεῖται χώρα τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐστὶ κώμης δὲ εἰσιν ἐν αὐτῇ πολλαὶ σφόδρα καὶ πολλοὶ ἀνθρώποι, καὶ ἐν αὐταῖς ἐκκλησίαι πολλαὶ καὶ λαμπραὶ τέττονται δὲ αὗται αἱ ἐκκλησίαι ὑπὸ τῇ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπισκόπου. καὶ εἰσιν ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτοῦ πόλιν ὡς παροικίας.—p. 64. ed. Vales.

^d See Prim. Govern., chap. xii. sect. 19.

^e Possibly a mistake for Dionysius, who is said to have done that which is here assigned to Caius see note y. sect. 21. In the Epistle of Caius, however, we read,—*Et regiones, sicut in hac urbe fecimus, per singulas urbes que populo habuerint, diaconibus dividantur.*—cap. vi. Labbei, tom. i. col. 947. ed. Venet.

phanus, *Heres.* lxxviii.¹ and lxxix.⁸, seems to have been made long before the time whereof he speaks. But when Justin Martyr says expressly, *Apol.* i.^b, that in his time those out of the country, and those in the city, assembled in one, far was it from distinguishing settled congregations under the Apostles. Which if it be true, the position which I have hitherto proved, must needs be admitted, that the Christians remaining in several cities, and the territories of them, were by the Apostles ordered to be divided into several distinct bodies and societies, which the Scripture calls Churches, and are now known by the name of cathedral Churches, and the dioceses of them constituting one whole Church.

§ 23. This being proved, I shall not much thank any man to quit me the position upon which the congregations are grounded, to wit, the chief power of the people in the Church: though it seems they are not yet agreed themselves what the power of the people should be. Morellus¹, in 67 the French Churches, disputed downright that the state of government in the Church ought to be democratic, the people to be sovereign: wherein by Beza's epistles, it appears that he was supported by Ramus²: for the man whom Beza calls *ῥῆγον Ἄρμος*, and describes by other circumlocutions, who

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II.

Therefore
the people
is not en-
dowed
with the
chief
power in
any
Church.

¹ *Ἦν γὰρ οὗτος—Ἀττιν—ἐν βασιλείᾳ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ οὕτω καλουμένη Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ πρεσβύτεροι καθ' ἑκάστην γὰρ αὐτὴν πρεσβυτέρου ἔστιν ἀποσταγμένος.*—Cont. Morellian, cap. iv. p. 719.

² *Ὅσα, γὰρ ἐκκλησίαι, τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ὑπὸ ἑνὶ Ἀρχιεπισκοπῶν οἶσαι, καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν ταύταις ἐπισκοπῶν οἱ πρεσβύτεροι, διὰ τὰ ἐκκλησιαστικὰ χρεῖα τῶν οἰκητόρων.*—Cont. Arian, l. p. 727. Colon. 1682.

³ Cited in Rel. Assembl, chap. vi. sect. 10.

⁴ A French Protestant in the 16th century, who gave considerable trouble to the presbyterians. *Johannes Morellus, Galus, propter librum editum in quo contendit jura excommunicandi non esse penes presbyteros sed penes Ecclesiam, a recto presbytero excommunicatus, et liber publice exustus, ac lectorem ejus omnibus sub gravi pena interdictum fuit. Facta hæc ita sunt die 6 Septemb. anni 1563.*—Erasti Theol. Confut. lib. i. pp. 69, 70. "Nothing more like then that as Mo-

rellus did learn from the disciples of Munceer his ecclesiastical anarchy, whereby he troubled the Church of France, till by Beza and Sadael in the general assemblies of that kingdom he was confounded, and his anabaptistic follies exploded: so that Brown and Bolton did learn in the same school that very ravery of Morellus, and many other the like, by the which about the same time, and ever since, they have pitifully vexed the Church of England."—Baylie's Dissuasive, p. 16. London, 1645. The French Protestants condemned him in their synod of Paris, A.D. 1565.—Quick's Synodicon, vol. i. p. 56, London, 1692.

⁵ *Quicumque Christianis legibus moribusque vivit, ubicunque sit, nihil interest, cujus est Christianus et ad publicum de regenda civitate Dei consilium adhibendus, ut catholice ecclesie disciplina catholica sit, unusque omnium cum sacris literis consentiente judicio accepta probataque.*—Ramus, de Fide, Comment., lib. i. cap. xxi. p. 70. Francforti, 1576.

CHAP. II. put the French Churches to the trouble of divers synods, to suppress this position, as there it appears, can be no other than Ramus¹. Perhaps Ramus's credit in our Universities was the first means to bring this conceit in religion among us: for about the time that he was most cried up in them, Brown and Barrow published it. Unless it be more probable to fetch it from the troubles of Frankfurt. For those that would take upon them to exercise the power of the keys in that estate, because they were a congregation that assembled together for the service of God—which power could not stand, unless recourse might be had to excommunication—did by express consequence challenge the public power of the Church to all congregations; which I have shewed to be otherwise. And the contest there related, between one of the people and one of the pastors, shews that they grounded themselves upon the right of the people². So true it is, that I said afore, that the presbyterians have still held the stirrup to those of the congregations, to put themselves out of the saddle.

§ 24. As now the design of the congregations is refined, they will not have it said that they make the people chief in the Church: for they give them power which they will have subject to that authority which they place in the pastors and elders³; which serves not the turn. We have an instance

¹ Pseudodialecticus ille, quem *ὁ* *ἄγος* *Ἰπποκρίτης* jampridem docti multi cognominarunt: contentione non parvam excitavit de tota ecclesiastica *ἐκκλησίᾳ*, quam inquit democraticam esse oportere, non aristocraticam, sola *πρωτοβουλία* presbyterio relinquenda.—Ep. 67. p. 240. Hanov. 1597.

² "There fell a certain controversy the 14th day of January at supper, between Mr. Horne the pastor, and Mr. Ashley, which controversy was handled with somewhat more sharp words than was meet. . . . The 17th of January, after that public prayers were ended, Mr. Ashley was by the pastor and all the elders called into the church, and there in the name of them all it was objected unto him, that he had spoken . . . certain words tending to the slander of them and their ministry. Ashley answered, that he perceived and understood that they all were offended as in their own matter, and that therefore he would

not answer before them as competent judges of the cause, but would refer the cause that he had against the pastor and them—seeing they shewed themselves an adversary part to him—to the whole Church and ecclesiastical discipline."—Phoenix, vol. ii. p. 91. London, 1708.

³ "As Christ hath for the keeping of this Church in holy and orderly communion placed some special men over the Church, who by their office are to govern, oversee, visit, watch, &c., so likewise for the better keeping thereof in all places, by all the members, He hath given authority and laid duty upon them all to watch one over another."—Confession of Faith of certain English people in the Low Countries, p. 13. printed in the year 1602. Baylie in his Dissuasive from the Errors of the Times, p. 16, says that this Confession came from "the first settled congregation of Brownists we read of."

against it in the state of Rome, after they had driven away the Tarquins. They placed authority in the senate, and power in the people: and I suppose the success of time shewed that which Bodine disputes against Polybius, *De Republica*, ii. 1°, to be most true, that the state was thereby made a democracy. So the congregations, challenging to themselves right to make themselves Churches^o, and by consequence whom they please pastors, must needs, by consequence, reduce the authority they pretend, to what measure the people shall please, whom, by their proceedings, they enable to make and unmake members and pastors at their pleasure^s. But I dispute not the consequence of their design, before they declare what they are agreed upon in it. Besides, they conceive they have this right in the Church because they are saints^r: as anabaptists conceive that by the same title they have right to the goods of this world, and, as Christians conceive, they have those rights which they pretend to in the visible Church, by lawful ordination and baptism; and

^o Joan. Bodini Andegavensis, de Republica, libri sex.—Ursell. 1601.

^s And where you demand in this place, by way of digression, how a few of us become a Church, we answer, in a word, by coming out of Babylon, through the mercies of God, and building ourselves into a new and holy temple unto the Lord. . . . I confess indeed the Churches in England were very mannerly this way, and would not so much as forsake the Pope of Rome till their mass-priests went before them, who being continued in their office, did . . . gather their parish Churches unto them, . . . But the reformed Churches were otherwise gathered than by popish priests continued over them, the people first separating themselves from idolatry, and so joining together in the fellowship of the gospel, were afterwards, when they had fit men, to call them into the office of the ministry, and so they practised, . . . —Robinson's Justification of Separation, p. 181. London, 1649. "And seeing there is no holy ordinance of Christ, but every Christian standeth in need thereof for his spiritual edification in holy fellowship with Christ Jesus—or else Christ ordaineth them in vain—and seeing withal, Christ hath committed all His public holy ordinances to His Church,

it will be needful for every good Christian, to whom God giveth opportunity, to join himself to some one or other Church of Christ, that so he may not deprive himself of the benefit and comfort of any of God's holy ordinances."—Cotton's Way of the Churches, chap. i. sect. i. p. 2. London, 1645.

^r "The multitude of brethren are governed by the elders so long as they rule aright, to wit, whilst they hold forth the word and voice of Christ, which the sheep of Christ are wont to hear, John x. 4. But in case the officers do err, and commit offence, they shall be governed by the whole body of the brethren, though otherwise the brethren are bound to obey and submit unto them in the Lord, Heb. xii. 17"—Cotton's Way of the Churches, chap. v. sect. 6. p. 100. London, 1645.

^t "But thus we hold and affirm, that a company consisting though but of two or three separated from the world, whether unchristian or antichristian, and gathered into the name of Christ by a covenant, made to walk in all the ways of God known unto them, is a Church, and so hath the whole power of Christ."—Robinson's Justification of Separation, p. 107. A.D. 1639.

CHAP. II. Apostles and the Church with the power of the keys—the

root of all ecclesiastical power, as hath been said^u—either the Church must challenge it against the Apostles, which is not but by them, or it must be understood to have been then in the Church because it was in the Apostles, in whom it was before the Church, which was founded by them; whereupon the office of the Apostles is called *ἐπισκοπή*, a Bishopric, before the Church was whereof they were Bishops; to wit, in Judas, Acts i. 20, a meaning easy to be read in the number of them; for the Church being the spiritual Israel, as Israel according to the flesh, coming of twelve patriarchs, had always twelve princes of their tribes, and seventy presbyters, members of the great consistory, to govern them in the greatest matters concerning the state of the whole people, under one king or judge, or under God when they had neither king nor judge; so did our Saviour appoint twelve patriarchs, as it were, of His spiritual people, seventy governors of another rank, both under the name of Apostles, in whom should rest the whole power of governing that people, whereof Himself in Heaven remains always King.

[Apostles
and evan-
gelists.]

§ 29. A perfect evidence hereof is the deriving of other power from them, as theirs is derived from Christ. We read⁷¹ in the Scriptures of evangelists, and we read of another sort of apostles, which if we understand not to be of the number of the seventy, we must needs conceive to be so called because they were apostles of the Apostles, that is, persons sent by the twelve Apostles to assist them in the work committed to their trust, which, it is plain, could not be executed by them in person alone. And indeed, those whom the Scripture calls "false apostles," 2 Cor. xi. 13, and, "that said they were apostles and were not," Rev. ii. 2; what can we imagine they were, but such as pretended to be employed by other Apostles—perhaps by St. Peter to Corinth, who had a hand in the founding of that Church, as we learn by Dionysius of Corinth, in Eusebius, *Eccles. Hist.* ii. 25^v; agreeing with the beginning of St. Paul's first epistle,—but intended indeed, under their names and authorities, to pull down that which was built by their fellow-Apostles.

^u Chap. i. sect. 42.

chap. v. sect. 3. note r.

^v Cited before in Prim. Govern.,

And in this sense, perhaps, St. Paul calls Andronicus and Junias eminent among the apostles, Rom. xvi. 7; because, CHAP.
II it may be, they were employed by himself or by St. Peter, about the Gospel at Rome.

§ 30. And hereby, we may take measure what evangelists were. For, seeing it appears by the Scripture, that they were the Apostles' scholars, deputed by them, and limited to such employment as they found most proper for their assistance; it is manifest, that they could have no authority but derived from the Apostles. A thing perfectly agreeing with the custom that had always been among God's people. For, all prophets, whom God employed upon His messages, and may therefore properly be called His Apostles,—as our Lord Christ is called the Apostle of our profession, Heb. iii. 1.—had their disciples to wait upon them, which is called "ministering to them" in the language of the Scripture. Thus "Joshua, the minister of Moses," Exod. xxiv. 13. "Eliseus poured water on the hands of Elias," as the chief of his scholars, that expected a double portion of his spirit, 2 Kings ii. 9; iii. 11. Thus the Baptist saith, "he is not worthy to loose, or take away our Saviour's shoes;" Matt. iii. 11; Mark i. 7; that is, to be His disciple. For, by Maimoni, in the title of Learning the Law, chap. v. 3, we learn, that the disciples of the Jews' doctors were to do that service for their masters. Hereupon saith Christ, Luke xxii. 27, "I am among you as he that ministereth:" to wit, not as a master, but as a disciple. Thus the chief of our Lord's disciples, whom He had chosen from the beginning to be with Him, receiving His commission, became His Apostles, having waited on His person, and, by familiar conversation, learned His doctrine better than others; whereupon I said, in the Primitive Government of Churches, p. 37, that to make an Apostle, it was requisite to have seen our Lord in the flesh, and, that He appeared to St. Paul after death, to advance him to that rank by this privilege, Matt. x. 1, 5; Mark iii. 14.

* De doctrina Legis, cap. v. § 9, p. 27 ed. Claverius, 1705. St. Gregory the Great explains the meaning of the Baptist's words thus, referring them to the mystery of our Lord's Incarnation: *Non tam dignus solvere corrigiam calcamenti eius. . . ac si patenter dicat: Quid*

mirum si ille mihi prælatum est, quem post me quidem natam considero, sed natiuitatis ejus mysterium non apprehendo?—Hom. in Evangel. lib. i. Hom. vii. § 3. Hom. xx. § 1. tom. i. ed. Ben.

† Chap. i. sect. 2.

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II.

§ 31. And shall we think that the Apostles did not, as their Lord, and all the prophets before Him had done, choose themselves scholars, that, by waiting on them, might learn their doctrine, and become fit to be employed under them, and after them? If we do, we shall mis-ken the most remarkable circumstances of Scripture: for we may easily observe, that those who are called in the Scriptures evangelists, are such as first waited upon the Apostles, as St. Mark upon St. Peter; Timothy and St. Luke upon St. Paul, Acts xvi. 1: xix. 22; as Mark upon Paul and Barnabas, Acts xiii. 5; and Mark again—whether the same or another—upon St. Paul, 2 Tim. iv. 11; and therefore I easily grant both Timothy and Titus to have been evangelists, though the Scripture says it but of one, 2 Tim. iv. 5; because I see them both companions of St. Paul, that is, his scholars and ministers: and therefore find it very reasonable that he should employ Titus into Dalmatia, to preach the Gospel in those parts, where⁷⁶ himself had left, hoping to go further, and carry it beyond, into Illyricum, whereof Dalmatia was a part, as you may see by comparing the Scriptures: 2 Tim. iv. 10; Rom. xv. 19; 2 Cor. x. 16; Tit. iii. 12. For, thus also, of the seven ministers to the Apostles at Jerusalem, you see Stephen and Philip employed in preaching the Gospel, and this latter called therefore expressly an evangelist; Acts vi. 9; viii. 5, 12; xxi. 8. And therefore it is not possible for any man, out of the Scriptures, to distinguish between the office of evangelists, and those whom I shewed to have been apostles of the Apostles; and thereby the conclusion remains firm, that all ecclesiastical power at that time remained, and, for future times, is to be derived from the Apostles, when we see by the Scriptures that the evangelists derived their office and authority from their appointment.

[All ecclesiastical power originally in the Apostles.]

§ 32. And, indeed, how can common sense endure to apprehend it otherwise, especially admitting that which hath been discoursed of the power of the keys, in admitting into the Church? That men made Christians by the Apostles—because by them convinced to believe that they were God's messengers—whom they stood bound to obey, should nevertheless, by being Christians, obtain the power of regulating

* Chap. i. sect. 14.

and concluding the Apostles themselves, in matters concerning the community of the Church^a—which, what it meant, or that such a society should be, they could not so much as imagine, but by them—is a thing no common sense can admit without prejudice. Those that purchase dominion by lawful conquest in the world, become thereby able to dispose of all their subjects have, because they give them their lives, that is, themselves. The Church is a people, subdued to Christ by the Apostles, not by force, but by the sword of the Spirit, and though to freedom, yet that freedom consists in the state of particular Christians towards God, not in the public power of the Church, otherwise than it is conveyed lawfully from them that had it before the Church. Indeed, visible Christianity is a condition requisite to make a man capable of ecclesiastical power, and the Church is then in best estate, when that legal presumption of invisible Christianity is most reasonable; but if saints, because saints, have power and right to govern the Church, then follows the position, imposed on Wicliffe and Huss in the Council of Constance, and condemned by all Christians, that ecclesiastical power holds and fails with grace^b; which will not fail to draw after it the like consequence in secular matters, pernicious to all civil societies, that the interest of honest men is the interest of kingdoms and states, contradicting the principle laid down at the beginning, that Christianity calls no man to any advantage of this world, but to the cross. Therefore no Christian or saint, as saint or Christian, hath any right or power in the Church, but that which can be lawfully derived from the order of the Apostles.

§ 33. Those of the congregations used to allege St. Peter's apology to the Jewish Christians, for conversing with Cornelius and his company, Acts xi. 1—9^c, as also that of St. Paul,

[Reasons
of the In-
depend-
ents.]

^a "The Apostles themselves—whom we ministers now can equal either for skill or authority—did not thus engross all things into their own hands, but did interest the people, though raw, and newly come to the faith, in all the public affairs of the Church, and in such deliberations as arose about them. And who should deny them to meddle in those things which concern them? But if any do, these Scriptures avow their liberty: Acts i. 15 . . . and

xv. 3, 4 . . . 1 Corinth. v. 4," &c.—Robinson's Justification of Separation, p. 187.

^b See chap. i. sect. 4.

^c "In case of offence given by any elder, or by the whole eldership together, the Church hath authority to require satisfaction of them, and if they do not give due satisfaction, to proceed to censure according to the quality of the offence. For we see when some of the Church of Jerusalem took offence

CHAP. II. COL. iv. 17, speaking to the body of the Church at Colossæ: "say to Archippus, look to the ministry which thou hast received, to fulfil it;" as if St. Peter, and Archippus, must be afraid of excommunication if they render not a good account of their actions to the people. By which it may appear how truly I have said, that the power they give the people is in check to that power which was exercised by the Apostles. But if we reason not amiss, it would be a great prejudice to Christianity, that St. Peter could not inform Christian people of the reason of his doings, which they understood not, but he must make them his sovereign. Or that St. Paul, conveying his commands to Archippus, by an epistle directed to the whole Church, should be thought to invest the people in that power by which he commands Archippus. They allege also, the people of the Church of Jerusalem, present at the council there, and joined in the letter by which the decree is signified and conveyed to the Churches of Syria and Cilicia, Acts xv. 4, 12, 23.

[The people subject to the Apostles.]

§ 34. But of this I have spoken already, and am very willing to leave all men to judge by the premises, whether it is probable, that for resolution in a doubt, which such persons as Paul and Barnabas could not determine, as to the body of the Church, it can be thought that they resorted to Jerusalem,

against Peter for communicating with the Gentiles, and contended with him about it. Peter condescended to give ample and due account of his actions to the satisfaction of them all, Acts xi. 2—8."—Cotton's Way of the Churches, chap. v. sect. 6. p. 101.

"For they that as a Church might admonish Archippus, Coloss. iv. 17, might—in case he had not hearkened to their admonition—have proceeded against him to excommunication."—Cotton, chap. ii. sect. 7. p. 45.

"But in the Church, all and every ordinance concerns every person, as a part of their communion, without the dispensation of necessity, for their use and edification, all the officers to be chosen by suffrage, and consent of the multitude, the brethren are to admonish their brethren of every violation of God's commandment. And [thereon] to in order to 'tell the Church,' and to see the parties reformed, to observe and to take notice of the officers' carriage and

ministration, and to 'say to Archippus,' as there is need, 'take heed to thy ministry, that thou hast received of the Lord, that thou fulfil it,' Col. iv. 17, and if the ministers will deal corruptly, and so persevere in the spirit of profaneness, heresy, idolatry, or atheism, to censure, depose, reject, or avoid them, otherwise they betray their own souls and salvation."—Robinson's Justification of Separation, pp. 138, 139. A.D. 1639.

"We conceive the Church exerciseth several acts of authority over their elders, to wit. . . . In sending them forth upon the public service of Christ, as the whole Church at Jerusalem sent forth chosen ministers with letters of instruction to Antioch, and other Churches, Acts xv. 22. Now the ambassador is not greater than he that sent him, but usually inferior, John xiii. 16."—Cotton's Way of the Churches, chap. v. sect. 6. p. 101.

as to the brethren, or as to the Apostles'; whether it can be imagined, that the people of the Church at Jerusalem could prescribe, in any way, either of power, or of authority, or illumination, unto the Church of Antioch, and the public persons of it. Lastly, whether the arrow is not shot beyond the mark, when it is argued, that this decree is the act of the people^b, because it appears that they assent to it, seeing we

CHAP.
II

^a "This discussion and disputation between Paul and Barnabas, and some of the believing Jews who taught the brethren they behoved to be circumcised, was a Church controversy: Paul and Barnabas did hold the negative, and defeated the Church of the brethren from embracing such wicked opinions, and when Antioch could not determine the question, Paul and Barnabas had recourse to a synod, as ordinary shepherds, who when they could not persuade the brethren of the falseness of the doctrine, went to seek help against subverters of souls, as they are called, ver. 24, at the established judicatures and ecclesiastical meetings, for when Paul's preaching cannot prevail, though it was universal, he descendeth to that course, which ordinary pastors by the light of nature should do, to seek help from a college of Church guides, ergo, Paul did not thus merely as an Apostle."—Rutherford's *Due Right of Presbyteries*, pp. 357, 358. London, 1644.

"The decrees are said to be ordained as well by the elders, as by the Apostles at Jerusalem, Acts xvi. 4, so that throughout this whole synodal transaction the elders are declared in the text to go on in a full authentic equipage with the Apostles, from point to point. And therefore in this synod the Apostles acted as ordinary elders, not as extraordinary officers."—*Jus Divin. Regim. Ecclesiasticum* chap. xiv. p. 245. London, 1646.

^c "This troop of proofs, that known and notable place, Acts xv., shall stand up in which we have the people's liberty in the Churches both of Antioch and Jerusalem plentifully continued and commended by Apostolic practice to ensuing Churches and times. . . . As Simeon and Judas were sent with Paul and Barnabas by the Apostles and elders with the whole Church unto Antioch, ver. 22, so were the letters written back in the name

of them all to the brethren at Antioch, ver. 23. And although the decrees to be observed by the Churches of the Gentiles—whereof no one excepting Antioch had any delegates present—which were also part of the word of God and holy canon, could come from none other than the Apostles, immediately inspired by the Holy Ghost, they, notwithstanding, in publishing of the same did not disdain the consenting suffrage of the brethren of that particular Church of Jerusalem where the assembly was." Robinson's *Apology of the Brownists*, pp. 35, 36. A.D. 1625. See also Cotton's *Way of the Churches*, chap. v. sect. iv. p. 107.

^b "I pray take notice of the resolution of this synod, ver. 22, 'then pleased it the Apostles and elders with the whole Church' with the whole Church, what is that? The blessed Apostles and their fellow-labourers did not engross—and as our churchmen affect to do—usurp, and monopolize the word Church, as proper only to Churchmen. No, you shall find it even in the epigraph of the canons and decrees of this true, holy, and sacred synod, that the despised laity are in these canons conjoined with the blessed Apostles, . . . they that were present had voice, they who voiced the canons joined in the decree, and sending the decree unto Antioch. The words are thus, 'The Apostles and elders and brethren send greeting to the brethren which are in Antiochia, &c.' Here the brethren at Jerusalem are—with the Apostles and elders—actors in, and authors of, the canons in this council agreed. There is no evasion, no elusion to be had, unless you can prove that all the brethren in Antioch, to whom these brethren in Jerusalem did write, were only clergymen."—Sir Edward Deering's *Consideration upon the late Canons*, pp. 16, 17. London 1611.

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II.

know by the premises, that they were bound to consent to the acts of the Apostles. So, in the power of the keys and excommunication, what can be so plain, as that St. Paul gives sentence upon the incestuous person at Corinth, and obliges the Church there to execute his decree, as he calls it in express terms, 1 Cor. v. 3, 4? I conceive I have read an answer to this in some of their writings, that this epistle is Scripture, and therefore the matter of it commanded by God¹.

[Instanced
in the
council of
Jerusalem.]

§ 35. But let me instance in the result of the council at Jerusalem: the Church of Jerusalem was tied by virtue of the decree, for to them there was no epistle sent; therefore the Church of Antiochia, and the rest of the Churches to whom that epistle was sent, which we have Acts xv. 23, were tied by virtue of the decree, not by virtue of the epistle, by which they knew themselves tied¹. And let me put the case here: had St. Paul been at Corinth, and decreed that which he decreeth by this epistle, had not the Church been tied, unless he had sent them an epistle, or otherwise made it appear to them, that he had a revelation from God on purpose, having made appearance to them that he was the Apostle of Christ? Believe himself in that case, when he says, he will do as much absent as present, 1 Cor. v. 3. And again, "When I come I shall bewail divers, 2 Cor. xii. 20, 21; that is, excommunicate them, or put them to penance, as I have said². Remember

¹ "Now the fourth Scripture, which is 1 Cor. v., doth directly oppose that for which it is brought. It was the Church's fault not to have purged out that sour leaven, the incestuous person, before they either heard from Paul, or he of that evil amongst them, and for their negligence herein the Apostle reproveth them, as all men see that are not willingly blind. And for Paul, he in general as a penman of the Holy Ghost wrote Scriptures for the direction of the Corinthians, and all other Churches to the world's end, and in special as a chief officer of that by determining for himself discharged his own duty, but did neither begin, govern, nor compose the action, being at Philippi, or rather at Ephesus for the present, from whence he wrote the epistle to the Church, unto which he commended the business in hand, both for the beginning and ending of it."—Robinson's Justifi-

cation of Separation, p. 116. A.D. 1639.

² "For the decree was merely Apostolical, to speak properly, and framed by infallible direction of the Holy Ghost--which the elders in themselves considered had not—as appeareth, ver. 28, and was, and is, in the right end and equity of it a part of the canonical Scriptures, in penning whereof the elders had no hand; and so is imposed upon the Churches of the Gentiles every where, ver. 23, with whom the elders of Jerusalem had nothing to do, but only the Apostles, which were general men, so that neither brethren nor elders more than consent to the decree itself, and that necessarily as unto a Divine Oracle."—Robinson's Justification of Separation, p. 166. A.D. 1639.

³ See Prim. Govern. chap. 21. sect. 4.

the miraculous effect of excommunication in the Apostles' time, when, by visible punishments inflicted on the excommunicate by evil angels, it appeared that they were cast out of the shadow of God's tabernacle, and it will seem as probable, that this is the rod which St. Paul threatens the Corinthians with, 1 Cor. iv. 21; 2 Cor. x. 1, 8, as, "that many were sick there," because they abused the Eucharist, 1 Cor. xi. 30. Therefore, if this effect of the sentence came from the Apostles, the sentence also came.

§ 36. Here appears a necessary argument from the legislative power of the Apostles to the whole Church. For as no Christian can deny that the Constitutions of the Apostles oblige the Church, so it is manifest that they do not oblige it because they are written in the Scripture, for they were all in force in the Church before the Scriptures were written in which they are related; neither doth it evidence that they were first delivered to the Church with assurance that they were, by express revelation, commanded to be delivered to the Church, or because they were passed by votes of the people; but by virtue of the general commission of the Apostles, being received in that quality by those that became Christians, and so made a Church. So in matter of ordinations, it is well known who they are that have made the people believe that Paul and Barnabas ordained presbyters in the Churches of their founding by voices of the people, signified by the word *χειροτονήσαντες*, Acts xiv. 23¹; which being admitted, it is but an easy consequence to infer that all congregations are absolute, because, making their presbyters, they must needs first make themselves Churches. But he that reads the text without prejudice, easily sees that the act of ordaining is here attributed to the Apostles, not to the people. "They," the Apostles, "ordained them," to wit, the Church or people, "presbyters;" therefore this Scripture speaks not of election by holding up of the people's hands, but of ordination, by laying on the hands of the Apostles. And therefore in the choice of the seven deacons, it is manifest that the Apostles, though they gave way to the people to nominate, yet reserved themselves the approving of the persons, otherwise the people might have sinned, and the

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II.

[Grounds
of the obli-
gation of
Apostolic
precepts]

¹ See Prim. Govern., chap. xii. sect. 12. note a.

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II.

Apostles borne the blame for it. For when St. Paul saith, "Lay hands suddenly on no man, nor participate of other men's sins," 1 Tim. v. 22, it is manifest that he who imposes hands ought to have power not to impose, because he sins imposing amiss.

[Of the
possession
of the
Church.]

§ 37. Last of all, let us consider how liberally the Church of Jerusalem parted with whole estates; the Church of Corinth maintained their feasts of love, whereof we read 1 Cor. xi. 17; the same Corinthians, with other Churches, offered to the support of the Churches in Judea, 2 Cor. viii. 1; the Philippians sent to supply St. Paul, Phil. ii. 25, 30; iv. 15; and all the rest which we find recorded in the New Testament of the oblations of the faithful to the maintenance of God's service: whence it shall appear, in due time, that the endowment of the Church is estated upon it; and then let common sense judge whether this came from the understanding, and motion, and proper devotion of the people, or from their Christianity, obliging them to follow that order which the authority and doctrine of the Apostles should shew them to be requisite for their profession, and the support of the Church at that time.

[Interest
of the
people.]

§ 38. By all this, as it will easily appear that the chief interest and right in disposing of Church matters could not belong to the people, under the Apostles, so is it not my purpose to say that at any time the people ought to have no manner of right or interest in the same. For if the practice under the Apostles be the best evidence that we can ground law upon to the Church, then it is requisite to the good estate of the Church, and necessary for those that can dispose of the public order of it, to procure that it be such as may give the people reasonable satisfaction in those things wherein they are concerned: which, what it requires, and how far it extends, I will say somewhat in general when we come to give bounds to the several interests in the public power of the Church^m. In the meantime, as no water can ascend higher than it descended afore, so can no people have any further right and power in Church matters than that which the people had under the Apostles, because that is all the evidence upon which their interests can be grounded and

^m In chap. iv.

acknowledged. Less is not to be granted; more they must not require. CHAP.
III.

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CHAPTER III.

THAT THE CHIEF POWER OF EVERY CHURCH RESTETH IN THE BISHOP AND PRESBYTERS, ATTENDED BY THE DEACONS. THAT ONLY THE POWER OF THE KEYS IS CONVERTIBLE WITH THE OFFICE OF CONSECRATING THE EUCCHARIST. AND THEREFORE, THAT THERE ARE NO LAY ELDERS. THE RIGHT OF THE BISHOP, PRESBYTERS, AND PEOPLE, IN CHURCH MATTERS.

THESE things premised, I shall here suppose that the reasons heretofore advanced, are sufficient to prove, that by ordinance of the Apostles, the government of every such Church, consisting of the body of Christians in a city and the territory thereof, is to rest in a Bishop, and a company or college of presbyters, his council and assistants in the exercise of the chief power thereof, to whom are added the deacons to attend them in executing their commands: adding only for the present in confirmation of those reasons, as followeth.

§ 2. First, that there is an ordinary power, of governing Churches of their own planting, in the Apostles, easily to be distinguished from the power of other Apostles, because, [That the chief power of every Church resteth in the Bishop and presbyters, attended by the deacons.]
86 whereas the general commission extends the power of every Apostle to the whole Church: those things which we find recorded, either in the Scriptures, or in other monuments of historical truth, which common sense cannot refuse to credit, do shew manifest arguments of the special exercise thereof, *de facto*, in special places, either by contract, when a Christian may think that an agreement might be requisite among such holy persons as we see Gal. ii. 9, or otherwise, by occupation and use. And this ordinary power of the Apostles is as easy to be distinguished from the power of Bishops, by the extent of it, this of Bishops reaching only to the Church whereof they are made Bishops.

§ 3. Now, to make good the proof that James, Bishop of Jerusalem, was one of the Apostles, I must here answer two questions, which seem to make this opinion hard to believe, [Difference between the Apostles and Bishops.]
The suc-
cession of
Jerusa-
lem.]
 The first, because Hegesippus in Eusebius, oftentimes men-

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III

tioning Simeon the son of Cleopas, and that he succeeded this James in the government of that Church, never mentions in one syllable, any relation of his to this James whom he succeeded; which, if they had been so near as brothers, it seems he would have done. The second is this; because *Κλεοπᾶς* is manifestly a Greek name, being the diminutive of *Κλεόπατρος*, and therefore nothing to Alphæus, which hath⁵⁷ another, both original and signification in the Hebrew. The first makes no proof, because we have not Hegesippus, and therefore cannot presume that he nowhere said this, because we find it not in those shreds which Eusebius hath related out of him: neither are we bound to presume that either he would write, or Eusebius relate out of him, that which we at this present conceive to be most necessary to be related, because of the dispute presently on foot, which to them, perhaps, was no dispute. In fine, from that which he says not, we cannot conclude the negative, but from that which he says, we may conclude the tantamount of the affirmative.

§ 4. For when Hegesippus, in Eusebius, *Eccles. Hist.* iv. 22^o, says, that Simeon was the second of our Lord's cousins that was made Bishop of Jerusalem, to them that knew by the Gospel, that the cousins of our Lord, which it calls brothers, were James and Joscs, Simon and Judas, Matt. xiii. 55, he says in effect, that James and Simon were brothers; especially Eusebius, making the same Simeon the son of Cleopas and Mary, *Eccles. Hist.* iii. 32^o, which he seems to have from Hegesippus. For seeing Mary Cleopas, John xix. 25, is, in all probability, "Mary the mother of James the less, and Joscs," Mark xv. 40, Matt. xxvii. 56—because we read but⁵⁸ of two Marias in the Gospel that followed our Lord, beside the Blessed Virgin⁵⁹, Matt. xxvii. 61—and seeing St. Jude

⁵⁷ Καὶ μετὰ τὸ μαρτυρῆσαι Ἰδκωβον τὸν ἐλκαίου, ὡς καὶ ὁ Κύριος ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτῷ λόγῳ, πάλιν ὁ ἐκ θεοῦ αὐτοῦ Συμεὼν ὁ τοῦ Κλωπᾶ καθιστάται ἐπισκόπος· ὃν προέθετο πάντες, ὅτι ἀνεψιὸν τοῦ Κυρίου δεύτερον.—p. 142. ed. Valen.

⁵⁸ Συμεὼνα τὸν τοῦ Κλωπᾶ, ὃν, δεύτερον καταστήναι τῇ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐπίσκοπον ἐδηλώσαμεν· . . . καὶ τούτου μάρτυς . . . Ἠγασίππος.—p. 103. ed. Valen.

⁵⁹ A fragment of Papias in the Bodleian Library. Cod. MSS. 2297, speaks

of four Marias. It is published by Grabe, *Spicileg.*, Sæcul. i. tom. i. pp. 34, 35. Oxon. 1699.

Maria mater Domini. Maria Cleophae, sive Alphei, uxor, quæ fuit mater Jacobi Episcopi et Apostoli, et Symonis et Thadei, et ejusdam Josephi; Maria Salome, uxor Zebedei, mater Johannis evangelistæ, et Jacobi; Maria Magdalene. Istæ quatuor in evangelio reperiuntur. Jacobus et Judas et Joseph, filii erant materis Domini. Jacobus quoque et Johannes alterius materis

calls himself the brother of James, Jude 1, and seeing James and Simeon, Bishops of Jerusalem, are both cousins to our Lord—that is, brothers in the language of the Scripture—according to Hegesippus, it is to be thought that he intended there to signify, that Simeon, the son of Cleopas, and James Bishop of Jerusalem, were brothers: the age of Simeon, suffering a hundred and twenty years old, Eusebius, *Eccles. Hist.* iii. 32^a, being so great that he might well succeed his brother in the charge.

§ 5. Now James the son of Alphæus, might well be also son of Cleopas, and the same man's name Alphæus and Cleopas; because of the custom which we find to have been among the Jews, of calling themselves by one name among their own countrymen, and by another, oftentimes near the other in sound, among the Greeks and Romans; for if Jason, in the Maccabees, were called Jesus among the Jews, as it appears by Josephus, *Antiq.* xii. 6^t; if Saul and Paul were one Apostle; if the first Bishop of Alexandria, who is called Ananias in the Antiquities of that Church out of Eutychius^a, be called Annianus in Eusebius^b; if Silas be nothing else but Sylvanus; Luke, Lucius; as learned men cannot choose but believe: why shall we not believe that the same man was called ἑβρ, in the Hebrew then used, as his name is now written in the Syriac Testament, and Κλεοπᾶς in the Greek, being the diminutive of Κλεόπατρος, an ordinary proper name at that time? And thus it cannot be contradicted, that the Church of Jerusalem had one of the Apostles for the first Bishop of it^c.

§ 6. Now, whereas it is said that Timothy and Titus had that power which the Scripture witnesseth, as evangelists^d, if

[Of the commission given to Timothy and Titus.]

Domini fuerunt filii. Maria Jacobi mater, et Joseph, mater, uxor Alphæi, uxor tunc Mariæ matris Domini quam Cleopas Johannes, vel a patre, vel a conjugatis familia, vel alia causa. Maria Salome vel a viro, vel a viro dicitur hanc eandem Cleopas quidam dicunt quod de viro habuerit Maria dicitur illuminatrix sive stella maris; genuit enim lumen mundi. sermone autem Syro Domina nuncupatur, quia genuit Dominum. Printed also in Routh. *Reliq. Sacr.*, tom. i. p. 16.

^a Ἀπὸ τούτων δηλαδὴ τῶν ἀρετικῶν, κατηγοροῦναι τινὲς Συμεῶνα τοῦ Κλεοπᾶ,

ὡς ὄντος ἀπὸ Δαβὶδ καὶ Χριστιανοῦ, καὶ οὕτως μαρτυρεῖ ἑκὼν δι' ἑκατον ἑκοσιν.—p. 104 ed. Vales.

^b Ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἰησοῦς ἰδὼσα ταῦτα μετενόησεν.—Cap. v. p. 531. ed. Hudson.

^c Eutychii Origines, p. 28. ed. Salden, London. 1642.

^d Eccles. Hist. lib. ii. cap. xxiv. p. 66. ed. Vales.

^e See Prim. Govern., chap. ii. sect. 2, 3.

^f "Timothy and Titus were not left to ordain elders as Bishops, but as evangelists, whose office was alike extra-

§ 7. Hence we have a competent reason why the name of CHAP.
III.
Bishops should be common to Bishops and presbyters in the New Testament, though the thing, which is the power, never was. Because the chief Bishops of that time bore another quality, of Apostles, evangelists or apostles of the Apostles: by which, while they were called, it is reasonable to think that other Bishops and presbyters—between whom there was not that distance as between the greatest of them, and Apostles or evangelists—should be called by the common name of Bishops. An instance you have in the synagogue: for the bodies of Jews residing in the several cities of their dispersions being governed by colleges or consistories of presbyters, both the heads and the members of those colleges are called by a common name in the plural number, ἀρχοὺς τῆς συναγωγῆς, Acts xviii. 8, 17, or ἀρχισυνάγωγοι, xiii. 15, which, in the Gospels, seems to be the same with ἀρχοὺς absolutely, Luke xiv. 1: which notwithstanding we find expressly in Epiphanius, that the chief of them was called also Archisynagogus, κατ' ἐξοχὴν, his inferiors, presbyters, the deacons Ἀδελφαί in Epiphanius' Greek*, as in the Jews' writings *עזרי*. So that we are to think, that in those times also, whereof the Scriptures of the New Testament speak, there was one set over the rest, though all go by one name; because we know that in the great consistory, whether at Jerusalem or in their dispersions, so it was always. By this correspondence—having shewed afore that the power of the consistories is that which the Church succeeds the synagogue in—it is manifest that all the seeming difficulty of this little objection is removed.

§ 8. To the argument drawn from the angels of the seven Churches of Asia, I add only a reply to the answer that is now brought, that angels stand there for presbyteries or

[The angels of the seven Churches were Bishops.]

Timothy is *cathedra* in Ephesus, that he rather continually sends him up and down upon his Church-services, so that it appears that Timothy was no Bishop, but a minister, an evangelist, a fellow-labourer of the Apostles. The like we find in Scripture concerning Titus whom Paul, as it is conceived by learned men, did first assume into the fellowship of his labours in the place of John, and made him his com-

panion, . . . from Cilicia he passeth to Crete, . . . he left Titus there for a while: to set in order things that remain. . . . For, it was but for a while, for in his epistle which he wrote to him, not many years after, he enjoins him to come to him to Nicopolis, . . . — Smectymnus, sect. xiii.

* See Prim. Govern., chap. xii. sect. 16. Relig. Assembl., chap. in sect. 18, note x., and sect. 19.

CHAP. III. — colleges of presbyters^b. For now it appears too gross to take angels for Churches in that place, because the Scripture saith expressly, Rev. i. 20, that the Churches are there signified by candlesticks; and it appears now an inconvenience to take the candlestick for the candle^c. But no less inconvenience will be seen in this answer, if we consider that it must be proved to signify so either by some reason of grammar or of rhetoric. That an angel is put for a presbyter, or Bishop, is a metaphor very reasonable, because of the correspondence between them; but an angel cannot stand for presbyters, by reason of grammar, unless either the word be a collective, signifying a multitude in the singular number, or else the construction shew that the singular stands for the plural; nor by reason of rhetoric, unless somebody can shew us how an angel is like a college; none of which reasons is to be seen either in the text or in the nature of the subject.

[Differ-
ence be-
tween Bi-
shops and
presbyters
made by
the Apo-
stles.]

§ 9. To the premises I add now this argument, drawn from that observation which I have advanced, in the book of the Apostolical Form of Divine Service, p. 71^d, out of the Apostolical Constitutions, Ignatius, Dionysius Arcopagita, and the Jews' constitutions, that, in the primitive Church, the presbyters were wont to sit by themselves, in a half circle, at the east end of the church, with their faces turned to the faces of the people, the deacons standing behind them, as waiting on them, but the Bishop on a throne by himself, in the midst of the presbyters' seats. For if this form were in use under the Apostles, then was the difference of Bishops and presbyters brought in by ordinance of the Apostles; and that it was in use under the Apostles may appear by the representation of the Church triumphant, Rev. iv. and v.; for he that knows the premises, and finds there twenty-four elders, equal in number to the twelve heads of the tribes of Israel, and the twelve

^b To which we answer, first, that Angel in these epistles is put collectively but not individually as appears by the epistle to Phrygia, . . . What can be more evident to prove, that by Angel is meant, not one angular person, but the whole company of presbyters that were in Phrygia. — Smeethymus, sect. xxi. p. 101.

^c We do not confound the Angels

and the Churches—we know there is a distinction between the stars and the candlesticks—but we affirm, that the epistles are written to the Churches as well as to the Angels, and to all the Angels as well as to any one.—Vindication of the Answer to the Humble Remonstrance, sect. xiii. p. 147. London 1641.

^d Chap. iv. sect. 3=6

Apostles, surrounded with ministering spirits standing about them—as the deacons in the church stood about the presbyters—the congregation standing with their faces turned to the presbyters, as the people in the church at Divine service; how can he doubt that the throne of God, in the midst of the thrones of the twenty-four presbyters, is correspondent to the Bishop's chair in the Church militant, under the Apostles, knowing that so soon after the Apostles just so it was seated?

CH. A.
III.

§ 10. They that expound this vision to resemble the camp of Israel in the desert, Numb. ii.^c—where, about the ark were four standards, answerable to the four creatures about the throne, then the tribe of Levi environing the sanctuary, and the camp of Israel that—do make the four creatures as far distant from the throne as the standards of the four leading tribes were from the tabernacle, and the presbyters' seats to compass the throne, behind, before, and on both sides: whereas, in the vision of Isaiah, vi. 1, and Ezekiel, i. 1, which all agree that this is borrowed from, the four creatures stand close to the throne, as attending peculiarly upon God's immediate commands. Besides, the four creatures are said to stand *ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ θρόνου, καὶ κύκλῳ τοῦ θρόνου*, Rev. iv. 6, that is, two at the two fore-corners, and two at the two hind-corners of the throne: for otherwise it cannot be understood how they can be said to stand both round about the throne and in the middle of the throne, which the text says expressly—that is, in the distance, between the throne and the presbyters' seats—which words can have no sense if we conceive the four creatures to stand where the four standards of the camp stood. Besides, the Lamb is said to stand *ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ θρόνου*, vii. 17, which is more expressly said, iv. 6, to be in the midst of the throne, creatures, and elders: which words expressly describe that compass of a half circle, which the throne, environed with the four creatures and the twenty-four presbyters' seats, makes, in which compass the Lamb is properly described to stand before the throne.

[The
Visions of
St John
represent
to us the
Church
militant]

* Atque ita, ut jam tandem finiam, thronum in augusto hoc consessu, tabernaculo seu templo; presbyteros lectis et sacerdotibus, quatuor animalis quatuor castris Israeliticis re-

spondere; id est, totum consessum praeire illius castrametationis in ceno imaginem esse, laeulenter ostendisse mihi videat. - Mede, Comm. Apoc., Par. Prim. de Signis, p. 545, London 1663.

CHAP.
III.

§ 11. Again, the multitude that stands before the throne and the Lamb, vii. 9, are manifestly the same that are called the souls under the altar, vi. 9, though commonly they are conceived to lie under the altar, and from thence to cry for vengeance^f. For the altar there mentioned is not the altar of burnt sacrifices, but the altar of incense before the veil: which incense, in this case, is the prayers of the saints, which the elders offer, v. 8, and the angel puts incense to, viii. 3; whereupon follows the vengeance which the souls under the altar^g desired, who having white robes granted them, instead of that present justice which their prayers solicited, are afterwards described standing with their faces toward the throne, the Lamb, and the elders; as the people in the church, at Divine service, towards the Bishop and presbyters: which particulars, too long here to be deduced, are easy to be observed by comparing Rev. v. 8; vi. 9, 10, 11; vii. 12, 14; viii. 3, 4, 5. Add hereunto the saying of Ignatius^h, that the Bishop in his church bears the figure of the Father of all, to wit, in the whole Church triumphant; and unto that the ordinary expression of the Jews, when they use the term of "God and His house of judgment," יְהוָה וּבֵית דִּינֵהוּ, that is, His court or consistory, to represent the majesty of God sitting in council, or in judgment upon the world, with the angels about Him, in the Old Testament—but the saints in the New, attended by the angels, Matt. xix. 28; Luc. xxii. 30; 1 Cor. vi. 2; Rev. xx. 4.—which expression of theirs is manifestly borrowed from the Scriptures of the Old Testament, everywhere representing the majesty of God in this posture, Ps. lxxxix. 7; Dan. vii. 9; Ps. cxlix. 1; Deut. xxxiii. 2; and you have not only a commentary upon this whole passage, but also a confirmation ofⁱ all that hath been or shall be said, that the Bishops and pres-

^f Significari hic duplex altare, scilicet, altare holocaustorum, quod erat in atriis, et altare thymiamatis, quod erat in sancto. In illo enim quasi immolata, et sub eo quasi sepulta sunt corpora martyrum in hoc vero post mortem translate anime eorum; quasi requiescunt iugo thymama laudis Deo exhalantes. Dico ergo primo, alludi et notari hic altare holocaustorum. Id patet, quia sub eo latent anime inter-

sectorum, id est, immolatorum in altari; et quia clamant, postulantes vindictam suam immolationis. Cornel. a Lapide, Comm. in Apoc. vi. 9.

^h Τῶν δὲ ἐντρέψασθε αὐτοὺς ὡς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν οὐ φίλακίς εἰσι τοῦ τόπου· ὡς καὶ ὁ Ἐπισκοπὸς τοῦ Πατρὸς τῶν ὁλίων τύπος ὑπάρχει.—Epist. Interp. ad Trall. cap. iii. p. 64. ed. Coteler. The passage is corrupt in the genuine epistle.

byters are the same in the Church, as the Sanhedrin and the head of them in the synagogue. CHAP. III.

§ 12. All this is yet more fortified by the testimony of Tertullian, *De Præscript*, cap. xxxvi.^a, that the very chairs [Chairs of the Apostles.] in which the Apostles sat, in their churches, were extant in his time: "as," saith he, "were also the very originals of their epistles, in the Churches to whom they were sent;" and as the chair of St. James, at Jerusalem, was extant in Eusebius's time, *Eccles. Hist.* vii. 10¹, add further, "The uppermost seats in the synagogues, which the scribes and Pharisees desired," Luke xi. 43; add the Apostle, 1 Cor. xiv. 29, 30, distinguishing between the seats of private persons and prophets, which the supposed St. Ambrose expounds by the custom of sitting in the synagogue, as I have shewed in the same place^k; add, "The chair of Moses, on which the scribes and Pharisees sat," Matt. xxiii. 2; in succession to him, who taught the people in that posture, with the priests sitting about him, as Philo¹ expoundeth the text, Numb. xv. 33; and I suppose we have not only evidenced to common sense the superiority of the Bishop above the presbyters, by his place in the Church, but also the distinction of the clergy from the people by the same^m.

§ 13. Which point that I may deduce with that care which the consequence of it requires, it will be worth the inquiry, first, by what title of right the celebration and consecration of the Eucharist belongs only to presbyters: which, as it seems to be agreed upon on all sides, so let the reason also once be agreed upon, why it belongs only to them, and thereby it will appear that it is convertible with the power of the keys; that is, that the power of the keys also belongs only to presbyters, whereas the offices of preaching and

[Presbyters alone consecrate the Eucharist.]

^a Cited before in Reliq. Assemb., chap. iv. sect. 6.

¹ Τὸν γὰρ Ἰακώβου θρόνον τοῦ πρώτου τῆς Ἱερουσαλὴμων ἐκκλησίας τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν πρὸς αὐτοῦ τοῦ Σωτῆρος καὶ τῶν Ἀποστόλων ὑποδείξαντον εἰς αὐτὸν πεφυλαγμένον οἱ τῆδε κατὰ διαδοχὴν περιήγοντες ἀδελφοί, σαφῶς τοῖς τασιν ἐπιδείκνυνται. — l. 265. ed. Vales.

^k Reliq. Assemb., chap. iii. sect. 12.

¹ Συλλαβόντες δ' ὄρουσι αὐτὸν ἐπὶ

τὸν ἄρχοντα ὃ συνήδρευον μὲν ἱερεῖς παριστῆκει δὲ σύμπασα ἡ πλὴθὺς πρὸς ἀνράσαν. — De Vita Mosia, p. 685. Paris. 1640.

^m "Neither do we acknowledge ruling elders in the Church to be lay elders properly; for to say nothing of the distinction between the clergy and laity, which is of a later edition than Apostolic times." — Cotton's Way of the Churches, chap. ii. sect. 2. p. 24.

CHAP. baptizing are communicable to their inferiors, and that it
 III— belongs also to all presbyters, and so by consequence that there is no such thing as lay elders.

[Defect of
 the pres-
 byterian
 theory.]

§ 14. The presbyterians, styling their pastors "ministers of the word and Sacraments," in opposition to their lay elders, seem to ground this right upon the commission of our Lord to His Apostles, "Go preach and make disciples all nations, baptizing them," as if this were the office wherein presbyters succeed the Apostles, though of the Eucharist there is here never a word. But if they consider what it is to preach the Gospel to unbelievers, or rather what it was before the Gospel was received anywhere, it will easily appear, that unless they be madmen that go about it, it is necessary that they be endowed with abilities to make it appear, even to the enemies of the Gospel, that they are sent by God to preach it. Therefore no man succeeds the Apostles in the office of preaching the Gospel to the nations. And therefore, if they will take notice, they shall easily observe that the titles of "minister of the Gospel," "minister of the word of the New Testament," "minister of the Church," and others equivalent, are never given to any but the Apostles in the Scriptures, unless it be to their scholars and substitutes, the evangelists; because they were to the Apostles as the Apostles to Christ, and Christ to God; that is, they were ministers of the Apostles, assumed by them to the work which Christ had trusted them in person with, of preaching the Gospel and planting Christianity: and therefore,

o Hinc discamus Apostolatam non esse inanis honoris titulum, sed operum munus, ideoque nihil magis esse absurdum vel minus tolerabile quam ut sibi, larvati homines usurpent hunc honorem qui otiose regnantes, docendi munus a se rejiciant. A Papa Romano ejusque cohorte superbe successio hæc faciat, quasi communem cum Petro et ejus collegis personam sustineant: . . . hoc uno verbo satis valide protestitur futilis eorum hierarchia, quod nullas Apostolorum successorum esse potest nisi qui in omni in Evangelium prædicantem operam Christo impendit. Denique quicumque dactoris partes non implet, perperam nomen Apostoli monetur. —Calvin. Harmon. Evangel. in S. Matth. xxviii. 19.

¹¹ Whosoever by his office may teach,

by his office may administer the Sacraments, for Christ giveth one and the same royal patent and commission for both. Matth. xxviii. 19. * *Rutherford's Due Right of Presbyteries*, p. 167. London, 1644.

"Unto the pastors appertains the teaching of the word of God, in season and out of season, publicly and privately, always travelling to edify, and discharge his conscience, as God's word prescribes to him. Unto the pastors only appertains the administration of the Sacraments, in like manner as the administration of the word." — *The Second Book of Discipline*, chap. iii. in the *Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of Scotland*, p. 83. A.D. 1641.

when need was, were able to make their commission appear by the works they did, though in an inferior degree, because they proceeded upon that stock of reputation which the Apostles had won the Gospel by their preaching and miracles.

CHAP.
III.

§ 15. Such titles you shall find attributed to the Apostles, and their followers and substitutes, 1 Cor. iii. 5; 2 Cor. iii. 6; 100 vi. 4; xi. 23; Col. i. 23, 25; Eph. iii. 7; vi. 21; 1 Thess. iii. 2; Col. iv. 7; 1. 7; Acts i. 17; vi. 4; xx. 24; xxi. 19; but nowhere to presbyters. For the name of presbyters, as also of Bishops, is relative to the people of those Churches whereof they are Bishops and presbyters, signifying them to be the best qualified of all the body of those Churches, chosen and constitute to conduct the rest in Christianity. And therefore the Apostles also are presbyters, as St. Peter and St. John style themselves, 1 Pet. v. 1; 2 John 1; 3 John 1; because the greater includes the less, and because they had power in all Churches, as presbyters in one: but presbyters are never called Apostles, because the greater is not included in the less, and because presbyters never had commission "to preach the word or the Gospel," in the sense whereof I speak here, that is, to publish the Gospel to unbelievers.

§ 16. And whereas there is the same difference between *ἐκκρελίσσθαι* and *κηρύσσειν* on the one part, and *διδάσκειν* on the other, as there is between "publishing the Gospel to unbelievers, and instructing Christian assemblies in it:" we never find the former attributed to any presbyter in the Scriptures, but we find both attributed to the Apostles, because their commission was to "publish the Gospel to all nations, and to make them disciples, by baptizing them:" and being such, to "teach them," further, "to observe all that our Lord commandeth," Matt. xxviii. 19, 20; Mark xvi. 15. Thus the Apostles, Acts v. 42, "ceased not to teach and preach Jesus Christ, in houses and in the temple:" "to teach" the Church in those houses where the Christians assembled to serve God as Christians, and "to preach" to the Jews in the temple, whither they resorted for that service, Acts ii. 42, 46; so, Acts xv. 35, Paul and Barnabas continued at Antiochia, "teaching," that is, the Church, and "preaching the Gospel," to wit, to unbelievers.

[Differ-
ence be-
tween
preaching
and teach-
ing.]

CHAP.
III.[Seen in
the Gospels.]

§ 17. And with the same difference it is said of our Lord in the Gospels, Matt. iv. 23; ix. 35; xi. 1; that He "taught," to wit, as a prophet—who had always the privilege of teaching in the synagogues, as His disciples also by the same title—and "preached the Gospel," as sent by God for that extraordinary purpose. But though the Apostles being sent to preach the Gospel, were by consequence to teach the Church, yet is it never said that presbyters, being appointed to teach the Church, were also called to preach the Gospel. For their relation being to Churches as much persuaded of the truth of Christianity as themselves, they needed no such qualities as might make evidence that they were sent immediately from God, to convince the world of the truth of it; but only such understanding in it above the people of their respective Churches, as might enable them to conduct the people thereof in it. And therefore what hindereth their inferiors also to be employed in teaching the Church, which now we call preaching? For if our Lord and His Apostles employed their respective ministers in teaching those whom they could not attend upon themselves; and in all Churches, after the example of the first at Jerusalem, deacons or ministers were ordained to wait upon the Bishops and presbyters of the same, in the execution of their office, is it not the same thing for Bishops and presbyters to employ their deacons in preaching to those of their own Church, as it is for the Apostles at Jerusalem to employ St. Stephen, and St. Philip, St. Paul, Timothy, or Erastus, or Tychicus, or Epaphroditus, in preaching to unbelievers? for there remains as much difference in their charges as in their chiefs from whom they are employed.

[And in
the later
history
of the
Church.]

§ 18. Besides, who is able to prove by the Scriptures that those who are called doctors, 1 Cor. xii. 28; Eph. iv. 11, were all of them men ordained by imposition of hands as presbyters? between whom and evangelists there seems to be the same difference as between *ἐκκλησιαστικοὶ* and *ἀγγελοὶ* *κείναι*, on the one part, and *διδασκαῖαι* on the other; this relating to assemblies of Christians, and importing the instructing of them in the right understanding of that Christianity, which they already believe and profess; that, to those who are not Christians, as undertaking to reduce them to

Christianity, which supposeth commission and abilities answerable. Further, the supposed St. Ambrose, upon Eph. iv. 11°, comparing evangelists with deacons, says that deacons also taught without a chair: the custom of the Church then admitting them to preach upon occasions, but not sitting, as the Bishop and presbyters did: because they did not sit, but stand, in the church—as the angels in the Revelation, about the presbyters' chairs—as attending upon their commands. And what is this but the same which you find in use in the synagogue, Acts xiii. 16, where Paul “stands up” to preach, whereas our Lord “sits down,” like a doctor, when He goes to preach in the synagogue, Luke iv. 20? by which it appears, that it was of custom, drawn from the synagogue, for deacons to preach in the Church.

§ 19. And indeed, in the last place, the practice of the synagogue, together with the reason of it, and the primitive practice of the Church, agreeable to the same, seem to make as full proof as a reasonable man can desire in a matter of this nature. For in the synagogue it is so manifest that jurisdiction is above doctrine, and the power of governing above the office of teaching, that the prophets themselves, who were doctors of the law, immediately sent by God, were subject to the power and jurisdiction of the consistory, settled by the law, Deut. xvii. 8—12; so that though by the law of Deut. xviii. 18, the whole synagogue are subject to God's curse, if they obey not the prophet by whom God speaks, yet because it was possible that false prophets might pretend to be sent from God, therefore in the next words of the law, a mark is given to discern who was sent by God, and who was not: and he that pretended to be sent by God and was not, being tried by this mark, became liable to capital punishment, by the law of Deut. xvii. 8—12, for teaching contrary to that which the consistory taught. So that by this law the consistory hath power of life and death even over prophets, whom they judged to teach things destructive to the law. And by this power, not usurped, but abused, our Lord also

CHAP.
III.

[Derived
from the
syna-
gogue.]

Evangelistæ, diaconi sunt, sicut
et Philippus. Quamvis non sunt
episcopi, evangelizare tamen possunt
sine cathedra quemadmodum et Ste-

phanus et Philippus memorantur.—
S. Ambros. Opp., tom. ii. col. 241. ed.
Ben.

CHAP. III. — suffered under Pilate, according to that which He had said in respect of this power, "It is impossible that a prophet perish out of Jerusalem," Luke xiii. 33; that is, not condemned by the consistory.

[Qualifica-
tion of
doctors
among the
Jews.]

§ 20. The successors of the prophets, after the spirit of prophecy ceased, that is, their scribes and wise men and doctors, received the privilege of teaching the law from their masters. For whosoever had learned in the school of a doctor, till forty years of age, was thenceforth counted a doctor, as the Talmud doctors determine, and thereby privileged to decide matters of conscience in the law, provided that he did it not while his master lived, and where he was: R. Solomon upon the title *Sanhedrin*, x. 2^p; Maimoni in the title of Learning the Law, chap. v.^a But if I mistake not, in our Lord's time they were counted so at thirty years of age. For Irenæus, ii. 39ⁱ, says that our Lord began to preach at the same age at which men were counted doctors, manifestly referring to this rule of the synagogue. And this is the reason which the Church afterwards followed*, in all those canons by which it is forbidden that any man be made presbyter, being less than thirty years of age; because at those years our Lord and St. John Baptist began to preach, though by an extraordinary commission, yet according to the custom of the synagogue in their time, saith Irenæus.

[Jurisdic-
tion in-
clu-
ding
doctrine.]

§ 21. But by imposition of hands they were further qualified to sit and judge in their consistories. Whereby we see how jurisdiction includes doctrine, but is not included in it; so that, the metaphorical jurisdiction of the Church by the power of the keys, belonging, as all sides agree, to presbyters, it is agreeable to the perpetual custom of God's people that the office of teaching be communicable to their inferiors. But with such dependence upon the Bishop and presbyters as may be correspondent to the rule of the synagogue; in which he that taught anything as of God's law, contrary to the con-

* See Coeli's *Deo Tituli Talmudici*, *Sanhedrin et Maccoth* p. 82. Amsterdam 1679.

^a *De Doctrina Legis*, cap. v. § 3. p. 23. Oxon. 1703.

ⁱ *Magister ergo existens magistri quousque habebat aetatem, quomodo enim habuit discipulos, si non*

dicebat? Quomodo autem dicebat, magistri aetatem non habens? — *Advers. Haeres.* lib. ii. cap. xlii. § 4. 5. col. 147. 148. ed. Ben.

^a See Thomassin. *Vet. et Nov. Eccl. Discipl.* par. i. lib. ii. cap. 67—70.

history, and persisted in it, was liable to capital punishment, CHAP. III. by the law, so often quoted, of Deut. xvii. 8. *Sanedrin* x. 2; Maimoni in the title of Rebels, chap. iii. And therefore he that teaches contrary to the Church, it behoveth that he be liable to excommunication from it.

§ 22. And upon these terms, I suppose, those of the congregations will give me no great thanks for saying that it is not against God's law that those who are not in holy orders do preach. For that which I have alleged for this, in the Apostolical Form of Divine Service, p. 420¹, out of that notable epistle in Eusebius, *Eccles. Hist.* vi. 19, in behalf of Origen, who, before he was presbyter, was employed in preaching by the Bishop of Cæsarea, consists, in divers instances, of other persons of Origen's rank, which preached indeed, but all by commission from their respective Bishops, who were themselves, by their places, the doctors in chief of their respective Churches. And if this be against Divine right—as we agree it is for any under the rank of a presbyter to celebrate the Eucharist—how shall any Church allow men to preach for trial of their abilities, before they attain that rank in which they are ordinarily to do it?

§ 23. That which hath been said of preaching, is to be said much more, in my opinion, of baptism. If the charge of baptizing, given the Apostles, had been meant of the office of ministering, not of the power of granting it, what reason could there be that St. Peter, having converted Cornelius and his company, should not baptize them in person, but command them to be baptized, Acts x. 48? and if the Apostles employ their deacon, St. Philip, to preach and to baptize, is it not by consequence that the governors of particular Churches employ their deacons about the same? In the synagogue it cannot be said that the office of circumcising ever required any higher quality than that of a person circumcised: and therefore in the Church if there can be any

¹ Chap. xi. sect. 4.

"The abilities of both the one sort and the other are tried in private, before the presbytery, and how soon they are found fit to come in public, they enter upon the exercise of prophesy with the ministers of the presbytery and at some times are employed and allowed to

preach before the people; by which mean their gifts and abilities are known to the people, as their manners are manifest by their conversing among them."—The Government and Order of the Church of Scotland, § 2. p. 6. Edinburgh, 1641.

CHAP. III. question whether a person is to be admitted to baptism or not, it is the chief power of the Church that must determine it. Or if the occasion require solemnity, which may argue him that officiates it to be the chief in the Church, no deacon nor presbyter must presume to do it before the Bishop. But because baptism is the gate, as well of the invisible Church as of the visible, and because the occasions are many and divers which endanger the preventing of so necessary an office by death, in this regard the practice of the primitive Church, alleged by Tertullian, *De Baptismo*, cap. xvii.¹, must not be condemned, whereby baptism, given by him that is only baptized, is not only valid, but well done. Though my intent hereby is not to say that it may not be restrained to presbyters and deacons, when the Church is so provided of them, that there is no appearance that baptism can be prevented for want of one.

[The school-theory of the original of the priesthood.]

§ 24. But though I do, for these causes, refuse the reasons that presbyterians can give, why only presbyters may celebrate the Eucharist, I am not therefore much more in love with that which the school-doctors give, when they conceive that the Apostles were made priests by our Lord, at His last supper, when He said, "Do this." For we do not find this exposition of these words authorized by the first ages of the Church, or any writers of that time. And where the school-doctors speak not out of the mouth of the primitive Church, I make no difficulty to take them for none of my authors. And truly, in this case, the text of the Scriptures seems to be plain enough; for the command of our Lord, "Do this in remembrance of Me," must needs speak to the same persons as the rest that goes afore, "Take, eat, drink, divide this among you;" which, belonging to the whole Church, it is manifest, the precept "Do this," belonging also to the whole Church, cannot make any difference of qualities in it.

[Eucharist originally celebrated at meals.]

§ 25. In this difficulty, then, it will be hard to find any anchor so sure as that of Tertullian, *De Corona Militis*,

¹ Cited before in Prim. Govern. chap. v. sect. 3.

Potestatem spiritualem contulit Dominus discipulis suis, quoniam corpus et sanguinem sui sacramentum est. et sacramentum instituit deus ad eam.

1 Corinth. xi. Illis enim verbis, ut teste synodus Tridentina docet, Christus Apostolos suos instituit sacerdotes. — Est. in lib. iv. Sentent. Comm. Dist. 23 § 1 tom. iv. part. ii. p. 14. Duar. 1618.

cap. iii.¹, where, making a catalogue of orders and rules observed in the Church, which are not found delivered in terms of precept in the Scriptures, he prosecuteth it thus: CHAP. III.

Eucharistiae Sacramentum et in tempore victus, et omnibus mandatum à Domino, etiam antelucanis catibus, nec de aliorum manu quam presidentium sumimus. "The Sacrament of the

Eucharist was commended to the Church at meat," saith Tertullian. Is not this the express word of our Lord? for when He saith, "Do this," is it not manifest that He com-
mandeth to celebrate the Eucharist at the end of supper as Himself presently had done? Sure enough the primitive Church understood it so, for "the ministry of tables" in the Acts of the Apostles, for which the Apostles provide themselves deacons, and the feasts of love which St. Paul regulates at Corinth, are enough to shew us that the Eucharist came at the end of them. And so Tertullian shews that it was in his time, when he says that they received the Eucharist "at their assemblies before day also;" that is to say, as well as at their feasts of love, at which our Lord ordained it.

§ 26. But though there be no precept extant in the Scripture, that the Eucharist be used at those assemblies of the Church which are held merely for the service of God, beside those feasts of love, yet if my reasons propounded in the Apostolical Form of Divine Service, p. 291^a, have not failed, which hitherto, so far as I know, are not contradicted, it doth appear by the Scripture that it was so under the Apostles. And therefore, that only presbyters are to celebrate the Eucharist, the Church will be confidently assured; because it appears by these words of Tertullian, that this was the primitive practice of the Church. Especially if by any circumstance of Scripture it may appear to have been derived from the Apostles, which, perhaps, comparing the premises with the nature of the Eucharist, will not fail us.

§ 27. To shew that those who did eat of the sacrifices of the Gentiles were accessory to their idolatries, the Apostle, [Nature of the Eucharist]
1 Cor. x. 16--21, instanceth in the Jews, who, by eating of their sacrifices, "did communicate with the altar," that

^a Cited before in Relig. Assemb., Chap. viii, sect. 40.
chap. viii, sect. 11.

CHAP. is, with God, to whom that which was consumed upon the
 III. altar belonged. And because Christianity supposeth that the Gentiles' sacrifices were offered to devils, therefore—the Gentiles communicating with devils, by eating the remains of their sacrifices, as the Jews with God—that it was not lawful to eat of their sacrifices, for them that communicated with God in the Eucharist, as the Jews did with the same true God, and the Gentiles with the devils by their sacrifices. Thus the Apostle's argument supposeth, that in the Eucharist Christians do participate of the sacrifice of the cross, as Jews and Gentiles do of their sacrifices, and so, that the purpose thereof is, that by it we may participate of the sacrifice offered to God upon the cross. Which being carried by our Lord within the veil, into the most holy place of the heavens, to be presented to God, as it is declared at large, Heb. ix. 11—26, is notwithstanding no less participated by Christians, than the Jews do participate of their peace offerings. Which the Apostle teaches again, when he tells the Hebrews xiii. 10, that "we have an altar," that is, a sacrifice, "of which they that serve the tabernacle have no right to eat;" that is, no Jews. For, seeing the priests only eat the remains of burnt sacrifices, whereas the remains of peace offerings are eaten also by the sacrificers, that which the priests touch not, it is manifest that no Jew can have right to touch. And, that the sacrifice of the cross is such, he proceedeth to prove, because, as he had declared in the premises, it is of that kind that was carried within the veil; and again, because in correspondence to the burning of the rest of those sacrifices without the camp, which the law enjoined, Lev. iv. 12, 20; vi. 30; xvi. 21, our Lord suffered without Jerusalem.

[The Eucharist a sacrifice.]

§ 28. Now, because it concerned the discourse propounded by the Apostle, to shew how Christians participate of that sacrifice, whereof he hath proved that Jews do not: he addeth, "Let us therefore go forth to Him out of the camp, hearing His reproach, for we have here no abiding city, but seek one to come: let us therefore by Him offer the sacrifice of praise continually to God, even the fruit of our lips, giving thanks to His name." Which, if we will have to be pertinent to the premises, must all be meant of the Eucharist, in which the sacrifice of the cross is communicated to Christians. Not as

if thereby the Apostle did establish that strange prodigious conceit of repeating the sacrifice of the cross, and sacrificing Christ anew in every Mass. Inasmuch as the Apostle clearly declareth, that the same one individual sacrifice, which Christ carried into the holy of holies, through the veil, to present to God, is that which all Christians participate of, in the Eucharist always. And therefore the Eucharist is a sacrifice, no otherwise than as all Eucharists, that have been, or shall be to the world's end, can be understood to be the same one individual sacrifice of Christ upon the cross: which how it is to be understood, this is not the place to dispute ^b.

§ 29. Here is further to be remembered, that which I have proved in the Apostolical Form of Divine Service, pp. 343, 373^c, that it is ordained by the Apostles, which hath been practised by the Church after them in all ages, that at the celebration of the Eucharist, supplications and prayers be made for all estates and ranks in the Church, for all things concerning the common necessities of it. The reason and intent whereof, is still more manifest by the premises. For, if the prayers of the Church be accepted of God, in consideration of the sacrifice of the cross, appearing always before the throne of God, within the veil, to intercede for us; is it not all reason, that the Church when it celebrateth the remembrance thereof upon earth, should offer and present it to God, as the only powerful means to commend the prayers of the Church unto God, and to obtain our necessities at His hands?

§ 30. If these things then be so, let us call to mind the prophetic vision, represented to St. John in the Apocalypse, of the throne of God, and of the Church triumphant, divided into twenty-four presbyters, sitting about the throne of God, and the people of the Church, standing and beholding the throne and the elders, in the very same manner as they did at the assemblies of the Church militant, at Divine service. Whereby it is manifest that God granteth the decrees, which are foretold in that prophecy, at the prayers of the Church triumphant, presented to His throne, in the same manner as the prayers of the Church militant here upon earth. And upon these premises, I suppose, it will be no hard thing to make

CHAP.
III.

[And to be
celebrated
with
prayers.]

[The
vision of
St. John
represents
the Church
militant.]

^a See the Epilogue, bk. iii. chap.

^c Chap. x. sects. 31, and 40.

of sacrificing, seeing no man can be said to be without the altar, because not within it. CHAP. III.

§ 32. Neither is it any marvel, that in the representation of the triumphant Church, in this prophetic vision, by correspondence with the assembly of the Church upon earth, regard is had chiefly to the celebration of the Eucharist. Because as it is that part of the service of God, which is altogether peculiar to the Church, as the sacrifice of the cross is peculiar to Christianity, whereas other offices of Divine service, prayer, the praises of God, and teaching of the people, are common, not only to Judaism, but in some sort, to other religions never ordained by God; so is it the chief and principal part of it: though in this age, where so much hath been said of re-
 forming the Church, we hear not a word of restoring the frequent celebration and communion of it. [The Eucharist peculiar to the Church]

§ 33. It is to be wished, indeed, that continual preaching be maintained in all churches, as it is to be wished that all God's people were prophets; and it is to be commended that the abuse of private masses is taken away. But if order be not taken that those which are set up to preach, may preach no more than they have learned out of the Scriptures, it will be easy to drive a worse trade of preaching, than ever priests did of private masses: the one tending only to feed themselves, the other to turn the good order of the world, which is the harbour of the Church, into public confusion, to feed themselves; the profaning of God's ordinance being common to both. And if the taking away of private masses must be by turning the Eucharist out of doors, saving twice or thrice a year, for fashion's sake, it is but Lycurgus's^b reformation, to stock up the vines, for fear men be drunk with the wine. [Of preaching.]

§ 34. The Church of England is clear in this business. The order whereof, as it earnestly sighs and groans toward the restoring of public penance^c, the only mean established by [The restoring of penance and frequent]

^b Lycurgus Dryantis filius, Liberum de regno fugavit, quoniam cum negaret Deum esse, vinumque libisset, et ebrius matrem suam violare voluisset, tunc vites exidere est conatus, quod diceret illud malum medicamentum esse, quod mentes immutaret. Hygin. Fabul. 132. apud Mythogr. Latin. p. 200. Amstelodami 1681.

^c "The Church of England, in the *Communion against sinners*, hath declared a great zeal for the renewing of that ancient discipline of penance, which was in force in the primitive Church. And certainly the Church of England is not the Church of England but in name till the power of excommunication be restored unto it, which

CHAP.

III.—
celebra-
tions the
only true
reforma-
tion.]

the Apostles to maintain the Church in estate to communicate continually, so it recommendeth the continual celebration of the Eucharist at all the more solemn assemblies of Lord's days and festivals. As for the sermon, it is to be when it can be had; and were it now abated, when such sermons cannot be had as were fitting, it is easy to undertake that there would be room enough left for the celebration of the Eucharist. In the meantime, the reformers of this age, had they considered so well as it behoved them what they undertook, should easily have found that the continual celebration of the Eucharist at all the more solemn assemblies of the Church, and the discipline of penance to maintain the people in a disposition fit to communicate in it, is such a point of reformation in the Church, that without restoring it, all the rest is but mere noise and pretence, if not mischief¹.

That only
the power
of the keys
is convert-
ible with
the office
of conse-
crating the
Eucharist.

§ 35. Now, the reason why the celebration of the Eucharist is reserved to presbyters alone, in consequence to the premises, is very reasonable, and will be effectual to shew that it is common to all presbyters, and therefore that there is no such thing as lay elders. For seeing all agree that presbyters have their share in the power of the keys, though the chief interest in it be the Bishop's, according to the doctrine of the Church, and seeing the work of this power is to admit to the prayers of the Church, as St. John sheweth, when he describeth excommunication by not praying for the sins of the excommunicate²; and seeing it appeareth by St. James, that the prayers of the Church for the sins of them whom the Church prayeth for, are the prayers of the presbyters, what can we conceive more reasonable and consequent to the premises, than that the power of the keys is convertible with the office of celebrating the Eucharist, belonging to the Bishop and presbyters by virtue of it? for what can be more agreeable than that the prayers of the Church, which the Eucharist is celebrated with, be offered by those that are to discern who is to be admitted, who excluded, from the same?

there was not, nor ever can be sufficient cause to take from any Church." — *Thorncliffe's Due Way of composing the Differences on foot.*

¹ See Relig. Assemb., chap. viii. sect. 44.

² See chap. i. sect. 21.

§ 36. This is the meaning of Josephus the Jew, in Epiphanius against the Ebionites¹, where, being baptized by the Bishop of Tiberias, at his parting he gives him money, saying, "Offer for me, for it is written, 'Whose sins ye remit, they are remitted; and whose sins ye retain, they are retained.'" Expressing thereby the sense of primitive Christians, who when they were admitted to the prayers of the Church, which the Eucharist is offered to God with, made account thereby that the power of the keys was passed, and continually did pass upon them, to the remission of sins.

CHAP.
III.

[Under-
stood to be
so even by
a Jew.]

Whereupon we see that it is an ordinary censure of the ancient canons, that he which did so or so, "his oblations be not received²," that is, that he be out of the number of those for whom the prayers of the Church are made, which the Eucharist is offered with. Therefore Ignatius thus prosecuteth the words last quoted: "He that is without the sanctuary," saith he, "comes short of the bread of God. For if the prayer of one or two be so forcible with God, what shall we think of the prayer of the Bishop and the whole Church?" For the efficacy of the prayers of the Church dependeth upon the unity of the Church; and the power of the keys is that which containeth that unity. It is therefore agreeable that those prayers, which are of this efficacy, be the prayers of them whom this unity, and the power which preserves it, is trusted with. And for this reason, though all Christians be priests, as the Scripture says, 1 Pet. ii. 5; Rev. i. 6, by a far better title than Moses promises the Israelites, Exod. xix. 6, the sacrifice of prayer being the act of the whole Church: yet notwithstanding, it is by good right that Bishops and presbyters are called *sacerdotes* or sacrificers, in regard of the same sacrifice of prayer and thanksgiving, for which all Christians are called sacrificers: that is to say, by way of excellence, because that which is the act of all, is by ordinance of the Apostles—passed upon the whole Church—reserved to be executed

¹ Επειὶ τὴν χεῖρα, ἐπέδωκε τῷ Ἐπισκόπῳ φάσκων, ὅτι πρόσφερε ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ γεγραπται γὰρ, διὰ τῶν ἱερῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ δεσμεύεσθαι, καὶ λύεσθαι ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ ἵσταται ταῦτα λεχόμενα καὶ δεδεμένα ἐν τῷ νόμῳ. — Cantab. — Ebion., cap. vi. p. 130. (ed. Jon. 1682.)

² Oblationes dissidentium fratrum neque in Sacrario, neque in anaphylacio recipiantur — Conc. Carth. iv. A.D. 398. can. xcii. Labbei, tom. ii. col. 1441. ed. Venet.

³ Sect. 31. cited before in Prim. Governi, chap. x. sect. 2. note d.

CHAP. III and ministered by them, whom that power, which preserveth that unity, which enforceth the prayers of the Church, is trusted with.

*The truth-
ness of the
Church.* § 37. He that refuseth this reason as built upon consequences that convince not, must by consequence acknowledge that the celebration of the Eucharist is peculiar to presbyters, merely by universal and perpetual practice of the Church, derived from the order sealed by the Apostles. Which, whether those of the presbyteries will admit, I leave to themselves to advise. For as for their pretence^a, that the ministry of both Sacraments is convertible with the office of preaching, upon which they style their pastors, or preaching elders, "ministers of the word and Sacraments," it appears to be as void of any ground from the Scriptures, as it is wide from the original and universal practice of the Church. The "ministry of the word" being the office of Apostles and evangelists, according to the Scriptures: the ministry of baptism and preaching, communicable to deacons, and possibly to laymen, only the celebration of the Eucharist, proper to the power of the keys, in Bishops and presbyters. But putting all the reasons that here are advanced to compromise,^b yet out of the premises we have two effectual arguments to convince the nullity of lay elders.

*And there-
fore that
there are
no lay
elders.*

§ 38. The first, from the manner of sitting in the church: inasmuch as it hath been shewed that the order and custom of it is to be derived from the Apostles themselves, as being in use in their time^c. For if the manner of their sitting in the church were so distinguished, that all the presbyters sat in one rank, in the uppermost room, with the Bishop in the midst, that is, in the head of them, his seat advanced above theirs, as St. Hierome^d witnesseth of the Bishops of Alexandria from St. Mark; from which manner of sitting they are called by the Greek fathers *πρόεδροι*, as in the Scriptures *προεστώτες*, and in Tertullian *præsidentes*^e; how can common sense desire better evidence that there are but two qualities generally distinguishable in the Church, the one of presbyters—sometimes called *προεστώτες*, 1 Tim. v. 17, *προϊστά-*

^a See Prim. Govern., chap. ix. sect. 2.
^b note p.

^c See sect. 9—12.

^d See Prim. Govern., chap. vi. sect. 2.
^e See Prim. Govern., chap. vii. sect. 5.

1 Thess. v. 12; sometimes ἡγούμενοι, Heb. xiii. 7, 17, CHAP. sometimes ἐπίσκοποι, 1 Tim. iii. 2; Tit. i. 5, 7, compre- — III—
ending Bishop and presbyters for the reasons alleged, for these the deacons, as their ministers, are to be referred—
to other of the people? the same that in Tertullian¹ are called *Ordo et Plebs*; in all ages of the Church since the Apostles, the clergy and people.

§ 39. Secondly, seeing it is manifest that the power of the keys is above the office of preaching to a Christian Church—indeed equal to that of celebrating the Eucharist—it followeth, that it is against the order declared by the Scripture, that the power of the keys should be in any man that is not allowed to preach and celebrate the Eucharist; and therefore that by having the power of the keys, a man is by right qualified to do it. And truly, I do much marvel how this consequence can be refused as to the office of preaching, when St. Paul requires, both of Timothy and Titus, that the presbyters which they ordain be διδασκτικοί, that is, fit to teach. For no common sense can allow that the word ἐπίσκοπος, having the signification not from preaching, but from governing, is not to comprehend governing elders as well as teachers. Therefore the Scriptures make those preachers, whom the presbyteries make governing elders.

§ 40. Here follows a third argument, drawn from that only text of the Apostle upon which their lay elders are grounded with any appearance, 1 Tim. v. 17: "Let the elders that be well be counted worthy of double honour, especially such that labour in the word and doctrine;" for by the apostle's discourse it is manifest, and, so far as I perceive, need on all hands, that the word honour here spoken of is maintenance. St. Paul's instruction supposing the order ordered by the Apostles to be this, that there should be in all churches, settled in cities, as aforesaid, a common stock, at the disposing of Bishop and presbyters, rising from the oblations of the faithful, out of which, first, those that attended upon the government of the Church, and the offices of divine service; then, those that could not attend the service of God without maintenance from the public, might find subsistence. For hereupon it is that St. Paul chargeth Timothy

[The power of the keys is more than the office of preaching.]

[The presbyterian argument is against them.]

¹ Cited before in Prim. Govern., chap. ix. sect. 8. note 1.

c. 8. c. 7. to honour widows indeed, that were destitute of maintenance from their friends, that they might abide in prayers and supplications, as Anna the prophetess, Luke ii. 36, and Judith viii. 3, and the good women that waited at the tabernacle, Exod. xxxviii. 9: 1 Sam. ii. 22. And when he saith, *χρὸς καταλελειμένα*, he shews that there was then a list of them, called here *καταλογος* by Church writers afterwards, canon, which, whosoever was entered into, received appointment from the Church. 1 Tim. v. 3, 9, 16. Let it therefore be said no more, that the distinction between clergy and people is not found in the Scriptures: For how can the office be more expressly distinguished, than by the appointment that is allowed for the execution of it? and therefore, when St. Peter charges the presbyters, 1 Pet. v. 3, *κατακυριεύειν τῶν ἐλθόντων*, he means not the people, but he means the same with Clemens* in Eusebius, when he says that St. John was wont to go abroad from Ephesus to foreign Churches, on purpose, *ἐλθόντες ὅσα γὰρ τὰ ἐλθοῦσιν τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Πνεύματος σηματομενῶν*, that is, to ordain some clergyman, that should be signified by the Spirit: for in both places *ἐλθόντες* is taken for *ἐλθόντες*, and so St. Peter's precept, *μὴ κατακυριεύετε τῶν ἐλθόντων ἀλλὰ τίτοι γινώμενοι τοῦ ποιμνίου*, consists of two members, not to domineer over the clergy that were under them, that is, the deacons, widows, and deaconesses, and to be a pattern to the flock.

[Difference of the clergy from the people.] § 41. In this discourse of St. Paul, we have a further reason of difference between the clergy and people, from that rule of life and conversation to which the clergy was subject by the primitive discipline of the Church. For if the Church allowed widows an appointment, in consideration of their daily attendance upon the service of God, much more are we bound to conceive that presbyters, whom the Apostle allows a double appointment, are tied to double attendance on the same service; a thing which cannot be expected of those who are tied to the world; and therefore Tertullian†,

* See chap. ii. sect. 12. note m.

† Cited before in Prim. Govern., chap. iv. sect. 13.

* Ordinationes eorum temerarie, leves, inconstantes, nunc neophytos collocant, nunc sæculo obstrictos,

nunc apostatas nostros, ut gloria eos obligent, quia veritate non possunt. Nusquam facilius proficietur, quam in castris rebellium, ubi ipsam esse illic, promereri est. Itaque alias hodie episcopus, cras alius: hodie diaconus, qui

De Præscript. cap. xli., condemneth the heretics, because their fashion was to make secular men presbyters. Seeing then that the Apostle alloweth the same double appointment to the whole order of presbyters, let them that set up lay elders ask their own consciences whether they can be content to allow them the same maintenance from the Church as themselves receive? otherwise let them not imagine that they can set them up by this Scripture. For that some presbyters should labour in preaching, though all are required "to be apt to preach," is no inconvenience in that state when congregations were not distinguished, but the whole office rested in the whole order of the clergy, in relation to the whole body of the people of a Church. You see by St. Paul, 1 Cor. xiv., that one assembly, whereof he speaks there, furnished with a great number of prophets, whether presbyters, or [not], over and above them. In the records of the Church, we find divers times a whole bench of presbyters presiding at one assembly¹. Is any man so insatiable of preaching as to think the Church unprovided of it, unless all those preached at all times? Is it not enough that Timothy is required to count them especially worthy of double honour that labour in it? For by this means those that laboured not in it, when and how Timothy finds it requisite, must know that their maintenance must come harder from his hands.

§ 42. For the last argument, I must not forget the perpetual practice of the Church, though I name, for the present, but the words of Clemens², disciple to the Apostles, who in his epistle to the Corinthians, to compose a difference among the presbyters of that Church, partly about the celebration of the Eucharist, advises them to agree and take their turns in it. If all the presbyters might take their turns in it, then all might celebrate the Eucharist. If in that Church, then in all Churches.

§ 43. I know many Church writers are quoted to prove lay elders; for that also is grown a point of learning to load the

CHAP.
III.

[The practice of the Church.]

[Unscrupulous use of writers by the Puritans.]

cras lector, hodie presbyter, qui cras laicus. Nam et laici sacerdotalia munera coniungunt. - P. 339. ed. Pam. Rothomag. 1662.

¹ See Relig. Assemb., chap. v. sect. 36.

² Cited before in Prim. Govern., chap. vi. sect. 3.

CHAP. margin with texts of Scripture and allegations of authors, in
 III. hope no man will take the pains to compare them, because, if he do, he shall easily find them nothing to the purpose. For instance; myself have the honour to be alleged for one that approve lay elders^a, even in that place, of that very discourse where I answer the best arguments that ever I heard made for them, only because I said then, as now, that we are not bound to think that all presbyters preached during the Apostles' times. What reason then can any reader have to presume that any of their dead witnesses make more for their purpose than I who am alive, and stand to see myself alleged point blank against the position which I intended to prove, because, forsooth, in their understanding, the premises which I use, stand not with the conclusion which I intended to prove? But to speak plain English for the future, if any man can shew by any writing of any Christian, from the Apostles to this innovation, any man endowed with the power of the keys, that was not also qualified to preach and to celebrate the Eucharist, I am content to be of the presbyteries the next morning, though I am so well satisfied that it will never be shewn, that I say confidently, it will always be to-morrow.

[Bishops
above
priests.]

§ 44. Now because the power of the keys, that is, the whole power of the Church, whereof that power is the root and source, is common to Bishop and presbyters, it is here demanded, what act we can shew peculiar to the Bishop, by precept of God's word, for which that order may be said to be superior to that of presbyters^b. A demand suitable to the definition of the School^c, wherein an order is said to be, a power to do some special act: but extremely wide of the

^a This was done in a pamphlet published by the London Ministers in 1646, intitled, "Jus Divinum Regiminis Ecclesiastici, The Divine Right of Church Government asserted and evidenced by the Holy Scriptures," p. 174. —The passages quoted are in Rel. Assemb., chap. iv., the latter part of sect. 38, and the first part of sect. 40.

^b "Now here we would gladly know, what the men make the distinct office of a Bishop. Is it to edify the Church by word and sacraments? Is it to ordain others to that work? Is it to rule, to govern, by admonition and other

censures? If any of these, if all these make up the proper work of a Bishop, we can prove from Scripture that these belong unto the presbytery, which is no more than was granted by a council."—Smectynannus, sect. v.

^c "Si autem queritur quid sit, quod vocatur ordo? Sane diu potest significum esse, id est, sacrum quoddam, quo spiritualis potestas traditur ordinato et officium. Character ergo spiritualis, ubi fit promotio potestatis, ordo vel gradus vocatur. Magist. Sent. ubi iv. dist. 24.

terms that have been held heretofore. Have we been told all this while, that the presbyteries are the throne and sceptre of Christ, the force and power of His kingdom; hath so much Christian blood been drawn for the cause; and now, instead of shewing that they are either commanded, or consistent with the word of God, is it demanded, that the government in possession in the Church, from the Apostles, shew reason why it cannot be abolished, though instituted by the Apostles? Surely, though this is possible to be shewed, yet though it could not be shewed, it might be beyond any power on earth to abolish the order of Bishops^d.

CHAP.
III.

§ 45. For my part, I conceive I have shewed heretofore, that the power of every respective Church was deposited by the Apostles with the respective Bishop and presbyters^e; and that therefore in the ages next to the Apostles, the advice and consent of the presbyters did concur with the Bishop in ordering of ecclesiastical matters; whereas congregations were not yet distinct, but a Bishop and presbyters over the common body of each Church. Over and above what hath been said, the condemning of Marcion at Rome, and of Noetus

[Bishops and priests not always used to particular congregations.]

^a "Whether the next age immediately succeeding the Apostles, be not a sufficient warrant for prelatical jurisdiction, seeing it may be proved, say they, that there were then Bishops.

The answer is negative, first, because: it is not a sufficient warrant to bind the government of the Church upon any human example, which hath not express warrant from God's word. Secondly, because the men who were there called Bishops cannot be proved to have been Christian Bishops, or to have had or exercised such a jurisdiction as our prelates usurp. Thirdly, could that be proved, yet being not according unto, but directly against the Scripture, we ought not to regard it."—*Christ on His Throne*, case ii. pp. 7, 8, A.D. 1640.

^b As for the particulars insisted on, first for the abolition of episcopacy, we take leave to say, it is not the apostolical Bishop which the bill desired of your Majesty intends to remove, but that episcopacy which was formerly established by law in this kingdom, grown up to a height of outward pomp and greatness, and found by experience to be a grievance to the subject, a hindrance of piety, an encroachment upon

the power of the civil magistrate, and so a burden to the persons, purses, and consciences of men. Whereupon the Parliament, finding it to be for the honour of your Majesty, and profit of the subject, to take it away, desire this bill for that purpose, not meddling with the apostolical Bishop, nor determining what that Bishop is whom the Apostles mention in Scripture, but only to put him down by a law who was set up by a law. Nothing can be more proper for Parliaments than to alter, repeal, or make laws, as experience teacheth to be for good of the commonwealth: but admitting that apostolical Bishops were within the purport of this bill, we humbly conceive it doth not follow that therefore in conscience it must not be passed, for we may not grant that no occasion can make that alterable, which is found to have no foundation only in the practice of the Apostles: we suppose that some things have been altered which the Apostles practised."

—The Commissioners' Reply to His Majesty's Answer, Nov. 20, 1648. Rushworth's Collections, vol. ii, part iv. p. 1335.

^c Prim. Govern., chap. iii.

CHAP.
III

at Ephesus, are expressly said by Epiphanius, *Hæres.* xlii. num. i. and ii.¹, *Hæres.* lvii. num. i.², to have been done and passed by the act of the presbyters of those Churches. 120

[Priests
of course
to the
Bishop.]

§ 46. The difference between Alexander Bishop, and Arius presbyter, of Alexandria, is said to have risen at a meeting and debate of that Bishop and his presbyters, in the letter of Constantine to those two, reported by Eusebius, *De Vita Constantini*, ii. 69^b, and Epiphanius, *Hæres.* lxix. num. iii.¹; and, which is of a later date, the excommunication of Andronicus, in Synesius's fifty-eighth epistle², I find reported to have passed in the same sort; and all this agreeable to the practice recorded in the Scriptures. For when St. Paul instructeth Timothy saying, 1 Tim. v. 19, 20, "Against a presbyter receive not an accusation, but under two or three witnesses. Them that sin rebuke openly, that the rest may fear,"—is it not easy to gather from hence, that he commandeth such accusations to be brought and proved before Timothy with the rest of his presbyters; but the competent censure to be executed before the whole congregation of the Church? And is it not manifest that St. James first gives St. Paul audience in a consistory of the presbyters, to advise what course to take, before the congregation be acquainted with the business, Acts xxi. 18? The same being the practice of St. Cyprian's time, when Cornelius of Rome writeth to him *Epist.* xlv.¹ "*placuit contrahi presbyterium*;" as also expressed

¹ Καὶ τοῖς ἐνὶ πρεσβυτέραις περιούσιαις . . . ἤτιι συναχθῆναι, καὶ οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν συγκεχώρηκε . . . τοῖς αὐτ' ἐκείνου καιροῦ πρεσβυτέροις τοῦτο τὸ ζήτημα λεγών, . . . ἐπειδὴ μὴ ἠθέλησαν αὐτὸν δεῖσθαι· τοῦτο οὖν φανερὰς αὐτοῖς ἔλεγε τί μὴ ἠθελήσατέ με ὑποδεῖσθαι, τῶν δὲ λεγόντων, ὅτι οἱ δυνάμεθα ἅντι τῇ ἐπιτροπῇ τοῦ τιμίου πατρὸς σου τοῦτο ποιῆσαι.—*Contr. Marcion.* pp. 302, 303. Colon. 1682.

² Οἱ μακάριοι πρεσβύτεροι τῆς Ἐκκλησίας προσκαλεσάμενοι αὐτὸν, ἐξήραζον περὶ ταύτων ἁπάντων, . . . ὁ δὲ τὰ κριτὰ μὲν ἠρεῖτο, ἐπὶ τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου ἀγόμενος, . . . ὡς οὖν ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἵκεν, ἐξέωσαν αὐτὸν τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ.—*Contr.* Nussl p. 180. Colon. 1682.

³ Μακάριον τοῖς ἐκείνους ἐκλήρηται τοῖς παρόντος ζητήματος τὴν καταβολήν. ἵτι γὰρ καὶ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος παρὰ τῶν πρεσ-

βυτέρων ἐζητεῖς τί δὴ ποτε αὐτὸν ἕκαστος ὑπερ τῶος τότε τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει γεγραμμένων . . . σύ τε ὁ Ἀρειο, τοῦδ' ὅπερ ἡ μῆτε τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐνθυμηθῆναι, . . . ἀνυπόστατος ἐντέθεικας.—pp. 471, 472. ed. Vales.

⁴ Συγκαλεῖται τοῖς ἐν τῇ πρεσβυτερίᾳ οἱ ἐπισκόποι καὶ ἄλλοις τιμῇ ἐπισκόπους παρόντας, καὶ ἀνέτασιν τοῦτον ποιεῖται καὶ ἀνάκρισιν, ὡς δὲ αὖτε ἐτίσθη τῇ ἀληθείᾳ ἐξού αὐτὸν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, καὶ ἐκκήρυκτον ποιεῖ ἐν τῇ πόλει.—*Contr. Arian.* p. 729. Colon. 1682.

⁵ Ἐξίσταται γὰρ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ καταμύνας καὶ μετ' ἄλλων βουλευσάσθαι ἐνὶ δὲ οἷς τὸ συνέδριον μετέλαθε τὴν Ἀνδρονίκου μανίαν, ἀκούσατε δυνεο. Opp p. 201. Paris. 1648.

⁶ Nussl p. 180. Colon. 1682. ed. Vales, 10.

in the Apostolical Constitutions, ii. 47^m, by the name of *CHAP.*
ἡσαστήρια, or consistories appointed there to be held every *III.*
 week, for composing all differences, against the Lord's day:
 and therefore, as for my part, the learned Blondell^a might
 have spared all his exact diligence, to shew that presbyters did
 concur with the Bishop in acts of this nature. The cunning
 would be in proving the consequence, that therefore Bishop
 and presbyters are all one, which all common sense disavows.

§ 47. For be it granted, which he insisteth upon so much^o, [Bishops,
 that—as the commentary upon St. Paul's Epistles under even if
 St. Ambrose's name relateth, Eph. iv. 11.^p—at the first the usurpers,
 eldest of the presbyters was wont to be taken into the place cannot be
 of the Bishop: for it is probable that this course was kept in set aside.]
 some places, though his conjectures will not serve to prove
 that it was a general rule: what will this enable him to infer
 for the power of the Bishop being once received into the
 first place: who knows very well the gallant speech of Valen-
 tinian, recorded by Ammianus, lib. xxvi.^q, to the very army
 that had chosen him emperor, and at the instant of his in-
 auguration began to mutiny about retracting their choice;
 that it was in their power to choose an emperor before they
 had done it; intimating, that being chosen, it was not in their
 power to withdraw their obedience. For, by the same reason,
 whatsoever be the means that promoted the Bishop, the
 measure of the power to which he was promoted must be
 taken from the law given the Church by the Apostles, ex-
 pressed by the practice of it; as there is no doubt but the
 Roman emperors were advanced to an absolute power, though
 by the choice of their soldiers.

§ 48. It is not my purpose to say that the power of the

^a See Rel. Assemb., chap. iv. sect. 10.

^o In his book, intitled "Apologia
 pro sententia Hieronymi de Episcopis
 et Presbyteris"—printed at Amster-
 dam, 1646.

^p "Utrumque primum nascente
 Christianismo presbyterorum aggregari
 collegium cepit, antiquissimum inter
 collegia primatus contigit, ut conse-
 cratus totius caput fratrumque tandem
 spectatus jure quodam *apostolicas*
præter id autem,—ne ab Hilari unus
 auctoritate pendere videamur—ex in-
 timo reuocissimæ antiquitatis annu-
 petitis sequentis undique munien-

dum.—Blondell. Apol., sect. ii. § 21.
 p. 52.

^q Cited before in Prim. Govern.,
 chap. xii. sect. 4.

^r Nec speranti nec appetenti mode-
 ramini orbis Romanum milia, at potissimo
 omnium, vestras detulisse virtutes.
 Quod erat igitur in manu positum
 vestra, nondum electo imperii formatore,
 utiliter et gloriose complētis, adscito
 in honorum verticem eo, quem ab in-
 cunte adolescentia ad hanc usque
 ætatis maturitatem splendide integre-
 que vixisset experiundo cognoscitis.
 cap. 2. p. 449. Paris, 1681.

CHAP.
III.[Difference be-
tween the
episcopal
and imper-
ial power.]

Bishop in the Church is such. But it is my purpose to appeal to common sense and daily experience, and to demand, whether, in those societies or bodies, which consist of a standing council and a head thereof, endowed with the privilege of a negative, the power of the head, and of the several members, be one and the same? If not, then is there the same difference between the Bishop and the presbyters, by the Scriptures, interpreted by the original practice of the Church. The instructions addressed to Timothy and Titus, I suppose, obliged not them alone, but all that were concerned, to yield obedience to what thereby they are commanded to do. If any thing concerning the subject of those instructions could have passed without Timothy and Titus, they were all a mere nullity. For instance, if, by the presbyters' votes, ordination might have been made without Timothy, they might commit sin, and the blame thereof lie on Timothy's score: to which St. Paul, if he lay hands suddenly on any man, makes him liable. So the angels of the seven Churches, as they are commended for the good, so are they charged with the sins of their Churches'. Which, how can it be reasonable, but for the eminent power in them, without which no public thing could pass?

[Of the
testimony
of St. Ig-
nati-
us.]

§ 49. I do here willingly mention Ignatius, because of the injustice of that exception that is made against him. Surely, had we none but the old copy, which for my part is freely confessed to be interpolated, and mixed with passages of a later hand; I would confidently appeal to the common sense of any man not fascinated with prejudice, how that can be imagined to be always foisted in which is the perpetual subject of all his epistles: dwelling only upon the avoiding of heresy and schism; and the avoiding of schism everywhere

"And for the angel to be meant of one single man doth imply many absurdities, as that God should destroy a whole Church for one man's sake: for God threateneth the angel of Ephesus if he repent not, to remove his candlestick out of his place, to wit, that whole Church. But God never doth so; there is not in all the whole Scripture any one example, that God ever rooted out a whole state or Church, general or particular, for one man's sin, be he magistrate or governor. And if God,

for one pretended Prelate's sin, should remove or destroy a whole Church . . . then what security or safety can the whole Church or State of England long promise to itself. . . ?"—Christ on His Throne, case i. pp. 4, 5. Smeetyminus likewise repeats the objection:—"Now we have no warrant in the word to think that Christ would remove His Gospel from a Church for the sin of one Bishop, when all the other ministers and the Churches themselves are free from those sins."—Sect. xiii.

inculcated to consist in this, that without the Bishop nothing
be done, and all with advice of the presbyters? But it seems
to me a special act of providence, that the true copy of these
epistles, free from all such mixture, is published during this
dispute among us. Which the Lord Primate of Ireland
having first smelt out by the Latin translation which he
published, Isaac Vossius, according as he presumed, hath
now found and published, out of the library at Florence, far
enough from suspicion of partiality in this cause.

§ 50. Nor is the learned Blondell to be regarded, pre-
suming to stigmatize so clear a record for forged. It seems
that his book was written before he saw this copy; and had
he not condemned it in his preface, he must have suppressed
and condemned his own work. But when it appears that this
record is admitted, as true and native, of all that are able to
judge of letters, it must appear, by consequence, that he hath
given sentence against his own book. In the meantime it is to
be lamented, that by the force of prejudice so learned a man
had rather that the advantage of so many pregnant autho-
rities of a companion of the Apostles against the Socinians*,
should be lost to the Church, than part with his own, whether
opinion or interest, condemned by the same evidence. Cer-
tainly those weak exceptions from the style of Ignatius†, have
more in them of will than of reason, to all that have relished
that simplicity of language, which, called by St. Paul ἰδιω-
ταῖς λόγος^a, is to be seen in the writings of Apostolical per-
sons—Irenæus, Justin, Clemens Romanus, and after them
Epiphanius, and the Apostolical Constitutions: and he was
very forward to find exceptions, that could imagine that
Ignatius calleth the order of Bishops νεωτερικὴν τάξιν[‡],

[Reason of
Blondell's
rejection
of St. Ig-
natiuz.]

* Ignatii Epistolæ non sunt libere a
suppositis depravatæ, et additionis
et demque suppositionis, et locus ille
ab adversariis citatus in Epist. ad
Philipp. in Latina editione, de cuius
depravatione nimis quam de Græcæ
insuperari licet, ita legitur, ut omnino
adversariarum sententiæ ejus Scriptu-
ræ verba repugnent.—I. Socin. Re-
sponx. ad Jacob. Wueick, cap. 12, p. 618.
Ire. cap. 1636.

† Sed postquam attentiore animo,
singularium (epistolæ) et phrasum
et materiam et ordinem expendi, blan-

dentes antea spes, pudibundus abjicere
coactus, bonæ patrum fidei impudenter
illusam dolui. Quis enim Apostolo-
rum discipulo, imo si Chrysostomum
audiamus—Apostolo in vinculis mar-
tyrium athelanti dictionis genus affec-
tatum patrique epithetorum ad pompam
compositarum fermenti turgens adeo
placuisse credat.—Blondell. Prefat. p.
40.

^a Εἰ δὲ καὶ ἰδιώτης τῶ λόγῳ.—2 Cor.
xi. 6.

† Sed opportune nobis.—licet forte
ingratis—singularem εὐκαίρως ἀναιρῶς

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III.

because he so qualified the affirmation of Damas, Bishop of the Magnesia, being a young man when he was ordained Bishop. As for the mention of the Valentianians' heresy¹ in them, he hath been fully told, again and again, that the words of it are extant before Ignatius in the writings of the Apostles.

§ 51. But as to my present purpose, he that considers of what consequence the unity of the Church is to the advancement of Christianity, and of what consequence not only Ignatius, but St. Cyprian, St. Hierome, and all men of judgment, profess the power of Bishops to be to the preservation of unity in the Church, will not beg the question with Blondell, by condemning Ignatius's epistles, because the one head of the subject of them is this one rule—nothing to be done without the Bishop, all things to be done by advice of the presbyters². That to the Philadelphians³ is remarkable above the rest, where he affirmeth, that having no intelligence from any man of the divisions that were among them, the Holy Ghost revealing it to him, said within him, for the means of composing them, "Without the Bishop let nothing be done." It is said that this rule is ineffectual, hindering rather than expediting the course of business: the answer is, that it is enough that thus much is determined by the Apostles, the rest remaining to be further limited by human right, as the state of the Church shall require.

§ 52. According to this rule, it is justly said that baptism is not given but by a Bishop⁴, as it is given only by those

[Bishops
and Bap-
tists.]

¹ *de Valentianis, quosdam—consecro suo Pontificatus—aliis videri possit, Episcopatus, consecranda ratio videtur ad se totius consensum immutari, presbiter Ignatius—tunc presbiteri aut consecranda ratio dicit potius quam Ignatius presbiter ab Apostolica ecclesia et ordinata videretur et Pontificatus quatuordecim—Blondell, Præfat., p. 42.*

² *Nephtesium vero et Ignatiusque longe praestantiori ministerio suo, cum illis ex eadem spe presbiteri sunt, consecratus sunt, cum Valentianorum presbiter Ignatius consecratus presbiteri presbiterum ministerio hoc ex processu legit—Blondell, Præfat., p. 42.*

³ *Ad presbiteri consensu de per omnes hoc epistola per Episcopos, quatuordecim Patrum, quoniam de Christianismo actum*

sit, si Episcopi presbiteris majores Christianis plebibus desint, aut ab iisdem minus colantur!—Blondell, Præfat., p. 42.

⁴ *Οι δε υποτασσόμενοι μοι, ως προσδοκῶντες τὸν μερισμὸν τιμῶν, λέγειν ταῦτα μαρτυροῦν δε μοι ἐν ᾧ δίδεμαι, δε. ἀπὸ καθ' ἑαυτὴν ἀσφαλείας οὐκ ἔχον· τὸ δε Πρεβ. μα. ὑποτασσέν λέγον τὰδε· χωρίς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου μηδὲν ποιεῖτε.—cap. vii. p. 32, ed. Coteler.*

⁵ *Ordinarius Baptismi minister imprimis est Episcopus; tanquam populi soli commissi primarius et ordinarius Pastor. After quoting Tertullian, St. Jerome, and the eighth canon of the synod of Vern—synodus Vernensis—A. D. 445, he concludes: Hinc evidens ex sententia Patrum, solis Episcopi*

whom the order of any Church which was never put in force without the Bishop, enableth to give it; a thing manifestly seen by confirmation. What reason can we imagine that Philip the deacon, being enabled to do miracles for the conversion of the Samaritans, was not enabled to give the Holy Ghost, but the Apostles must come down to do it? was it not to shew that all graces of that kind were subject to the graces of the Apostles in the visible Church, whereof they were then chief governors? So that, as then, those that received the Holy Ghost were thereby demonstrated to be members of the visible Church, in which God evidenced His presence by that grace: so was it always found requisite that Christians be acknowledged members of the visible Church by the prayers and blessing of their successors. Which order, as it serves to demonstrate this succession to all that are void of prejudice, so had it been improved to this Apostolical intent, what time as all Christians began to be baptized in infancy—renewing the contract of Christianity, that is, the promise of baptism, and the chief pastor's acknowledgment of them for members of the Church upon that contract, by blessing them with imposition of hands—without doubt it had been and were the most effectual means to retain and retrieve the ancient discipline of the Church, when men might see themselves, by their own solemn profession, obliged to forfeit the communion of the Church, by forfeiting the terms on which they were admitted to it. If it can thus be said that baptism is not given without the Bishop, much more will the same be said of other acts, of the power of the keys, whereof that is the first. Presbyters have an interest in it, limitable by canonical right; but as to the visible Church, that any man be excommunicated without a Bishop, is against this rule of the Apostles.

§ 53. About ordinations, divers matters of fact are in vain alleged by Blondell and others, from the ancient records of the Church, tending to degrade Bishops into the rank of presbyters^c. If the Goths, from the time of Valerian to the

[Instances
of irregu-
lar ordi-
nations.]

jure proprio et ordinario competere collationem Baptismi. -Van Espen. *Jur. Eccl. Univ. de Baptismo*, cap. iii. § 1. tom. i. p. 276. Lovan. 1733.

^c The Alexandrian succession as described by St. Jerome, and the ordination of Felicissimus by Novatus, a Carthaginian priest.

CHAP. III. council of Nice, for some seventy years—as he conjectureth out of Philostorgius, ii. 5^d—if the Scots before Palladius, as Fordun, iii. 8^e, and John Major, ii. 2ⁱ, relate, retained Christianity under presbyters alone, without Bishops, they had not in that estate the power of governing their own Churches in themselves, but depended on their neighbours that ordained them those presbyters; and the government of the Church among them then must be as now among the Abasines, where their one Bishop does nothing but ordain them presbyters, as Godignus, *ubi supra*^k, relates: and as the Catholic Christians of Antiochia lived for some thirty-four years after the banishment of Eustathius. Theodoret, *Ecclesiast. Hist.* i. 21^b. But if the Goths had Bishops before Ulphilas, at the council of Nice, as he shews out of the Ecclesiastical Histories^l, is any man so mad as to grant him, who never endeavours to prove it, that they were made by their own presbyters, rather than by the neighbour-Bishops of the Roman empire, from whence they received Christianity? The head of a monastery in Egypt being a presbyter, is said by Cassian^k, *Collat.* iv. 1, to have promoted a monk whom he

^a Ὁ τάλιν Οὐρφίλας οὗτος καθηγῆσατο τῆς ἐκδόου τῶν ἑσπερίων, ἐπισκοποι αὐτῶν πρῶτος καταστάς.—p. 11. Genev. 1643.

^b Papa Celestinus primum Episcopum in Scotia misit sanctum Palladium. . . . Ante ejus adventum habebant Scoti filii doctores, ac sacramentorum ministratores, presbyteros solummodo vel monachos, ritum æquantes Ecclesie primitivæ.—Apud Gale, Britan. Script., tom. i. p. 625. Oxon. 1691.

^c Anno Domini CCCXXIX. sanctum Palladium Celestinus Papa Episcopum consecrat et ad Scotiam mittit. Nam per sacerdotes et monachos sine Episcopis Scoti in fide erudiebantur.—fol. 23. Paris. 1521. Philostorgius, Fordun, and Major, are cited by Blondell, sect. iii. de *Ordinationibus*, pp. 313—315.

^d Chap. ii. sect. 19.

^e Διὰ τοι τοῦτο πλείστοι τῶν ἑσπερίων προαιρουμένων, καὶ τῶν ἱερομένων, καὶ τῶν πολλῶν τοῖς ἐκκλησιαστικοῖς καταλειπότες συλλόγους πρὸς ταυτοῖς συνηροῦσιν.—Tom. iii. p. 669, ed. Sirmond. Paris. 1642.

^f Utcunque sit, cum clerici captivi

Gothicas Ecclesias fundaverint, eademque per annos fere 70 ab anno circiter 260 ad 327 quo sedem Nicomediensem, recuperavit Ulphilæ primarius ordinator Lusebius, pleno jure adiuvit-traverint; penes presbyteros Ecclesiarum illarum rectores universa ordinationum et jurisdictionis potestas mansit, nec ullæ—si Philostorgium audiamus—fuit inter eos ante Ulphilam Præsul: si vero ex conciliis Nicæni subscriptionibus Theophilum Gothicæ Metropoleos Episcopum Ulphilam—quem Socrates lib. iv. c. 27. Theodoretus lib. iv. c. 32. Sozomenus lib. vi. c. 36, sub Valente collocant—præter sedisse statuamus, validiore telo armati in causam incumbemus: quibus enim superiorem sibi met—qualis Theophilus fuit—Episcopum præficere licuit, presbyterorum, id est, æqualium ordinatorum jus quis denegare audeat?—Blondell. Apolog., sect. iii. § de *Ordinationibus*, p. 211.

^g Inter ceteros Christianæ philosophiæ viros Abbatem quoque videmus Damaïem. . . . qui merito puritatis ac mansuetudinis sum a Beato Paphnutio solitudinis ejusdem presbytero . . . ad diaconum est prælatum officium. In-

loved to the priesthood. Is not this done by recommending him to his Bishop for that purpose, though he ordained him not himself? The Bishops of Durham and Lindisfarne are said by Bede, *Eccles. Hist. Angl.* iii. 3, 5^m, to come from the monastery of Hy, governed by a priest. And it is true that the monks of that monastery, having great reputation of holiness, swayed the Church there. But withal, Bede mentions expressly the synod of the province, and therefore we need ask no further who ordained them Bishops, knowing that by the primitive rules of the Church it is the act of a synod.

§ 54. Some seem to conceive this to be the meaning of the supposed St. Ambrose upon Eph. iv. 11^o; where he saith, that at first the eldest of the presbyters succeeded the Bishop, but that afterwards the course was changed, *ut non ordo sed meritum crearet episcopum*; which they understand thus^o: that his merit, and not the bench of presbyters, should make the Bishop thenceforth; and therefore that formerly the presbyters did it. But this is nothing: for it is plain that *ordo* here signifies not the bench of presbyters, but a man's rank in it, according to the time of his promotion to it. These and others of his slight objections are easily wiped away; but

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III.

[The translator of St. Ambrose]

tantum enim Beatus Paphnutius virtutibus ipseus adgaudebat, optantque subiret successorem dignissimum providere superstes eum presbyteri honore provexit.—p. 370. Atrebat. 1628.

¹ Such is the provision made in the Rule of St. Benedict.—Si quis Abbas cum presbyterum vel diaconum ordinare petent, de suis eligat qui dignus sit ascendere throno.—Reg. S. Bened., cap. lxx. —*quod* Holsten. Cod. Reg., tom. i. p. 133. August. Viandelle. 1759.

² Idem ergo Oswald mox ubi regnum suscepit mittit ad majores natu Scottorum petens ut sibi mitteretur Antistes, cujus doctrina ac munus foret genus, quam regerat, Anglorum. Deinde sibi fidei et domus discebat, et suscipere sacramenta. Neque aliquando tardius, quod petiit, impetravit: accepit namque pontificem Adamannum, Veniens igitur ad se Episcopo, rex locum sedis Episcopalis, in insula Lindisfarne, ubi ipse petebat, trahit, ambulantur praeceptoribus Scottis parvulis Anglorum una cum majoribus studium et observatione discipline regularis. Nam monachi erant maxime,

qui ad predicandum venerant. Monachus ipse Episcopus Adam, utpote de insula, quae vocatur Hii, destinatus;—Cap. iii. pp. 159—161.

At illi, ut perhibent, tractatum magnum in concilio, quid esset agendum, habere coeperunt, tunc sit Adam, nam et ipse concilio intererat. . . . Quo audito, omnium, qui convenerant, ad ipsum ora et oculi conversi, diligenter quid diceret, discutebant, et ipsum esse dignum Episcopatu, ipsum ad erudiendos incredulos et indoctos mitti debere, decernunt, sicque illum ordnantes ad predicandum miserunt.—Cap. v. p. 167. Londin. 1838.

³ Cited before in Prim. Govern., chap. xii. sect. 4.

⁴ "And this rectorship or priority was devolved at first from one elder to another by succession, when he who was in the place was removed, the next in order among the elders succeeded. But this was afterwards changed, and that unworthy men might not be preferred, it was made a matter of election, and not a matter of succession."—Smectymnus, sect. vi.

CHAP. III. there are two which seem to most men to create some difficulty. The one is the thirteenth canon of the council of Ancyra, which—if the reading be true which he produces¹, and Walo Messalinus presses²—intimates plain enough that city presbyters might ordain presbyters at that time when it was made: the other is the Antiquities of the Church of Alexandria, published not long since³, out of Eutychius's history, who was patriarch there in his time, and affirms that from St. Mark to Demetrius, the Bishop there was not only chosen, but ordained by imposition of the hands of twelve presbyters of that Church. To the canon of Ancyra I acknowledge that the reading which they follow is, beside the copies which they allege, found in a very ancient written one of the library at Oxford⁴, as well as in the old Latin translation of Dionysius Exiguus⁵, *Χωρεπισκόπους μὴ ἐξεῖναι πρεσβυτέρους ἢ διακόνους χειροτονεῖν, ἀλλὰ μὴν μηδὲ πρεσβυτέρους πόλεως, χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπιτραπῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπίσκοπου μετὰ γραμμάτων ἐν ἐκάστη παροικίᾳ*⁶. "That it be not lawful for country Bishops to ordain presbyters or deacons: nor for the city presbyters, without leave granted from the Bishop, by letters in every parish."

¹ Blondell. Apol., sect. iii. p. 95.

² Walonis Messalini de Episcopis et presbyteris, cap. v. pp. 300, 311. Lugdun. Batav. 1641.

³ This book was published by Selden for the purpose of helping the Puritans against the Church—upon which Henandot remarks as follows: *Mirum sane est literato homini venisse unquam in mentem, posse se unius auctoris barbari, qui decimo sæculo scribebat, testimonio evertere antiquissimam, et Ecclesie commam de Episcopis per tres alios Episcopos ordinandis traditionem, aut inauditura alibi quam apud hæreticos veteres, et quidem paucissimos, dogma de paritate Episcoporum et presbyterorum stabilire.* Unde explosus huc usque ab omnibus Seldenus fuit, contentus infelici illa laude, et ejus hominum civem pudeat, quam apud Parlamentarios funos et parriicidium anhelantes, quod post annos aliquot perpetraverunt, consecutus est.—Hist. Patriarch. Alexandr., pp. 7, 8. Paris. 1713.

⁴ See below, note u.

⁵ Labbei, tom. i. col. 1497: here it

is canon xii. The Greek version in Labbe differs from that in the text, and is as follows: *Χωρεπισκόπους μὴ ἐξεῖναι πρεσβυτέρους ἢ διακόνους χειροτονεῖν, ἀλλὰ μὴν πρεσβυτέρους πόλεως, χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπιτραπῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου μετὰ γραμμάτων ἐν ἐτέρᾳ παροικίᾳ.* Conc. Ancyran. A.D. 314. can. xiii. tom. i. col. 1492. ed. Venet.

⁶ Joannis Antiocheni Collect. Can. Tit. xxi. apud Justell. Bibl. Jur., tom. i. p. 545.

Solus, quod sciam, πρεσβυτέρους habet Johannes Antiochenus in *Canonum Digesto*, neque enim diversi esse auctoris puto exemplar Bodleianum 5771. a me alibi commemoratum, neque alio pertinere videtur codex ille vetustissimus a viro doctissimo Herberto Thurmicio in tractatu Anglicæ linguae conscripto, *De Jur. Ecclesie in Civitat. Christiana*, cap. iii. p. 140. in Bibliotheca extate Bodleiana detectus, quem crediderim ipsum esse ejusdem esse Joannis MStum numero 86 denotatum. —Routh. Reliq. Saec., tom. iii. not. in *Ancyran Concilii Canones*, p. 433. Oxon. 1815.

§ 55. But I cannot grant this reading to be true, which so many circumstances render questionable. First, in an Arabic paraphrase now extant in the same library, there is nothing to be found of that clause, ἀλλὰ μὴν μηδὲ πρεσβυτέροις πόλεως. Secondly, Isidore Mercator's^a translation—which seems to be that which was anciently received in the Spanish Churches before Dionysius Exiguus, wherewith that copy agreed, which Hervetus^b translated, as also Fulgentius's Breviate, Can. xcii.^c, and the copy of Dionysius Exiguus, which Pope Adrian the First^d followed—bath only this: *Vicarii Episcoporum, quos Græci chorepiscopos vocant, non licet presbyteros vel diaconos ordinare. Sed nec presbyteria civitatis, sine episcopi præcepto, amplius aliquid imperare, vel sine auctoritate literarum ejus, in unaquaque parochia, aliquid agere.* Thirdly, can the reading of the last words, μετὰ γραμμάτων ἐν ἐκάστη παροικίᾳ, seem probable to reasonable persons? what consequence of sense is there in saying, “unless licence be granted by letters in every parish?” which is plain in this reading when it is said, “that the city presbyters do nothing in the parish,” that is, in the country or diocese, “without authority by the Bishop's letters.” Fourthly, seeing this is that which is afterwards provided for by the council of Laodicea, Can. lvii.^e, in the same subject, it seems very probable that this should be the provision which the council of Ancyra intended, as all Ignatius's epistles and other canons, *Apost.* xxxviii.^f, *Arclat.* xviii.^g, express it.

§ 56. Though for my part I do not believe that we have the true reading of this canon in any copy that I have heard

^a Labbei, tom. i. col. 1503. ed. Venet. where the word presbyteros is in the margin and not in the text.

^b Chorepiscopus non licet presbyteros vel diaconos ordinare, sed neque urbis presbyteros, nisi cum literis ab Episcopo permissum fuerit in aliena parochia. — Labbei, tom. i. col. 1491. ed. Venet.

^c Presbyteri civitatis sine jussu Episcopi nil il jubent, nec in unaquaque parochia aliquid agant. — Justell. Bibl. Jur., tom. i. p. 451. Paris. 1664.

^d Chorepiscopi presbyterum, vel diaconum non ordiant, nec presbyter aliquid agat in parochia sine præcepto Episcopi. — Mauriac. Epit. Canon. apud

Labbei, tom. viii. col. 568. ed. Venet.

^e . . . ἀπαίτας δὲ καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις μηδὲν πράττειν ἄνευ τῆς γνώμης τοῦ Ἐπισκόπου. Conc. Laodiceæ. c. 11. 364. Labbei, tom. i. col. 1540. ed. Venet.

^f Οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ οἱ διακονοὶ ἄνευ γνώμης τοῦ Ἐπισκόπου μηδὲν ἐπιτελέωσιν. — Labbei, tom. i. col. 33. ed. Venet.

^g De diaconibus urbeis, ut non sibi tantum præsumant: sed honore presbyteria reservent, ut sine conscientia ipsorum nihil tale faciant. — Concil. Arclat. A.D. 314. Labbei, tom. i. col. 1453. ed. Venet.

CHAP. III. of or seen: because the Arabic paraphrase aforesaid deduces the clause of the country Bishops at large, that it is not granted them, *Ut faciant presbyteros neque diaconos, omnino, neque in villa neque in urbe, absque mandato Episcopi: nisi rogatus fuerit Episcopus hac de re, et permiserit eis ut faciant eos, necnon scripserit eis scriptum, quod auctoritatem dabit eis eadem de re.* Whereupon I do believe that the canon is abridged and curtailed in all copies, and that the true intent of it consists in two clauses: the first, that country Bishops ordain neither presbyters nor deacons without leave under the Bishop's hand: the second, that the city presbyters do nothing in the diocese without the like leave: though I undertake not to give you the words of mine own head.

[Eutychius of no authority.]

§ 57. As for Eutychius, I cannot admit his relation to be historical truth, having forfeited his credit in that part of it where he says that there were no Bishops in Egypt, beside him of Alexandria, before Demetrius*. The contrary whereof appears by Eusebius, *Eccles. Hist.* vi. 2, where he says of Egypt, τῶν δὲ αὐτῶν παροικίων τὴν Ἐπισκοπὴν νεωστὶ τότε μετὰ Ἰουλιανὸν Δημήτριος ὑπελάβει. "That then lately Demetrius, after Julian, had undertook the Bishopric of the dioceses there." For where there were dioceses there were Bishops; and if Demetrius after Julian governed the dioceses of Egypt, because Bishop of Alexandria, then were there other episcopal Churches in that province beside Alexandria, before Demetrius. Indeed, if there had been no Bishops under Alexandria, it could not reasonably be avoided that the Bishop should be ordained by the presbyters: otherwise foreign Bishops, that should be called to ordain them a Bishop, must, by so doing, purchase a power over that Church, which never any can be said to have had over those capital Churches of Antiochia, Rome, Alexandria, or Constantinople.

[Of the Egyptian Church.]

§ 58. But supposing that there were Bishops under him of Alexandria, it is a greater inconvenience to grant that their chief should be made without their consent—which ordination implies, by the often-quoted rule of St. Paul, 1 Tim. v. 22—by the presbyters of Alexandria. And therefore when St.

* Eutych. Origen. ed. Selden. p. 32. London. 1642.

Hierome says, *Epist. lxxxv.*, that Bishops were set over the presbyters by custom of the Church, to avoid schism, because that, *Alexandria à Marco evangelista usque ad Heraclum et Dionysium Episcopos, presbyteri semper unum ex se electum, in exaltiori gradu collocatum, Episcopum nominabant*; "At Alexandria, from Mark the evangelist till Heraclas and Dionysius were Bishops, the presbyters were wont to choose one of their number, and placing him in a higher degree, named him their Bishop:"—I am not to grant that he intends by these words that he was ordained also by the presbyters. For instance, Eusebius, *Eccles. Hist. vi. 29*, relating, that at the ordination of Fabianus at Rome, a dove lighting upon his head, the people crying out, ἀμελλήτως ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς λαβούτας αὐτὸν ἐπιθεῖναι "took him presently, and set him in the Bishop's throne:" and yet it cannot be said that therefore the people ordained him Bishop. So likewise the presbyters of Alexandria seated one of their number in the Bishop's chair, saith St. Hierome. This installing must needs have the force of a nomination by the presbyters, and so sway and prejudice the consent of the Bishops assembled to the ordination—which regularly was to be done by a synod of Bishops—that their choice was never known to have been void before the time of Dionysius and Heraclas, which was enough to ground St. Hierome an argument, though ineffectual.

§ 59. But seeing Eusebius shews us that there were other Bishops in Egypt; seeing the life of St. Mark in Photius saith that he planted Churches in Pentapolis^a—which seem to be those over which the authority of the Bishop of Alexandria is established by the council of Nice, Can. vi.^b,—I must not grant that they received their chief from the presbyters of Alexandria without their own consent, expressed by

^a Cited before in Prim. Govern., chap. vi. sect. 2.

^b Dr. Hammond makes mention twice of this life of St. Mark in his *Dissertationes quatuor*, Diss. iii. cap. x. § 7. Author est vitæ ejus scriptor apud Photium. Again, Diss. iv. cap. ii. § 14, Vitæ ejus apud Photium. Scriptor anonymus. The present editor has not been able to verify the reference, nor to find mention of this life elsewhere.

Petavius quotes from a life of St. Mark written in Arabic a passage like that alluded to in the text. De Eccles. Hierarch., lib. v. cap. ii. § 5.—Petav. Theol. Dogm., tom. iv. p. 151. Antwerp. 1700.

^c τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἐθὺς κρατεῖται, τὰ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ Λιβύῃ καὶ Πενταπόλει, ὥστε τὸν Ἀλεξανδρεῖαι Ἐπισκοπον πάντων τούτων ἔχει τὴν ἱερωσίαν.—Labbei, tom. ii. col. 36. ed. Vener.

CHAP. III.—imposition of hands. This is my opinion of the credit which we are to give to these two passages in point of historical truth. But supposing, not granting them both, I cannot see what can be inferred from either of them prejudicial to the order of Bishops, and the necessity thereof above presbyters. For seeing it is acknowledged that St. Mark ordained a Bishop always to be head of that Church, and that by virtue of this ordinance the presbyters find themselves obliged to proceed to create one—which they did sooner at Alexandria than in other Churches, after the vacancy, saith Epiphanius, *Hæres.* lxi. 11¹,—it is manifest that the authority of a Bishop is necessary to the validity of all acts of the Church, by St. Mark's ordinance: when they acknowledge themselves necessitated to make one, in the first place, that the acts thereof may be valid.

[Meaning
of the
canon of
Ancyra.]

§ 60. Again, as to the canon of Ancyra: suppose presbyters were ordained by presbyters, upon commission from the Bishop, is this any prejudice to the rule, that nothing be done without the Bishop? or is it any advantage to them¹⁰⁰ that would have no Bishops, and so do all against the Bishop? To my reason it seems necessary to distinguish between the solemnity which an act is executed with, and the power and authority by which it is done. And that it cannot be prejudicial to any power, to do that by another which seemeth not fit to be immediately and personally executed by it: the dependence of the Church being safe by the commission acknowledged, and the unity of the Church by that dependence. Some acts of the primitive Church seem to require this distinction, as the making of presbyters by the chor-episcopi, or country Bishops, mentioned in the ancient Greek canons: which, by all likelihood, were not properly Bishops, because not heads of a city Church, which is the Apostolical rule for episcopal Churches. For the aforesaid Arabic paraphrase of the canon of Ancyra describes them thus: *Interpretatio ejus est Episcopi villarum, hoc est, vicarii Episcopi per villas habitatas, quæ fuerint in universa operatione, id est diœcesi.* "The meaning of country Bishops is, that they are Bishops

¹ ἔδοι δὲ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ μὴ χρονίζειν μετὰ τελευτῆς Ἐπισκόπου τοὺς κατὰ ταμίους, ἀλλ' ἅμα γίνεσθαι εἰρήνης

ἐνικα, τοῦ μὴ παρατριβᾶν γενέσθαι ἐν τοῖς λαοῖς, τῶν μὲν τόνδε θελόντων, τῶνδε τόνδε. — p. 735. Colon. 1652.

of villages, that is, the Bishop's vicars in the best inhabited villages of all the diocese." CHAP. III.

§ 61. So it seems that they were set over the greater villages, or bodies of villages, which, in regard of some secular right, resort to some one village lying within the territory of some episcopal city. Therefore the council of Antiochia saith expressly, Can. x.^t, that they, and the countries which they govern, are both subject to the Bishop of the city: whereupon it seems they were ordained by that one Bishop—and so not properly Bishops which are ordained by a synod, or the representatives of it—and that this is the *χειροθεσία ἐπισκόπων*, which the canon there mentions. And this is the reason why they are called *vicarii Episcoporum*, Bishops' deputies, in the ancient translation of the canons, as you have seen. So if the canon of Ancyra enable them to ordain presbyters within their own precinct—for that must be the meaning of it when it says *ἐν ἐκύστη παρ οικίᾳ*, signifying part of the territory of the city assigned to their peculiar care—it seems to delegate this power of the Bishop not to be exercised without letters under his hand and seal, as the canon expresseth.

§ 62. Again, I suppose, no man will deny that all ordinations in schism are mere nullities, though made by persons rightly ordained; because against the unity of the Church. [Ordination in schism null.]

And yet we find such ordinations made valid by the mere decree of the Church, without ordaining anew. As the Meletians in Egypt, by the council of Nice, in Epiphanius and the Ecclesiastical Histories¹: and as Pope Melchiades, much commended for it by St. Augustine^m, offered to receive

¹ Τολῶ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν. ἢ ταῖς χώραις, ἢ τοῖς αὐληγμένοις χωροεπισκόποις, ἐλκοῦ χειροτονίαν ἐκ τῶν Ἐπισκόπων ἐκκλησιαστικῶν, ἵνα τῇ ἀγίᾳ Συνόδῳ εἰδέναι τὰ ἐκτελεσθέντα, καὶ διακρίναι τὰς ὑποκειμένας αὐτοῖς ἐκκλησίας, . . . μήτε προσβῆται, μήτε διδάσκων χειροτονεῖν τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἐκ τῆ πόλεως Ἐπισκόπον, ἢ ὑποκείμενον αὐτοῖς τε καὶ τῇ χώρᾳ. - Conc. Antiochian. A. D. 341, can. x. Labbei, tom. ii. col. 289, ed. Venet.

² Epiphanius. Hæres. lxxvii. Sozomenus, Hist. i. 9, recites the synodical letter. See also Labbei, tom. ii. col. 289, ed. Venet.

^m Et tamen qualis ipsius beati Mel-

chiadis ultima est prolata sententia, quam innocens, quam integra, quam provida atque pacifica, qua neque collegas, in quibus vital constiterat, de collegio suo ausus est removere, et Donato solo, quem totius mali principem juvenerat, maxime culpato, sanitatis recuperanda optionem liberam ceteris fient, paratus communicatorias litteras mittere etiam eis quos a Majorino ordinatorum esse constaret: ita ut quibuscunque locis ducescent Episcopi quos dissensio geminasset, eum conciliari vellet, qui fuisset ordinatus prius, aliam autem eorum plebs alia regenda provideretur. O virum opti-

CHAP.
III.

all the Donatists in their own ranks, beside divers others that might be produced. Among which that expressed in the canons, *Antioch.* xiii.^o, *Apost.* xxxiv.^o, deserves to be remembered, whereby ordinations made in another Bishop's diocese are made void. For the only reason why some things, though they be ill done, yet are to stand good, is, because the power that doth them extendeth to them, but is ill used. So when the power is usurped, as in all schism, or when that is done which the law makes void, it can be to no effect. Therefore when the act of schism is made valid, it is manifest that the order of Bishop and presbyter is conferred in point of right by the mere consent of the Church, which, by the precedent ordination, was conferred only in point of fact, being a mere nullity in point of right. Add hereunto that of the Apostolical Constitutions, viii. 27^o, that a Bishop may be ordained by one Bishop, being enabled by an order of the rest of the province, when they cannot assemble, in case of persecution, or the like. For here the power is derived from all, though the solemnity be executed by one.

[Presby-
ters con-
firmed in
Egypt.]

§ 63. By the same reason it is that confirmation in Egypt was done by the presbyters; as the supposed St. Ambrose, upon Eph. iv.^a—agreeing with the author of the *Questiones in Vetus et Novum Testamentum*, Quæst. ci.^a, among St. Augustine's works—witnesseth: for that is it which the one of them means by *consignant*, the other by *consecrat*, because

mun. O filium Christianæ pacis et patriam Christianæ plebis. — Epist. xliii. tom. ii. col. 46. ed. Ben.

^a Μηδὲνα Ἐπίσκοπον τολμᾶν ἀφ' ἐτέρας ἐπαρχίας εἰς ἑτέραν μεταβαίνειν, καὶ χειροτονεῖν τινος . . . εἰ μὴ παρακληθεὶς ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ δια γραμμάτων τοῦ τε μητροπολίτου, καὶ τῶν ὑν' αὐτῷ Ἐπισκόπων, ὡς εἰς τὴν χώραν παρέρχεται· εἰ δὲ μηδὲν καλοῦται ἀπέλθαι ἀτακτῶς ἐκ χειροποιήτων, καὶ καταστῆται τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν πραγμάτων μὴ προσκόμωσιν αὐτῷ· ἡμεῖς μὲν τὰ ἱερ' αὐτοῦ ποικιλιμῶνα τυγχάνειν, καὶ αὐτὸν δὲ ἵκεῖν τῇ ἀταξίᾳ αὐτοῦ. — Labbei, tom. i. col. 51. ed. Venet.

^b Ἐπίσκοπος μὴ τολμᾶν ἔξω τῶν ἱερῶν ὅρων χειροτονεῖν ποιεῖσθαι εἰς τὰς μη ὑποκειμένας αὐτῷ πόλεις καὶ χώρας· οἱ δὲ ἐκτελέσειν ταῦτο πεποιθὲς παρὰ

τὴν τῶν κατεχόντων τὰς πόλεις ἐκείνας, ἢ τὰς χώρας γνῶμην, καθαιρεῖσθαι καὶ αὐτὸς, καὶ οὐς χειροτονήσειν. — Labbei, tom. i. col. 32. ed. Venet.

^c Ἐὰν δὲ ἀνάγκη καταλάβῃ ὑπὸ ἰνδὸς χειροτονηθῆναι διὰ τὸ μὴ διασπᾶν πλείονας παραγενέσθαι διωγμῶν ὄντας, ἢ ἄλλῃ τινι αὐτίς, ὑψηλῶς συνιέντων τῇ ἐπιτροπῇ πλεόντων Ἐπισκόπων. — Labbei, tom. i. col. 493. ed. Venet.

^d Denique apud Egyptum presbyteri consignant, si præsens non sit Episcopus. — S. Ambros. Opp. tom. ii. col. 241. ed. Ben.

^e Nam in Alexandria et per totam Egyptum, si desit Episcopus, consecratur presbyter. — Append. tom. iii. col. 93. ed. Ben.

limit their assertion that it was only done in the absence of the Bishop; which cannot be supposed at ordinations, since they were regularly to be made at a synod of presbyters. For seeing it was done only in the absence of the Bishop, by consequence it was done by order and commission from the Bishop, by which the custom was established, therefore cannot be prejudicial to that power by virtue of which it was done, as by authority derived from it. And, by understanding, this is the reason of that which we read done, Acts xiii. 1—4, where Paul and Barnabas, being directed by the immediate act of the Holy Ghost, to preach to the Gentiles, the solemnity thereof is performed by those whom we cannot imagine the power of sending them to.

In which opinion I am much confirmed by the practice of the synagogue. For though it is manifest that the power of promoting judges by imposition of hands came from the example of Moses, and the ordaining of the seventy elders, and Joshua, yet we must believe their records, confirmed by Maimoni, *Tit. de Synedrio*, cap. iv., when they tell that in process of time it was done without that solemnity by an instrument, or so, and yet, still called, nevertheless, that is, imposition of hands.

44. And now let them that demand* what is that special which Bishops are able to do, and presbyters not, take their choice. If they be content that the Bishop's acting with interest, that without him nothing be done, be counted a special act, they have the special act which they demand of things that are done in the Church. If they be not,

(The right of the Bishop, presbyters, and people, in Church matters.)

And as these places prove that in the primitive time could stand alone without the presbyters, so there are that give us light to understand that the presbyters could ordain without the Bishops, either of the consent upon the part, that goes under the name of the Church, *Apud Egyptum presbyteri, et presens non est episcopus*, "In Egypt the presbyters, if the Bishop be not present;" and Augustine in the same words, *he chorepiscopus*, who was but a presbyter, had power to impose hands, to ordain within his precincts, with the Bishop's licence"—Smeetynnus, sect. viii.

sect. viii.

* See Prim. Govern., chap. v. sect. 1.

* See Relig. Assemb., chap. iii. sect. 10.

* "Now here we would gladly know what these men make the distinct office of a Bishop

"Is it to edify the Church by word and Sacrament? Is it to ordain others to that work? Is it to rule, to govern, by admonition and other censures? If any of these, if all these make up the proper work of a Bishop, we can prove from Scripture that these belong unto the presbytery, which is no more than was granted by a council."—Smeetynnus, sect. v.

CHAP. though it is easy enough to dispute it everlastingly, yet I will
 III not contend with them about it, seeing it is enough that nothing is done without him, to make him a fair step above his presbyters. And yet, I conceive, there is an act to be named peculiar to Bishops, which is, to sit in a council. Which consisting of the representatives of all Churches, and not capable of all presbyters, and the Bishop's right being, that without him nothing be done in his Church, it follows, that by the right by which he is a Bishop, he is a member of his synod, which no priest can be but by privilege, seeing the whole order cannot. And this according to the Scriptures. For by the premises the Apostles had place in the council at Jerusalem, as ordinary governors of the Churches concerned in it, which Churches had there no other representatives but Paul and Barnabas—as heads of the Churches which they had founded so lately, Acts xiii. xiv.—as it appears, when by them the decree is delivered to execution in the Churches, Acts xvi. 4. As for the presbyters mentioned in it, the same evidence which assures us that they were presbyters, assures us also that they were presbyters of the Church at Jerusalem, and none else⁷.

[*Littera formatæ*]

§ 65. This I conceive the fittest to be thought the special act of a Bishop. For the unity of the whole Church arises from the power deposited in each Church: by virtue whereof, he that communicates with any one Church, in any rank of it, communicates with all Churches in the same. Which was in the primitive Church the effect of the *littera formatæ*⁸, or “letters of mark,” by which this unity of the ancient Church was maintained, inasmuch as he that travelled with such a testimony of his rank in any one Church, by virtue of the same was received in all Churches where he came. And therefore Synesius, in the sentence of excommunication against Andronicus, which, by his fifty-eighth epistle, he published to the

⁷ “There is no reason that they were all elders of Jerusalem, for how can elders of one sister Church impose laws, burdens, ver. 28, and *δὲ γὰρ*, decrees, chap. xvi. 4, upon sister Churches? . . . Therefore those elders behaved to be the elders of Antioch, for, Acts xv. 2, other commissioners were sent from Antioch than Paul and

Barnabas; I think also the Churches of Syria and Cilicia had their elders there as well as Antioch, and *de jure*, at least their elders should have been there.”—Rutherford's *Due Right of Presbyteries*, p. 367. London, 1644.

⁸ See *Prim. Gov.*, chap. xiv. sect. 3. See also Reginon, *de Eccles. Discipl.*, lib. i. c. 124, to the end.

Churches, addeth, that if any Church, contemning the sentence of his Church as a small and a poor one, should receive Andronicus to communion, without satisfaction given to him and his Church, thereby it shall become guilty of schism^a. This holds, as such acts are not questioned by any greater part of the Church, as not concerning the state of other Churches. Which if they be, then as no Church can be concluded but by the act to which themselves concur—whereby all excommunications and ordinations, as well as making of canons, are the subject of synods—so the chief power must needs be most seen in that act which concludes all Churches concerned, which is the act of a synod.

§ 66. As concerning the objection, that there is no precept in the Scripture, that Bishops govern all Churches, and that many things ordained by the Apostles are abolished in the Church^b; it is a question whether it come from less skill or proceed to worse consequence; for unless we will betray the advantages of the Church to very many, and perhaps to all heresies and schisms that ever were, we must confess, that as there are precepts in the Scripture that oblige not, so there are many things not set down in the Scripture in the form of precepts that oblige. What can be delivered in a more express form of precept, than that of St. Paul, [1 Cor. xi. 5—8,] that women pray with their heads covered, men with theirs uncovered? and yet where is it in force? The same is to be said of the decree of Jerusalem, against eating things strangled, and blood. On the other side, we find by the Scriptures that the

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^a Εἰ δὲ τις ὡς μικροπολίτην ἀποσκυβαίῃσιν τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ δεῖται τοὺς ἀναγκαστοὺς αὐτῆς, ὡς οὐκ ἀνάγκη τῇ αἰσῶνι περὶσθαι ἴστω σχίσμας τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἡ μὲν δὲ Χριστὸς εἶναι βουλεύεται. — *Bynea* Opp. p. 206. Paris. 1640.

^b Ad quantum vero argumentum apti qui respondent. Ecclesie auctoritatem tantum esse, at quædam etiam de Scripturis sacris immutavit. Hujus generis exempla ponunt, Sabbatum, esset suffocati, et sanguinis, Baptisma in nomine Jesu, et quod Christus ecclesie dedit Eucharistiam, Ecclesia jerusalem. . . . Mihi itaque aliud responsum multo et doctius videtur et verius, quod duplici partitione sublatum est. Una est hujusmodi,

Scripturæ præcepta quædam temporaria erant, id est, ad tempus, ex loci, temporis, personarum aliarumve rerum et causarum ratione servanda. Atque hujusmodi ipsa ex se in præfinito tempore antiquabantur, nulla etiam Ecclesiæ interveniente auctoritate. "Quod" enim "pro necessitate temporis statutum est cessante necessitate, debet cessare pariter quod urgebat," i. e. i. *Quod pro necessitate.* Ejus generis fuit Sabbatismus, et reliqua omnia, quæ proprie ad legem veterem pertinebant. Talis etiam lex illa fuit de immolatis, sanguine et suffocato. — Melchior. Cami, *Loc. Theol. Bib. li. cap. xvi. fol. 81. 82.* Coln. Agrippin. 1585.

CHAP. III. Apostles kept the Lord's Day, but do not find there that they commanded it to be kept. As for the fourth commandment, I suppose it is one thing to rest on the day that God ceased His work, and another on the day that He began it.

§ 67. And if there be precepts in the Scripture that now oblige not, why may not Socinus^d dispute that the precept of baptism was temporary for them that had been enemies to the faith afore? and though I say not that he shall have the better hand—for the truth cannot be contrary to the truth—yet it shall not be possible for every Christian to discern whether he hath it or no, unless there be some more sensible ballast than nice consequences from the text of the Scripture. If it be thus of baptism, much more of the Eucharist, which, as you saw, is not used any more in the Church as it was instituted. As for the power of the keys, it is absolutely, by this answer, betrayed to the Socinians^e, who would have it peculiar to the Apostles: for it is nowhere delivered as a

^c "These be but words of course to no purpose. For first, you should have proved that the office of your seniors is commanded, which I utterly deny. Then should you have declared that the same commandment is perpetual: for many things are commanded in the New Testament which be not perpetual, as the washing of feet. John xiii., to abstain a sanguine et suffocato, Acts xv., to elect and choose widows to minister in the Church, 1 Tim. v., and such like. • So that you have craftily passed over two principal points, and those which ought to be the grounds of your cause. First, therefore, I deny that this office of seniors is commanded any where in the New Testament. then I say that if it were commanded, yet is it but a temporal commandment. Those two points not being by you proved, the words you utter are but in vain."—Whitgift's Defence of the Answer to the Admonition, tract 17. chap. ii. § 15. p. 644. London, 1574.

^d De aquæ baptismo ego ita sentio, eum Ecclesiæ in perpetuum præscriptum non fuisse, nec unquam, ut illam acciperent, iis præceptum, neque a Christo, neque ab Apostolis fuisse, qui jam ipsi Christo alia quæcumque ratione nomen dedissent, vel a primis annis in Christiana disciplina educati atque in-

stituti essent, . . .

Credendum tamen, si is hodieque propter eos qui ab aliis religionibus ad Christi religionem convertuntur potissime retinendum esse.—F. Socini de Ecclesia, tom. i. pp. 350, 351. Irenopol. 1656.

^e Quare hæc tantummodo breviter nonēbimus. Ecclesiasticos pastores nequaquam in ipso Apostolico munere Apostolorum successores esse. potestatem vero retinend. et remittendi peccata Apostolis datam, ad ipsum Apostolicum munus pertinere, . . . tantum vero aliesse, ut Ecclesiarum pastores in ipso Apostolico munere, Apostolis quorum munus ab ipsorum munere apertissime in Scriptura distinguitur, ulla ratione successerint, ut nullo pacti licent affirmare, Apostolis, ut Apostolis, ullos successores datos esse. Fuit enim omnino munus Apostolicum quiddam singulare et proprium nascentis Christi Ecclesiæ. Tunc enim opus erat ejusmodi hominibusque, spiritu sancto pleni, . . . munus suum exequerentur. . .

Propterea ipsis claves regni celorum datæ fuisse dicuntur, . . . quæ alius, qui immediate, ut loquuntur, ab ipso Christo edocti et missi non fuerunt, revera non est data. F. Socini, Opp., tom. i. 341. Irenopol. 1656.

precept, but only as a privilege. What means is there then to end everlasting difficulties? surely the same that there is to understand all positive laws that ever were. For if the ancient interruption of the practice of any law secure the Church, that it was not given to all times and places, sure that which is not mentioned as a precept, and yet has been always in practice without interruption, as it was in force afore it was mentioned, so was intended to oblige, not by the mention, but by the act that first established it, evidenced by practice. Which if it be so, then is there no power on earth able to abolish the order of Bishops, having been in force in all Churches ever since the Apostles.

§ 68. I must not pass this place of limiting all interests, without a word or two of the office of deacons in the Church. In regard of two extreme opinions; one of Geneva¹, that makes them mere laymen, collectors of alms, by necessary consequence, because under their lay elders; the other² of some that would have them understood to be presbyters as oft as St. Paul mentions but two orders of Bishops and deacons, Phil. i. 1; 1 Tim. iii. 2, 8. But as the Apostles were at first their own deacons, before the Church allowed them some to wait on them, and yet their whole function was then holy, though some parts of it nearer to the end of the soul's

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[Of the
deacons.]

¹ Cura pauperum diaconis mandata sunt. Tunc autem nomen *diaconia* satis patet, hos specialiter sapienter diaconos Scriptura nuncupat quos elemosynis dispensandis generalique pauperum curae praebent. *Eccl. viii.*, et venit publici pauperum *accipere* *elemosynas* *constitut*, quorum origo, institutio ac functio a *Luce* in *Actis* describitur — *Carvin. Institut.*, lib. vi. cap. iii. § 9.

"What manner of persons the deacons ought to be the Scripture is plain.

Their main duty is to collect, receive, and distribute, not only the alms for the poor, but the whole ecclesiastical goods, which are not assigned and appointed for the maintenance of particular persons. These duties they must perform at the discretion and by the appointment of the pastor and elders, for which cause, and not for government, they are to be present at the ordinary meetings of the eldership." The Government and Order of the Church of Scotland, p. 31, Edinburgh,

1641.

² Porro quoniam Apostolus hic his loquitur de diaconis sive ministris colligitur licet, quod ministri, sive *diaconos*, sive presbyteri, ab Episcopis instituti, in duos ordines distinguebantur. opus erat alias quoque substituere, partim Episcopos, partim *diaconos* qui ministerio verbi et sacramentorum quoque dispensationi intenderent, et hos quidem Episcopus potes, nisi quod ordinandi alios potestatem non habebant. . . . In epistola quae Ignatio ascribitur dicitur Stephanum fuisse diaconum Jacob, Timotheum et Linum Pauli, Ananiam et Clementem Petri. Ac praeteritum exemplum illud est, ut nunc quoque talis ratio in Ecclesiam revogetur, juvenes bonos in sacris literis instituendi, qui Ecclesiae postea praeficiantur. Ac primum de his, qui informantur ad gubernandas Ecclesias, qui sacris literis instituuntur, ut verbi et sacramentorum dedantur ministerio. — Andr. Hyperii, Comment. in 1 Tim. iii. 13. pp. 81, 82. Tigur. 1582.

CHAP. III. health; so when deacons were made, reason enforces that they should attend on the meanest part of the office of the Apostles, but always on holy duties. For the tables which the Apostles saw first furnished themselves, but were attended by the deacons in doing it, when they were made, were the same which St. Paul speaks of, 1 Cor. xi. 20, which the Eucharist was celebrated at, as the custom was daily to do at Jerusalem, Acts ii. 42, 46; and therefore their office by this was the same then, as always it hath been since, to wait upon the celebration of the Eucharist.

§ 69. Secondly, I have shewed afore^h, that even the Apostles, and their followers the evangelists, were also deacons, with as much difference as there is between the persons whom they served—that is, between our Lord and His Apostles on the one side, and the Bishop and presbyters of a Church on the other. Whereupon the ministers of Bishops and presbyters are called deacons absolutely; and the word *διακονεῖν*, without any addition, signifies to execute a deacon's office, 1 Tim. iii. 10. But the Apostles and evangelists are called deacons, with additions signifying whose ministers, or to what special purpose, as hath been said. Thirdly, when St. Paul says, "They that do the office of a deacon well, purchase themselves a good step," 1 Tim. iii. 13, Clemens Alexandrinusⁱ, and the practice of the Church, interpret this step to be the rank of presbyters. Therefore they were in the next degree to it afore.

§ 70. Fourthly, it hath been shewed^k, that they sat not, but stood in the Church, as attending the Bishop and presbyters sitting, and yet were employed in the offices of preaching and baptizing. And accordingly, in the primitive Church, a great part of the service, reading lessons, singing psalms, and some part of the prayers, were ministered by them, as I have shewed in the Apostolical Form of Divine Service, chap. x., which held correspondently in the synagogue. For the ministers and apparitors of their consistories were also their deacons, and ministered Divine Service in the synagogue. Whereby it appears to be the ordinance of the

ⁱ Prim. Govern., chap. xii. sect. 16;
and Relig. Assemb., chap. iv. sect. 37.

^k Stromat., lib. vi. cap. xiii. p. 793.

lib. vii. cap. i. p. 830. ed. Venet. 1757.

^o Relig. Assemb., chap. iv. sect. 4.

Apostles, that the younger sort of those that dedicated themselves to the service of the Church, should be trained up in the service of the Bishop and presbyters, as well to the understanding of Christianity, as to the right exercise of ecclesiastical offices; that in their time, such as proved capable might come to govern in the Church themselves.

§ 71. That which remains, concerning the interest of the people in the Church, will be easily discharged, if we remember that it must be such as may not prejudice either the dependence of Churches, or the chief power of the Bishop with the presbyters in each particular Church. The law of the twelve tables¹, *Salus populi suprema lex esto*, though it were made for a popular state, not for a kingdom, yet admits a difference between *populus* and *plebs*^m, and requires the chief rule to be the good both of senate and commons, not of one part alone. So likewise that which is said in the Scriptures to have been done by the Church, must not therefore be imagined to be done by the people, because the Church consists of two parts, called by Tertullian *ordo* and *plebs*^m; in the terms of latter times, the clergy and people, but preserving the respective interests of clergy and people. In the choice of Matthias it is said, "they set two;" Acts i. 23: what "they," but the Church? in which the people were then better Christians than to abridge the Apostles; but, proportionably, they are always to respect the Bishop and presbyters, if they will obey the Apostles that command it. 1 Thesa. v. 12, 13; Heb. xiii. 7, 17. So when St. Paul says, "Do not ye judge those that are within," 1 Cor. v. 12, speaks he to the people or to the Church, that is, to the bench of presbyters and the people in their several interests, and that not without dependence upon the Apostles? The words of our Lord, *Dic Ecclesie*, Matt. xviii. 17, make much noise.

§ 72. At the end of my book of the Apostolical Form of Divine Service, p. 428ⁿ, you have a passage of St. Augustine, *Contra Epist. Parmen.* iii. 2, that excommunication is the sentence of the Church. And yet, I suppose, no man hath

¹ Duodecim Tabularum Fragmenta, de Officio Consulis, ad calc. Corp. Jur. Civil. Amstelædam. 1663.

^m See Prim. Governm., chap. ix. sect.

6. note L.

ⁿ Placed in this edition in the body of the text, chap. iv. sect. 13. p. 87 of the first edition.

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the confidence to dispute, that in St. Augustine's time it was the sentence of the people². So the excommunication of Andronicus, in Synesius's eight-and-fiftieth epistle, is intitled to the Church³, yet no man imagines that the people then did excommunicate. Is not the case the same in the synagogue? Moses is commanded to speak to the congregation of the children of Israel, and he speaks to the elders: Exod. xii. 3, 21: does Moses disobey God in so doing, or does he understand the command of God better than this opinion would have him, in speaking to the elders, who, he knew, were to act on behalf of the people? The law commands "the congregation to offer for ignorance." Lev. iv. 13, 14; Numb. xv. 22, 24. How shall all the congregation offer? Maimoni answers, in the title of Errors, cap. xii. and xiii.⁴, that the great consistory offers as often as they occasion the breach of the law by teaching, that is, interpreting it erroneously. In the law of the cities of refuge, it is said, "the congregation shall judge," and "the congregation shall deliver the man-slayer." Numb. xxxv. 24, 25. The elders of the city of refuge were to judge, in presence and in behalf of the people, whether the man-slayer was capable of the privilege of the city of refuge or not, as you read, Joshua xx. 4, 6.

[Of the
members
of excom-
muni-
cation.]

§ 72. Seeing then that these things being done by the elders are said to be done by the synagogue, or assembly of the people, in behalf of whom they are done, is it a wrong to the Scriptures, when we say, that which they report to be done by the Church was acted by the chief power of the Apostles and presbyters, with consent of the people? For it is manifest in the Scriptures, that in the Apostles' times

² "To grant then the judgment and power of the more ancient times, whereby whole councils or particular provinces, or even the general of Nicaea, where Epiphanius, a Church officer, had had a dispute, and liberty of speech, as he presented the whole assembly brought in the advantage of irreverence of Tertullian's name, that, when Tertullian, to him, he offers such precedents in the assembly, whose members are considered as a people, who would never be any thing by his charge without the consent of the people, his in Ep. 10, and on previous trials, it especially the people's right to choose or reject

worthy or unworthy ministers, than which what power is greater" of Augustine, that thinks it helps much to the shaming of the party that he be excommunicated by the whole Church, lib. vi. contr. Epist. Parmenian.—Robinson's Justification of Separation, pp. 171, 172.

³ "Εν τούτοις ἡ Πρεσβυτέρα Ἐκκλησία τῶδε πρὸς τὰς ἀπάρταχθαι γῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀδελφὰς διατάσσεται.—Synes. Opp., p. 203 Paris 1640.

⁴ De errore per ignorantiam, or as de Veil renders it, Denoxio imprudenter admittitur.—p. 165—180. London, 1683.

all public acts of the Church were passed at the public assemblies of the same; as ordinations, Acts i. 23; vi. 3, 6; excommunications, Matt. xviii. 18—20; 1 Cor. v. 4; 2 Cor. ii. 10; councils, Acts xv. 4, 22; other acts, 2 Cor. viii. 19. And herewith agrees the primitive custom of the Church for divers ages, to be seen in a little discourse of the learned Blondell, "Of the Right of the People in the Church," published of late*. And can this be thought to no purpose, unless it dissolve the unity of the Church, or that obedience to the clergy which God commandeth? Is it nothing to give satisfaction to the people of the integrity of the proceedings of the Church, and by the same means to oblige superiors to that integrity, by making the proceedings manifest, and so to preserve the unity of the Church?

§ 74. I say not that these times are capable of such satisfaction, upon the like terms, as then: but from this practice under the Apostles, I shall easily grant the people an interest in such things as may concern their particular congregations, of excepting against such proceedings as can appear to them to be against any rule of the Scripture, or of the whole Church. For this interest it is upon which the people is demanded, in the Church of England, what they have to say against ordinations and marriages to be made^a. And if their satisfaction in matter of penance were to be returned, it would be no more than the same reason infers. Especially because it hath been shewed^b, that the prayers of the people, or of the Church, is one part of the means to take away sin by the keys of the Church; the other being the humiliation of the penitent, according to that order and measure which the Bishop and presbyters shall prescribe, James v. 14, 15; 2 Cor. xii. 20, 21; Matt. xviii. 20; 1 John v. 16.

§ 75. And if this interest were made effectual by the laws of Christian states and kingdoms, to the hinderance of such proceedings wherein the power of the Church may be abused,

* At the end of Grotius's book, *De Imperio Summarum Potestatum circa Sacra*, Paris 1618.

^a "Brethren, if there be any of you who knoweth any impediment, or notable crime, in any of these persons presented to be ordered deacons, for the which he ought not to be admitted

to that office, let him come forth in the name of God, and shew what the crime or impediment is."

^b "If any man can shew any just cause why they may not lawfully be joined together, let him now speak, or else hereafter for ever hold his peace."

^c Prim. Govern., chap. xi. sect. 4.

[Limitation of the people's interest.]

CHAP. III. the Church shall have no cause to complain. But that the power should be taken from the Church, because the laws of the state are not so good as they might be, is as unjust and pernicious a medicine, as to put the chief power in the hands of the people. For seeing it hath been demonstrated^a that as it was the custom to pass such acts at the assemblies of the whole Church, so was it also to advise and resolve upon them at the consistories of the clergy, it is manifest that the suffrage of the people, often mentioned in Church writers^b, was not to resolve, but to pass what was resolved afore, because nothing appeared in bar to it. For the interest of the people extending no further than their own Church, and it being impossible that all the Christians within the territories of cities, belonging to the respective Churches, should all assemble at once, it is manifest none of these matters could be resolved by number of votes, and therefore that the power was not in the people, but a right, to be satisfied of the right use of the power by those that had it: which, how it may be made effectual to the benefit of the people in a Christian Church and state, is not for me to determine.

[Elders of Churches.] § 76. But by virtue of this right it is, that—as Justellus^c in his notes upon the Greek and African canons, hath observed to us, especially out of the records of the Churches of Africa and of the west—for divers ages the best of the people, who, as he shews, were called *seniores et presbyteri Ecclesiarum*, were admitted to assist at the passing of the

^a Prim. Govern., chap. xi. sectt. 13, 15.

^b Certum itaque est, Episcopos ante concilium Nicenum electos fuisse cleri ac plebis suffragio, ut loquitur Cyprianus. . . . Clerum ac populum suffragia sua conferre consuevisse, Episcoposque eodem tempore iudicium suum tulisse, testis est Cyprianus, de Sabino Episcopo: *Ut de universa fraternitatis suffragio, et de Episcoporum, qui in presensentia conveniant, iudicio episcopatus et deferretur*. Quo in loco Cypriani id accurate considerandum est, cum distinguere jus suffragii, quod fraternitati competit, id est, clero et populo, a iudicio quod Episcopis tribuit, id est, examine electionis et confirmatione.—Cyprian Ep. 76. Usam autem illam de traditione divina et Apostolica observatione descendisse pronuntiat.

Quare antiquus auctor constitutionum Apostolicarum præcipit, ut is qui electus fuerit a populo, Episcopis præsentetur, et ut is, qui primus est inter eos, diligenter inquiret de omnibus iis, quæ necessaria sunt, ut ei manus imponatur.—Apost. Const. viii. 4.

Quod attinet ad Ecclesias Occidentis, diutius illæ jus electionum permiserunt clero et laicis, atque ipsi etiam plebeculæ, et ipsi etiam Gregorii VII temporibus, id est, seculo undecimo, ut patet ex ejus epistolis. Sed fine seculi duodecimi clerus et populus paulatim jus electionum transmiserunt ad Canonicos Ecclesiarum Cathedralium.—Petr. de Marca, de Concord. Sacerd. et Imper., lib. vi. cap. ii.

^c See Relig. Assemb., chap. iv. sect. 19, 20.

public acts of those Churches. In all which, as there is nothing to be found like the power of the keys, which lay elders are created to manage^a; so he that will consider the interest, in which it appears they did intervene, comparing it with the intolerable trouble which the concurrence of the people was found to breed when the number of Christians was increased by the emperors professing Christianity, will easily judge that it was nothing else but the interest of the people which, in succeeding ages, was referred to some persons chosen out of them to manage in the public acts of the Church. And this custom is suitable enough with the office of church-wardens in the Church of England^b, if it had been established, as well in the mother and cathedral, as in the parish churches.

CHAP.
III.

CHAPTER IV.

SECULAR PERSONS, AS SUCH, HAVE NO ECCLESIASTICAL POWER, BUT MAY HAVE SOVEREIGN POWER IN ECCLESIASTICAL MATTERS. — THE RIGHT OF GIVING LAWS TO THE CHURCH; AND THE RIGHT OF TITHES, OBLATIONS, AND ALL CONSECRATIONS, NOW ORIGINAL, NOW ACCESSORY TO THE CHURCH — THE INTEREST OF SECULAR POWERS IN ALL PARTS OF THE POWER OF THE CHURCH.

THESE things thus determined, and the whole power of the Church thus limited in Bishops and presbyters, with reservation of the interest of the people specified: it follows necessarily, that no secular person whatsoever, endowed with sovereign or subordinate power in any state, is thereby endowed with any part of this ecclesiastical power hitherto described. Because it hath been premised for a principle^b here to be re-

Secular persons, as such, have no ecclesiastical power.

Gubernatores fuisse ex antiquo seniore et p. the defectus p. cetera morum et exercenda disciplina cum cum Episcopis p. cetera. . . . Habuit igitur ab antiquo aqua que Ecclesia cum senium, consensum ex vix p. gravibus et tantis pones quem erat illa, de qua postea loquimur, jurisdictione in corrigenda vix — Calvin. Institut., lib. vi. cap. vi. § 8.

^a The elders do attend with the pastor in catechising the people, . . .

But a principal part of their duty is to join always with the pastor in the particular eldership, and in the other assemblies of the Church, as they shall be called, for exercising of discipline, and governing the whole congregation. — The Government and Order of the Church of Scotland, p. 30. Edinb'gh, 1644.

^b See Relig. Assemb. chap. iv. sect. 20.

^c Chap. i. sect. 2, 3.

CHAP. IV. assumed, that no state, by professing Christianity, and the protection thereof, can purchase to itself or defeat the Church of any part of the right whereof it stands possessed by the original institution of our Lord and His Apostles; and therefore no person endowed with any quality, subsisting by the constitution of any state, can challenge any right that subsisteth by the constitution of the Church, and therefore belongeth to some person qualified by the same. For ecclesiastical power I understand here to be only that which subsisteth by the constitution of the Church; and therefore all by Divine right, to all that acknowledge no human authority capable of founding the Church: and therefore by Divine right invested in the persons of them that have received it, mediately or immediately, from the Apostles—seeing it is no ways imaginable how any man can stand lawfully possessed of that power, which is effectually in somebody else, from whom he claimeth not—and therefore not to be propagated but by the free act of them that so have it.

[Ecclesiastical power, and power in ecclesiastical matters]

§ 2. But I intend not hereby to exclude secular powers from their right in Church matters, but intend to distinguish between ecclesiastical power and power in ecclesiastical matters; and these to distinguish by the original from whence they both proceed, because so we shall be best able to make an estimate of the effect which both of them are able to produce, according to the saying observed afore^t, that the water rises no higher than it descended afore. For if by ecclesiastical power we mean that which arises from the constitution of the Church, it is not possible that by any quality not depending on the same, any man should be enabled to any act that doth. But if power in matters of religion be a power necessary to the subsistence of all states, then have Christian states that power in the disposing of Christianity, which all states in general have in the disposing of those things which concern that religion which they suppose and profess. And this to prove, I will not be much beholden to the records of histories, or to the opinions and reasons of philosophers: seeing common sense alone is able to shew us that there is not any state professing any religion, that does not exercise an interest in disposing of matters of religion, as they

^t Chap. ii. sect. 38.

have relation to the public peace, tranquillity, and happiness of that people. The power of disposing in matters of religion is one part, and that a very considerable one, of that public power wherein sovereignty consists, which subordinate powers enjoy not by any title but as derived from the sovereign.

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§ 3. Wherefore, having premised for a principle in the beginning, that Christianity makes no alteration in the state of civil societies, but establishes all in the same right, whereof they stand possessed when they come to embrace Christianity, I must infer that the public powers of Christian states have as good right to the disposing of matters of Christianity—so that, according to the institution of Christ, nothing done by the Church may prove prejudicial to the state—as any sovereign power that is not Christian hath in the disposing of matters of that religion which they profess. For seeing it is part of the profession of Christianity to confirm and establish, not to question or unsettle, any thing which is done by civil justice in any state, whatsoever secular powers shall do towards maintaining the state of this world in tranquillity, cannot be prejudicial to Christianity, rightly understood. Neither can it be true Christianity which cannot stand with the course of true civil justice.

But may have sovereign power in ecclesiastical matters.

§ 4. It hath been effectually proved by Church writers^d against the Gentiles, that supposing them not to believe the Christian faith, notwithstanding, they cannot with civil justice persecute the Christians; and all upon this score, that Christianity containeth nothing prejudicial to civil society, but all advantageous. For though the Christian religion be grounded upon truth indeed revealed from God; yet religion, in general, is a moral virtue, and part of the profession of all civil nations; inasmuch as that people which should profess to fear no God, would thereby put themselves out of the protection of the law of nations, and give all civil people a right and title to seek to subdue them for their good, and to constrain them to that which the light of nature is able to demonstrate to be both true and due. For how can any of them expect faith and truth in civil commerce from them that acknowledge no

[Of religion in general.]

^d S. Justin Martyr, Apol. i. cap. xxi. p. 54. ed. Ben. Athenagor. Legat. pro Christianis, cap. xi. p. 288. ed. Ben. Tertulliani Apologet. cap. xxxvi. xxxvii. p. 96. ed. Pam. Rothomag. 1662.

CHAP. IV. reason for it? or how can they be thought to acknowledge any reason for it, that acknowledge no God to punish the contrary? or how can they be but enemies of mankind, from whom that cannot be expected?

[True religion to be maintained by secular powers.]

§ 5. But in Christianity there is that particularity, which I declared afore*, that God hath declared His will and pleasure to be, that it be received into the protection of all kingdoms and commonwealths. Wherefore it is further the will of God, that secular powers that are Christian act in the protection of Christianity, not only as secular powers, but as Christians'; and by consequence that they hold themselves obliged to the maintenance of all parts of Christianity;—that is, whatsoever¹⁶⁸ is of Divine right in the profession and exercise of it. But it is very well said otherwise*, that this whole right of secular powers in ecclesiastical matters is not destructive but cumulative: that is, that it is not able to defeat or abolish any part of that power, which, by the constitution of the Church, is settled upon ecclesiastical persons; but stands obliged to the maintenance and protection of it. For seeing this power in the persons endowed with it by the constitution of the Church is a very considerable part of that right which God hath established in His Church, it follows necessarily, that

* Chap. i. sect. 12.

* Nondum autem agebatur, quod paulo post in eodem psalmo dicitur, Et nunc reges intelligite, &c. Quomodo ergo reges Domino serviunt in timore, nisi ea quae contra iussa Domini sunt, religiosa severitate prohibendo atque plectendo? Aliter enim servit quia homo est, aliter quia etiam rex est. Quia homo est, ei servit vivendo fideliter, quia vero etiam rex est, servit leges iusta precipientes, et contraria prohibentes, convenienti vigore sanciendo. . . . In hoc ergo serviunt Domino reges, in quantum sunt reges, cum ea faciunt ad servendum illi, quae non possunt facere nisi reges. —S. Augustin. Ep. cxxxv. tom. ii. col. 631. et Bon.

* Non debet deterior esse Ecclesiae conditio sub Christiano magistratu quam sub ethnice, nec minui sed augeri libertas Ecclesiastica. Quod confirmat Ecclesia, non transfertur in principem Christianum, sed tantum corroboratur. Potestas principis est

cumulativa non privativa. Potest igitur ipse convocare, potest potestatem collatam Ecclesiae approbare, sed potestate collata ejusve exercitio privare non potest. Sunt igitur diversae potestates, non tamen divisa, nisi quando magistratus se diviserit ad Ecclesia.—Didoclay. Altare Damascen., p. 16. A.D. 1623.

"Distinguish between a cumulative and a privative authority. The magistrate hath indeed an authoritative influence into matters of religion and Church government, but it is cumulative, . . . But that which belongs to the magistrate is not privative, in reference to the ecclesiastical government. It is understood *salvo jure ecclesiastico*, . . . This proviso therefore is justly made, that whatever power the magistrate hath in matters of religion, it is not to hinder the free exercise of Church discipline and censures against scandalous and obstinate sinners."—Gillespie's Aaron's Rod Blossoming, p. 265. London, 1646.

no power ordained to the maintenance of all parts thereof can extinguish this. And truly, he that advises but with his own common sense, shall easily perceive that ecclesiastical power may be able to preserve order and discipline in the Church, by itself, so long as the world, that is, the state, professes not Christianity, as we see it was before the Roman empire was Christian. But when the state professes Christianity, it cannot be imagined that persons qualified by the state will ever willingly submit to acknowledge and ratify the power of the Church, in all the acts and proceedings thereof, unless the coercive power of the sovereign enforce it.

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—IV.

§ 6. All states, therefore, have sovereign power, as well in matters of Christian religion, as in other points of sovereignty; that is, they are able to do all acts of sovereign power in Church matters: to give laws, as well concerning matters of religion, as civil affairs: to exercise jurisdiction about ecclesiastical causes: to command in the same, which seems to be the most eminent act of sovereignty, seeing that giving of laws and jurisdiction are but particulars of that general, the one, that is, giving laws in generals, the other, that is, jurisdiction in particular causes, and both of them tending to limit that power of command or empire, which otherwise is absolute in the disposition and will of the sovereign; and therefore, the most civil people that ever was, the Romans, have denominated sovereignty by this act of command, *Imperium*, or empire. But all these acts of sovereign power in Church matters being distinguished from the like acts of ecclesiastical power, not by their material but formal objects; that is, not by the things, persons, or causes in which, but by the reasons upon which, and the intents to which they are exercised, must needs leave the powers of the Church entire to all purposes, as it finds the same in those that have it, by the constitution of the Church^h.

[The limits
of the
secular
and the
ecclesiastical
powers.]

§ 7. Here are two points of the power of the Church to be

^h Ego Karolomannus Dux et Princeps Fræncie cum . . . cum consilio servorum. Dei et optimatum meorum Episcopos qui in meo regno sunt, cum presbyteris ad concilium et synodum pertractare Christi congregasti, . . . ut ad id concilium deducere quomodo rex Dei et ecclesiastica religio recupe-

retur, quæ in diebus Principum dissipata corruit, et qualiter populus Christianus ad salutem animæ pervenire possit, et per falsos sacerdotes deceptus non pereat. Capitular. Reg. Franc., tom. I. col. 115, 116 Paris 1677. See also the Preface to the Council of Aix-la-Chapelle *ib.* col. 209, 210.

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IV.

The right
of giving
law to the
Church.

settled, before we go any further; not because of any affinity or dependence between them, but because the reason is the same which causes the difficulty in both. Whether there be an original power in the Church to give laws as to the society of the Church: whether there be an original right in the Church to tithes, oblations, first-fruits, and, generally, to all consecrate things, seem to most men more than disputable, because the accessory acts of secular powers—which in all Christian states have made the laws by which Christianity is exercised, the laws of those several states have established the endowment of the Church upon it, by that coactive power which they only in chief are endowed with—being most visible to common sense, seem to have obscured the original right of the Church in both particulars.

The In-
dependence
which Church
also possess
to the
Church.

§ 8. Over and beside all this, those of the congregations deny the Church all power of giving laws, rules, canons, or however you please to call them, to the Church; for to this purpose they make all congregations absolute and sovereign, that nothing be done in the Church without the consent of every member of it; not acknowledging so much as that rule, which all human society besides acknowledges, the whole to be bound by the act of the greater part; but requiring that every man's conscience be satisfied in every thing that the Church does, unless some happily appear wilful, whom, by way of penalty, they neglect for that time¹.

¹ In all these transactions of Church proceedings, when we say we do this or that with common consent, our meaning is, we do not carry on matters either by the overruling power of the presbytery, or by the consent of the major part of the Church, but by the general and joint consent of all the members of the Church; for we read in the Acts of the Apostles the primitive Church, which is a pattern for succeeding ages, carried all their administrations *unanimously*, that is, with one accord, Acts ii. 46, as becometh the Church of God; which ought to be of one heart, and one soul, of one mind, and one judgment, and all to speak the same thing, Acts iv. 32, 1 Cor. i. 10, Phil. ii. 2, 3. But if it so fall out that any difference do arise—as sometimes these doth through the remaining darkness of our minds, seeing

we all know but in part—then such as do dissent from their brethren, are required to propound the grounds of their dissent, which if they be weighty and held forth from the light of the word, all the rest do submit and yield thereunto, not as to the voice of their brethren only, but as to the voice of Christ, . . . But if the grounds of such as do dissent, do upon due consideration appear to have little or no weight in them, the officers of the Church, or some other of the brethren, do declare unto them the invalidity thereof. If they be satisfied, the matter in hand doth then proceed with the common consent of all. If they be not satisfied yet, it is either through want of light, and so through weakness of judgment—or through strength of pride, and so through stiffness of will. If the former be the act, they take further

As for those of the presbyteries, I cannot deny that CHAP. IV. —
 grant the Church this power: but it seems upon con- [The Pres-
 sider that it may rest in themselves: for to the laws of this byterians
 Church, in which they received and professed Christianity, allow it
 to them-
 suppose the saying of the Apostle, that it stands not with- selves.]
 out for the Church to enjoin any thing which weak con-
 gregations may be offended at^k; and that of our Lord, that
 we should be will-worship and serving of God according to
 our traditions; which are all the arguments which those
 congregations allege for their opinion, so far as I can
 see. It will be therefore worth the while to consider the
 principle which the Apostle decides upon that principle, though
 he has done it in part already in my larger Discourse, p. 309^m;
 as long as the case is not understood in which the Apostle
 decides it, no marvel if it be brought to prove that which he
 intended by it. We know he resolves both the Romans
 and the Corinthians by this sentence.

D. With the Corinthians, the case was concerning the [The case
 of things sacrificed to idols; which the Apostle mani- of the Co-
 rinthians.]

ously to inform them, and
 to hear with them, till matters
 were cleared so that at length
 he either to consent to go along
 with his brethren, or at least to be
 so refer the matter to the judg-
 ment of his brethren, and for their
 satisfaction, and to make no further
 dispute with the Church's proceed-
 ing, but if through partiality or pre-
 sbyterian dissent do appear to spring
 from a hardness of will, or from a spirit
 of contention which yet falleth out
 very unseasonably, that they will
 be sought—by loving and brotherly
 discourse—to give way to the better
 judgments of their brethren, the Church
 proceed with common consent to
 rebuke them of their pride and obsti-
 nacy, and so leave them under
 the curse of excommunication, whereby
 they if it is a crime is taken from
 them they have removed this of-
 fence from the spirit of their brethren.”
 W. Way of the Churches, chap.
 vi. pp. 94, 95. London, 1613.
 Ceremonies and things not ne-
 cessary to God's worship fall against
 by the grounds of the
 practice of things indifferent,

and not necessary, is then unlawful,
 when from thence ariseth the scandal
 or occasion of the ruin of our brother.

“But from the practice of ceremonies
 and things not necessary ariseth scandal
 and occasion of the ruin of our brother.
Ergo, the practice of such is unlaw-
 ful. Observe, our argument leaneth
 on a ground given, but not granted,
 that the ceremonies be indifferent,
 though to us they be evil. I prove
 the proposition, Rom. xiv. 14, ‘I know
 and am persuaded’ . . . ‘for meat de-
 stroy not the work of God.’ Then for
 crossing, kneeling, holy days, destroy
 not him for whom Christ died, 1 Cor.
 viii. 9. x. 28.”—A Dispute touching
 Scandal and Christian Liberty, pp.
 1, 2, added to The Divine Right of
 Church Government and Excommuni-
 cation, by Sam. Rutherford, London,
 1616.

“There is not a case in the whole
 Bible more clear than that the things
 called indifferent may and ought to be
 forbidden for the weak conscience of a
 brother, Rom. xiv. 15, 20, 21.”—
 Robinson's Justification of Separation,
 p. 39. A D. 1639.

^m Relig. Assemb. chap. ix. sect.
 15—21

CHAP. festly distinguishes that it may be done two ways, materially,
 - IV. - and formally: materially, when a man eats it "as a creature of God, giving Him thanks for it," [1 Tim. iv. 4.] which the Apostle therefore determines to be agreeable to Christianity; 1 Cor. viii. 7, formally, when a man eats it "with conscience of the idol as a thing sacrificed to it," as the Apostle expresses it, that is, with a religious respect to it, which therefore he shews at large to be idolatry, 1 Cor. x. 7, 14. Wherefore, though things sacrificed to idols be as free for Christians to eat as any men else, yet in some cases and circumstances it so fell out, that a Christian eating with a Gentile of their sacrifices—the remains whereof were the cheer which they feasted upon, and their feasts part of the religion which they served their idols with—might be thought by a weak Christian to hold their sacrificing as indifferent as their meat, and be that this thought be induced to eat them formally, as things offered to idols: as eating them in the temples of idols, or at a feast made by a Gentile upon occasion of some sacrifices, 1 Cor. viii. 10; x. 27. In this case the Apostle determines that charity requires a Christian to forbear the use of his freedom, when the use of it may occasion a weak Christian to fall into misprision of idolatry.

[The case
 of the
 Romans.]

§ 11. But among the Romans, the case which St. Paul speaks of was between Christians converted from Jews and from Gentiles; as appears by the particulars which he mentions to be scrupled at, to wit, "days and meats," Rom. xiv. 2—5; and the offence likely thereby to come to pass, this, that Jewish Christians, seeing the heathenish eat things forbidden by the law—and perhaps, among the rest, things sacrificed to idols, forbidden not by the letter of the law, but by the interpretation and determination of it in force by the authority of the synagogue or consistory—might imagine that Christians renounced the law of God, and, by consequence, the God of the law; and so out of zeal to the true God, fall from Christianity and perish: for this is manifestly the offence, and stumbling, which the Apostle speaks of, Rom. xiv. 13, 15, 20, as I have shewed out of Origen, in the place afore quoted".

§ 12. Here is then the sentence of the Apostle, that when

"Relig. Assemb., chap. ix. sect. 19.

the use of those things wherein Christians are not limited by the law of God, becomes an occasion of falling into sin to those that understand not the reason of the freedom of Christians, charity requires a Christian to forbear the use of this freedom. From whence whoso infers that therefore no ecclesiastical law can be of force, when it meets with a weak conscience—and therefore never, because it may always meet with such—will conclude the contrary of the Apostle's meaning. For when Christianity makes all things free to a Christian that are not limited by God's law, it makes not the use of this freedom necessary to Christianity; the Apostle saying expressly, that "the kingdom of God is not meat and drink," Rom. xiv. 17—by consequence not the observing, or not observing of days—that is, consists no more in not eating, or not observing days, than in eating, and in observing them. So that as he that submits unto the law of charity, must forbear his freedom once and as often as the use of it ministereth offence, so for the same reason must he always forbear the use of it whensoever the use of it comes to be restrained, though not by God's law, yet by the law of the Church: because the greatest offence, the greatest breach of charity, is, to call in question the order established in the Church, in the preservation whereof the unity of the Church consisteth. Whereunto thus much may be added, that, as the things that are determined by the canons of the Church, are not determined by God's law, as to the species of the matter and subject of them, yet, as to the authority from whence the determination of them may proceed, they may be said to be determined by God's law, inasmuch as by God's law that authority is established, by which those things are determinable, which the good order and unity of the Church requires to be determined. The evidence of which authority is as express in God's book as it can be in any book inspired by God.

§ 13. Those of the congregations indeed betake themselves here to a fort which they think cannot be approached, when they say that what is written in the Scripture is revealed from above, and therefore, the laws that are there recorded are no precedents to the Church to use the like right? [The Independents refuse all constitutions not formally in Scripture.]

But this act of the Apostles is no precedent or pattern for succeeding ages.

The reason is first, because the Apostles were inspired with the Holy

CHAP.
IV.
[Of Christian liberty.]

CHAP. IV. For it is manifest by the Scriptures of the Old Testament, that there were many laws, ordinances, constitutions, or what you please to call them, in force at that time, which no Scripture can shew to have been commanded by revelation from God, as the law of God. Daniel [i. 8.] forbore the king's meat, because a portion of it was sacrificed to their idols, dedicating the whole to the honour of the same: that is, he forbore to eat things sacrificed to idols materially. Therefore, that order which we see was afterwards in force among the Jews, was then in use and practice: not by the written law¹⁷⁵ of God; therefore by the determination of those whom the law gave power to determine such matters.

[Ceremonies ordained by the synagogue.]

§ 14. The prophet Joel reckons up many circumstances and ceremonies of the Jews' public fasts and humiliations, Joel ii. 15—17; which are so far from being commanded by the law, that the Jews' doctors confess, there is no further order for any fasts in the law than that which they draw, by a consequence far enough fetched, out of Numb. x. 2, where order is given for making the trumpets, which they say, and the prophet supposes, that their fasts were proclaimed with. Maimoni, *Tit. Tuanioth*, cap. i.^p In another prophet, Zac. vii. 5; viii. 19, it appears that there were set fasts which they were bound to solemnize every year, on the fourth, fifth, seventh, and tenth months: as also it appears by the words of the Pharisee, Luke xviii. 12, that the Mondays and Thursdays were then, and before then, observed by the Jews, as since they have been^q: and, as you see the like done in the feast of lots, ordained in Esther's time, [Esth. ix. 20—32]; and that of the dedication in Judas Maccabeus's, [1 Maccab. iv. 59;] and, in the same prophet, Zac. xii. 12—14, you have a manifest allusion to the Jews' ceremonies at their funerals, recorded by Maimoni in the title of Mourners, cap. ix., clearly¹⁷⁷ shewing that they were in force in that prophet's time: as

Ghost, which wholly guided them in all matters of the Church; so as that in their determination they say expressly 'It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us to lay upon you no greater burden.' Now what Synod in any age after the Apostles, could ever say that they were infallibly inspired and assisted by the Holy Ghost? If

any man can infallibly assure me hereof that a Synod after the Apostles cannot err, but that they can truly say, 'It pleased the Holy Ghost and us,' then I will obey all their decrees.'—Christ on His Throne, case xi. p. 57.

^p See Rel. Assemb., chap. viii. act. 20.

^q See Rel. Assemb., chap. viii. act. 30.

it is manifest that they began before the law itself, not only by that which we read of the funeral of Jacob in Genesis, [l. 4, 10,] but chiefly because it required an express law of God, to derogate from it, as to the priests, in the case of Aaron's sons, Lev. x. 6; xxi. 1, 10, 11, 12.

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§ 15. Many more there are to be observed in the Old Testament, if these were not enough to evidence that which cannot be denied, that it appears indeed by Scripture, that there were such laws in force; but that they were commanded by revelations from God, is quite another thing: though men of learning sometimes make themselves ridiculous by mistaking, as if all that is recorded in the Scriptures were commanded by God, when, all that comes from God is the record of them as true, not the authority of them as Divine. The case is not much otherwise in the New Testament, where it is manifest that many constitutions, ordinances, or traditions—as the Apostle sometimes calls them, 1 Cor. xi. 2—are recorded, which no man can say that they obliged not the Church; and yet this force of binding the Church comes not from the mention of them, which we find in several 175 places of Scripture—for they must needs be in force before they could be mentioned as such in the Scriptures—but from that power which God had appointed, to order and determine such things in His Church.

[The authority of Scripture.]

§ 16. This difference indeed there is between the Old and New Testament, that this, being all written in the Apostles' time, can mention nothing of that nature, but that which, coming from the Apostles, might come by immediate revelation from God, which of the Old cannot be said. For though there were prophets in all ages of it, and those prophets endowed with such trust, that if they commanded to dispense with any of God's own positive laws they were to be obeyed, as appears by Elias commanding to sacrifice in Mount Carmel, contrary to the law of Lev. xvii. 3, 4,—and this by virtue of

[Difference between the Old and New Testament.]

* Queritur, an peccaverit Elias vel exivit contra legem, offerendo sacrificium. Respondendum, quod Elias tamen hoc contra legem principaliter in deum. Primum quia non erat sacerdos, nec Levita, sed laicus, . . . et tamen instituit sacrificium quod ad solos sacerdotes pertinebat Num.

cap. iii. et xvii. Et si quis non sacerdos vellet ministrare, prohibetur a Deo. Num. cap. xvi. Secundo ergo contra legem, quia obtulit sacrificium extra Sanctuarium. Num in suo Sanctuario celebrandum erat, in alteri holocaustarium. Lev. cap. xvi. et Levit. cap. xvi. Elias autem obtulit id in monte Car-

CHAP. IV. the law, Deut. xviii. 18, 19, because He that gave the law by Moses, might by another as well dispense with it—yet it is manifestly certain, that nevertheless they had not the power of making those constitutions which were to bind the people in the exercise of their religion according to the law. For when the law makes them subject to be judged by the consistory, whether true prophets or not—whereupon, we see, that they were many times persecuted, and our Lord at last put to death by them that would not acknowledge them, because 179 they had not the grace to obey them, as you saw afore²—it cannot be imagined that they were enabled to any such act of government, as giving those laws to the synagogue. Especially, seeing by the law of Deut. xvii. 8—12, this power and this right is manifestly settled upon the consistory. For seeing that, by the law, all questions arising about the law are remitted to the place of God's worship, where the consistory sat in all ages; and the determination of a case, doubtful in law, to be obeyed under pain of death, is manifestly a law which all are obliged to live by; of necessity, therefore, those who have power to determine what the written law had not determined, do give law to the people.

[Ecclesiastical constitutions are not additions to God's law.]

§ 17. And this right our Lord Himself, who, as a prophet, had right to reprove even the public government where it was amiss, establishes, as ready to maintain them in it, had they submitted to the Gospel, when He says, Matt. xxiii. 2, 3, "The Scribes and Pharisees sit in Moses' chair; all therefore that they teach you, observe and do." The Scribes and Pharisees being either limbs and members, or appendices of the consistory, who, under pain of death, were not to teach any thing, to determine any thing that the law had not determined, contrary to that which the consistory had first agreed. Whereby 180 it is manifest, that all those laws and ordinances aforementioned, and all others of like nature, which all common sense must allow to have been more than the Scripture any where mentions, are the productions of this right and power placed by God in the consistory, on purpose to avoid schism and keep

melo. Dicendum tamen, quod non precevit, quia facta he dispensatio, non mandatus. De quo sic faceret. Ambrosius, Comm. in n. Reg. cap. xviii.

QUEST. XXIV. See Reliq. Assemb., chap. ii. sect. 15.

² Chap. iii. sect. 19.

the body of the people in unity, by shewing them what to stand to, when the law had not determined. So that this is nothing contrary to the law of Deut. iv. 2; xii. 32, which forbiddeth "to add to, or take from God's law¹," the law remaining entire, when it is supplied by the power which itself appointeth.

§ 18. And he that will see the truth of this with his eyes, let him look upon the Jews' Constitutions, compiled into the body of their Talmud. Which, though they are now written, and in our Saviour's time were taught from hand to hand; though, by succession of time and change in the state of that people, they cannot continue in all points the same as they were in our Saviour's time, yet it is manifest that the substance of them was then in force, because whatsoever the Gospel mentions of them, is found to agree with that which they have now in writing; and are all manifestly the effect of the lawful power of the consistory². Nor let any man object that they are the doctrines of the Pharisees, which they pretended that Moses received from God in Mount Sinai, and delivered by word of mouth to his successors; and that the Sadducees were of another opinion, who never acknowledged any such unwritten law, but tied themselves to the letter; as doth, at this day, one part of the Jews, which renounce the Talmud, and rest in the letter of the law, who are therefore called *Karaim*, that is, Scripturaries³. For though all this be

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(Of the
Talmud)

¹ Sub evangelio habemus legem novam, novam alem determinantem legem moysi, quod evan- gent, sicut sub lege Moyses Judæi. Ad hanc legem pertinent sacramenta, et eorum ritus omnes, quorum institutio referri non potest ad jus naturæ, sed ad voluntatem Christi, determinationem. Legi veteri non Judæorum non flectat homines, id est, aut detrahere quicquam. *Utopianus rem quam ego principio volui, cum deo videri fuisse, ut addite et sub detractis esset.* Deut. xii. 32. *Legis est ubi de cultu Domini.* Non minus perfecta est lex ceremonialis sub lege nova, quam sub lege veteri. Ergo non est addere aut detrachere licet. — *Didacus.* A. tate Damascen. p. 502.

² See Reliq. Assemble, chap. vii. sect. 23.

³ Karaii sive Karaitæ . . . commode exponuntur *Testantes, Iudæi, Scripturarii* . . . prout temporibus

Karaii plane idem fuisse, qui Sadducei. Postea vero cum resurrectionem inter Judæos publice negare non liceret, desecerunt a Sadduceis multi, qui resurrectionem præminime ac penas post mortem dari agnoscebant atque profitebantur contra Sadduceorum sententiam; cetera tamen eorum dogmata, imprimis illud de S. Scripturæ auctoritate, approbabant. Unde certa evasit species sectæ Sadduceæ, Karaitarum dicta. . . . Talem Karaitarum qui missis Talmudicis auctis, et Rabbinicis commentis, sulas illas *Bequestorum* pro fidei norma agnoscebant, hodie etiam inter Judæos supersunt multi. In sola Polonia earum cunctantur ultra duo milia, multo plures dantur in Ormus, Turcis utique a Persicis ditioribus. — *Saubert.* de Sacerd. Hebr. exp. xvi. apud Ussolin. Thea. Antiq. Sac. tom. xii. col. 43. Venet. 1751.

CHAP. true, yet neither Pharisees nor Sadducees then, neither Tal-
 IV. mudists nor Scripturaries now, did, or do, make question of acknowledging such laws and constitutions as are necessary to determine that which grows questionable in the practice of the law; but are both in the wrong, when, to gain credit to those orders and constitutions which both bodies respectively acknowledge, the one will have them delivered by God to Moses; the other will needs draw them, by consequence, out of the letter of the Scripture: and so entitle them to God otherwise than He appointed, which is only as the results and productions of that power which He ordained to end all matter of difference, by limiting that which the law had not.

[Of mat-
 ters of
 faith, and
 matters
 of disci-
 pline.]

§ 19. The same reason necessarily takes place under the New Testament, saving the difference between the law and the Gospel. For, under the law, this power took place in the practice of all ceremonial and judicial laws proper to the synagogue, as well as in determining the circumstances and ceremonies of the worship of God, which still remains under the Gospel, saving the difference thereof from the law. For under the Gospel, there belong to Christianity two sorts of things; the first whereof are of the substance of Christianity, as concerning immediately the salvation of particular Christians. And this kind is further to be distinguished into matter of faith, and matter of life, or manners. The second concerns indeed the salvation of particular Christians—as containing the unity of the Church, and the due exercise of all those ordinances which God will be served with in the unity of the Church—but mediately, as they are means to beget and preserve in all Christians those things of the former sort that concern faith or good manners. For if it were morally possible to imagine that a man, blamelessly deprived of all means of communion with the Church, could be nevertheless endowed with all parts of a Christian in faith and good manners, I do not see how any discreet Christian could deny such a one the end of Christianity, which is life everlasting.

[Matters
 of faith.]

§ 20. All things therefore concerning faith and good works, necessary to the salvation of particular Christians, are so revealed, or rather so commanded by our Lord and His Apostles, that it is not possible for all the Church that suc-

ceeds, to declare any thing to be such, that is not expressly, or by consequence, contained in their writings. For how shall all the Church be able to add any thing to this number, but by shewing the same motives which our Lord and His Apostles advanced to the world, to persuade them not only that what they spoke was revealed by God, but also that they were sent to require the world to believe and obey them?

§ 21. But as to that which concerns the society of the Church, and the public service of God, in the unity of the same, what can we say our Lord in person commanded, but the power of the keys upon which it is founded, and the Sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist, in the communion whereof the unity of the Church consisteth? And His Apostles, how did they proceed in determining the rest? Surely, he that will say that they never enacted any thing till a revelation came on purpose from God, will fall under the same inconveniences which render the infallibility of the Pope, or the Church, ridiculous to common sense. Which, if they believed themselves, sure they would never call councils, advise with doctors, debate with one another, to find what may truly be said, or usefully determined, in matters of difference.

§ 22. In like manner, when the Apostles assemble themselves at Jerusalem, Acts xv. 1, to debate in a full meeting with Saul and Barnabas, the presbyters of Jerusalem, and the rest, what to resolve in the matter there questioned; I say not they were no prophets, or had no revelations from God when He pleased: but I say, it is manifest that they proceeded not upon confidence of any revelation promised them, at this time and in this place, but upon the habitual understanding, which, as well by particular revelation from God as by the doctrine of our Lord, they had proportionable to the chief power over the whole Church which they were trusted with. To speak ingenuously mine own opinion, which I seek not to impose upon any man's faith, I do believe that some person of those that were then assembled in council had a present inspiration, revealing that God's will was that the decree there enacted should be made. My reason is, because I observe, by divers passages of the Old and New Testaments, that God was wont to send revelations

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[Matters
of disci-
pline.]

[The
council
of Jeru-
salem a
preced-
ent.]

CHAP. to His prophets at the public assemblies of the Church or ¹⁸⁵
 IV. synagogue. As at the sending of Saul and Barnabas, Acts

xiii. 2; at the ordination of Timothy, 1 Tim. iv. 14; at the assemblies of the Corinthians, 1 Cor. xiv. 24, 25, 30; at Josaphat's fast, 2 Chron. xx. 14; at St. John's ordinations; whereof Clemens—in the place afore alleged^r out of Eusebius's Ecclesiastical Histories—saith, that the Apostle was wont to go abroad to ordain such as were signified by the Holy Ghost: whereupon St. Paul saith of the presbyters of Ephesus, that the Holy Ghost had set them over the flock, Acts xx. 28; and therefore, when it is said, Acts xv. 28, "It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us," I take it that some such revelation is intimated.

[and a
ground
for all
councils
of the
Church
to rest on.]

§ 23. But, this notwithstanding, when we see the message sent, the Church assembled, the cause debated, without assurance of any such revelation to be made, whereof no prophet had assurance till it came; we see they proceeded not upon presumption of it, but upon the conscience of their ordinary power, and the habitual abilities given them to discharge it^a. So that, from the premises, we have two reasons serving to vindicate the same power to the Church. The first, because the constitutions in force under the Apostles cannot be said to come from particular extraordinary inspiration of the Holy ¹⁸⁶ Ghost, but from the ordinary power of governing the Church, which was to continue^a. The second, because by the proceedings of the council of Jerusalem it appears that no revelation was a ground or requisite to the determining of the matter there in difference^b.

^r Chap. iii. sect. 40.

^a "They sat as Apostles, because not ordinary elders, as elders, can say, 'It seemed good to the Holy Ghost, and to us.' But the Apostles as Apostles might say so, because in any doctrinal point they had the promise of the Spirit to be led into all truth as upon whom the Church was to be built." Barton's Vindication of Churches called Independent, p. 66. London, 1644.

^b Chap. ii. sect. 13.

^c "Paul and Barnabas went not to Jerusalem either for authority or direction, for, being Apostles, they had both equal immediate authority from

Christ, and equal infallible direction from the Holy Ghost, with the rest of the Apostles. Only they went for countenance of the truth in respect of men, and for the stopping the mouths of such deceivers as pretended they were sent by the holy Apostles, ver. 24. Their decrees were absolutely apostolical, and Divine Scripture by infallible direction from the Holy Ghost, and so imposed upon all other Churches of the Gentiles, though they had no delegates there, vers. 23, 28 chap. xvi. 4."

—Robinson's Justification of Separation, pp. 164, 167. A.D. 1639.

"But inasmuch as that Church at that time in those things was infallibly

§ 24. To which I add a third from St. Paul's words, 1 Cor. xi. 16: "If any man be contentious, we have no such custom, neither the Churches of God." Where having disputed, by many reasons, that women were to veil their faces at the service of God in the church, he sets up his rest upon laudable custom of the Church. Now if custom be available to create right in the Church, as in civil societies, then authority much more; without which, either prescribing or allowing, neither that custom which the Apostle specifies, nor any other, could take place. And a fourth from that observation so advanced and improved, that no man can deny it, but he that will make himself ridiculous to all men of learning, beside the instances thereof in the premises, which is this: That the orders which the Apostles settled in the Church, saving the difference between the law and the Gospel, are always, or at least, most an end drawn from the pattern of
 187 the synagogue. Whereby it appeareth that the convenience of them was evident, not by revelation, but by human discourse; but the force of them comes from the authority of the Apostles, prescribing or allowing them in the Church; both which are always in the Church, though in less measure.

§ 25. Fifthly, this is proved by the premises: wherein I conceive it is proved that the clergy in the Church succeeds into the authority of the Jews' consistories in the synagogue: wherefore, having shewed that those consistories did give law to the synagogue, in all matters of religion not determined by God, it follows that the same may be done in the Church. Sixthly, the same followeth from the dependence of Churches. For if congregations be made independent, that no Christian may receive law from man, wherein he is not satisfied of the will of God; then, having proved that congregations are not independent, it follows that they are to receive law in all things not contrary to the will of God. Seventhly, the exercise of this power in all ages of the Church, and the effects of it, in great volumes, of lawful canonical decrees, though it

guided by the Holy Ghost, wherewith the Apostles there were inspired, in which respect their resolutions were with authority. 'It pleased the Holy Ghost and us,'—that which no particular Church since the Apostles could ever say—it followeth, that the Church

then at Jerusalem remains not in all things a pattern for other Churches; for a pattern must be in all things imitable and perfect."—Burton's *Vindiciæ Veritatis*, pp. 10, 11. London, 1646.

† Sects. 18, 19.

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[The authority of the Church grounded on divers reasons.]

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be a mark of contradiction to them that are resolved to hate that which hath been, because it hath been, yet to all whose senses are not maleficated with prejudice, it is the same evidence of this power—though not always of the right use of it—by which Christianity itself stands recommended to us.

[The Independent theory not practicable.]

§ 26. Lastly, can those of the congregations say that no public act is done among them without the free and willing consent of all, as satisfied in conscience that it is the will of God which is decreed^d? Then are they not men. For among all men there is difference of judgment. If notwithstanding they are enforced to proceed, why depart they from the Church? For if those that place the chief power in congregations, cannot avoid to be tied by other men's acts, why refuse they to be tied once for all by such general acts as laws are? Which, as they must needs be done by persons capable to judge what the common good of the Church requires—which it is madness to imagine that members of congregations can be—so they have the force, when they are once admitted, to contain the whole body of the Church, agreeing to them, in unity: whereas to acknowledge no such, tends to create as many religions as persons.

[Of will-worship.]

§ 27. And now to the objection of will-worship in the observation of human constitutions^e, the answer will not be difficult. That sin I do truly believe to be of a very large extent, as one of the extremes opposite to the virtue of religion, understanding religion to be all service of God with a good conscience. Thus all the idolatries of the Gentiles, all the superstitions of Judaism and Mahometism, are will-worships. For man being convinced of his duty to serve God, and neither knowing how to perform, nor willing to render that service which He requires, because inconsistent

^d See sect. 8, note c.

^e "Yea, for prelates or Church, or any human power, to ordain and impose ceremonies to bind the consciences in the worship of God, this is expressly condemned and forbidden both by Christ Himself, Matt. xv. 9, and by the prophets, Is. xxix. 13, and by the Apostles, Col. ii. 8, 18. Man may not impose the least ceremony in

God's worship, if he do, he therein denies Christ, Col. ii. 19; he holds not the head."—Christ on His Throne, case vi. p. 21. A.D. 1640.

Quicquid igitur cultui divino in sacris litteris tradito, additum est ab hominibus, additum, inquam, ut pars cultus divini, *θελοπρονοια* est.—Zanchi Explicat. in Coloss. ii. 23.

with his own inclinations; it follows, that by a voluntary commutation he tender God something which he is willing to part with, instead of his concupiscences: having condemnation both for neglecting to tender that which is due, and for dishonouring God, by thinking Him to be bribed by his inventions to wink at his sins. And therefore, I do grant that the constitutions which the synagogue was by God's law enabled to make, were capable to be made the matter of superstition and will-worship, as indeed in our Lord's time they were made. The reason, because presuming to be justified by the works of the law, and the law among them being not only the written, but that which was taught by word of mouth, the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees—which the disciples of Christ shall never enter into the kingdom of heaven unless they exceed—
 190 consisted not only in the letter of the ceremonial and judicial precepts, but in observing the determinations of their consistories. And accordingly I do grant, that the rules, decrees, and constitutions of the Church are capable to be made the matter of the same sin, and that they are made so visibly in divers customs and practices of the Church of Rome.

§ 28. But is it a good reason to say, that because human constitutions may be made the subject of superstition and will-worship, therefore the Church hath no power to make any, therefore the members of the Church are not tied to obey any? or may there not be superstition and will-wor-

' "Therein they shall find Romish superstitious ceremonies maintained and pressed upon men's consciences, as the surplice, cross in baptism, kneeling at the Sacrament, standing at the creed, attended with their several significations, as if man had a power to set up any significant ceremonies in God's worship, whereas we find all kind of signs and ceremonies in God's service under the Old Testament, though ordained by God Himself, to be utterly abolished by Christ, and forbidden to Christians under the New Testament, and much more all such as are of human invention: all which are of that nature, as the Apostle calls them, the yoke of bondage, to such as are entangled therewith: exhorting all Christians to stand fast in the liberty

wherewith Christ hath made us free. And Col. ii., he plainly shews all such ordinances to be an evacuation of Christ's death, and so an apostasy from Christ. And no Christian, I hope, will plead for the use of human ordinances in God's worship, when Christ hath abrogated all ceremonies of Divine institution, and hath left no footstep for any one ceremony in the New Testament, and flatly condemns all commandments of men in God's service. It being also a strange presumption for any man to think that either he hath authority to prescribe how God should be worshipped, or that God should be pleased with any such will-worship: when instead of being pleased He saith, 'in vain they worship Me, teaching for doctrine the

CHAP. ship in abhorring, as well as in observing, human constitutions? If St. Paul be in the right there may. For if the kingdom of God consist in righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost, not in eating or not eating, in observing or not observing days^a; by the same reason it consists no more in not doing than in doing that which the law of God determineth not. Wherefore, if any man imagine that he shall please God in not observing, in refusing, in opposing, in destroying human constitutions, regulating the public order of the Church, it is manifest that this is because he thinks he shall be the better Christian, by forbearing that which God commands him not to forbear, seeing he can¹⁹¹ find in his heart to violate unity and charity, that he may forbear it^b.

[Objection to the Church's power answered.]

§ 29. Here it may be demanded of me, why I express no other ground of this power in the Church, than the indetermination of those things which order and unity requires to be determined in the Church: for seeing matters of faith are determined by God's word, it seems to follow that the Church hath nothing to do to determine of matters of doctrine in difference. And seeing the ceremonies of Divine service, beside the determining of that which the Scripture determineth not, pretend further to advance and improve devotion in the public worship of God, as I have discoursed

commandments of men.' For surely with vain worship God is neither pleased nor honoured." Christ on His Throne, case vi. pp. 24—26.

Dico præterea abstinendum nobis esse etiam ab his ritibus, qui Patribus adiaphori, ab Antichristo postea superstitione, cultus, meriti, necessitatis, opinione inquinati modo non sint usus necessarii. —Didacelav. Altare Damascan., p. 545. A.D. 1623.

^a See sect. 12.

^b "It is plain in the word of God, that the kingdom of God, that is, the service and worship of God, standeth not in meats and drinks, nor any such external rites having no authority from God. When, therefore, without any commandment from God, such external things shall be brought into the service of God, and made the very forms of the same, such rites must needs be false worship, and that form

of God's service must needs be adulterate that is made to consist in such things. For no authority can make that a part of God's kingdom, that the word of God doth expressly deny to be a part thereof."

"Those ceremonies therefore in present controversy being merely by man brought into the worship of God, are by no means to be yielded unto, for it is in effect to make the kingdom of God to consist in meats and drinks, or in such like things. For if a man hath authority to make the kingdom of God consist in apparel, &c., he hath also authority, if it please him, to make it consist in eating and drinking, and may make them a part of the liturgy, as well as any of those things that are in controversy." —Brakshaw's Treatise of Divine Worship, chap. vii. §§. 18, 19. pp. 16, 16. A.D. 1604.

more at large in the Apostolical Form of Divine Service, chap. ix., it seems if there be no other ground for the legislative power of the Church, that the Church hath nothing to do, to institute such ceremonies. To which I answer, that it is one thing to make that matter of faith which was not, another to determine matter of faith, that is, to determine what members of the Church shall do in acknowledging or not acknowledging that which is in question to be or not to be matter of faith. For if there be a society of the Church, 192 then must there be in the Church a power to determine what the members thereof shall acknowledge and profess, when it comes in difference: which is, not to qualify the subject; that is, to make any thing matter of faith or not, but to determine that those which will not stand to the act of the whole, that is, of those persons that have right to conclude the whole, shall not be of it. So the obligation that such acts produce, as it comes from the word of God, which the Church acknowledges, is a duty of faith, but as it relates to the determination of the Church is a duty of charity, obliging to concur with the Church, where it determineth not the contrary of that which the word of God determineth.

§ 30. Again, when I say the Church hath power to determine that which God's law determines not, I must needs be understood to mean that which shall seem to make most for the advancement of godliness. Now the Scripture shews, by store of examples of ceremonies in the public service of God, under the Church as well as under the synagogue, that the institution of significative ceremonies in the public worship of God doth make for the advancement of godliness; otherwise such had not been ordained by the Apostles and 193 governors of God's ancient people. For of this nature is the veiling of women at Divine service, of which St. Paul writes to the Corinthians; the kiss of charity so often mentioned in the writings of the Apostles, which the Constitutions of the Apostles, ii. 57¹, and Origen², upon the last to the

[Significative ceremonies under the Apostles.]

¹ Διδόνοντι τῷ λαῷ, μή τις κατὰ τινος μή τις ἐν ἑκαστοῦ. εἴτα δὲ ἀσπαζέσθωσαν ἀλλήλους οἱ ἄνδρες καὶ ἀλλήλας αἱ γυναῖκες τὸ ἐν Κυρίῳ φίλημα.—Labbet. tom. i. col. 207. ed. Venet. See Reliq. Assemb., chap. x. sect. 27.

² Ex hoc sermone, aliisque nonnullis similibus, mos Ecclesiarum traditus est, ut post orationes osculo se invicem suscipiant fratres. Hoc autem osculum sanctum appellat Apostolus. Quo nomine illud docet primo, ut casta sint

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Romans, shew to have been practised before the consecration and the receiving of the Eucharist, to signify the charity in which they came to communicate; the many ceremonies of baptism to which St. Paul alludes in divers places, Col. ii. 11, 12; iii. 9, 10; Rom. vi. 4, 5, to wit, putting off old clothes, drenching in water, so as to seem to be buried in it, putting on new clothes at their coming out; which being used in the primitive Church, by these passages of St. Paul we are sure were instituted by the Apostles¹.

{Ceremo-
nies in
the syna-
gogue.}

§ 31. Of this nature are the gestures of prayer which we read in the Scripture that it was always the custom of God's people to make sitting, kneeling, or grovelling, as the inward dejection of the mind required a greater or less degree of outward humiliation of the body to produce and maintain, as well as to signify it. Thus our Lord stands up to read the law, but sits down to preach, Luke iv. 16, 20; the one, to shew reverence to the giver of the law, the other, authority over the congregation which He taught as a prophet: and therefore, 194 I make no doubt, but that in receiving the book of the law He used that reverence which was and is used in the synagogue; the like whereof, by the Acts of the primitive martyrs, we understand to have been used to the book of the Gospels; for in the examination of one of them you have, *Qui sunt libri quos adoratis legentes*²? as we now stand up at the reading of the Gospel. Of this nature are the ceremonies of the Jews' public fasts, quoted afore³ out of the prophet Joel, which it seems the prophet Jonas taught the Ninevites at their fast, Jon. iii. 5, 6; which sure have no force to move God to compassion, but as they move men to that humiliation which procures it.

§ 32. Of this nature is imposition of hands, used in the Scripture in blessing, that is, in solemn prayers for other persons, as in the Gospel over children and sick persons,

oscula quæ in Ecclesiis dantur; tum deinde ut simulata non sint, sicut fuerunt Judæi, qui osculum labiis dabat, et predicationem corde tractabat.—Origen. Comment. in Roman., lib. x. § 33. tom. iv. p. 683. ed. Ben.

¹ See Relig. Assemb., chap. ix. § 6.

² Saturninus Proconsul dixit; Qui sunt libri, quos adoratis legentes?

Speratus respondit: Quatuor Evangelia Domini nostri Jesu Christi et epistolas sancti Pauli Apostoli et omnem divinitus inspiratam Scripturam.—Act. Sanctorum Jul., tom. iv. die 17. Baron. Ann. Eccles. ad an. 202. num. i. Ruinart. Acta Martyr. Sincer. p. 78. Paris. 1689.

³ Sect. 14.

[Mark x. 16; Luke xiii. 13,] as in the law Jacob lays hands on Joseph's children, [Gen. xlviii. 14,] Moses on Joshua and the seventy presbyters*, [Numb. xi. 25; xxvii. 23,] the prophets on such as they cured, 2 Kings v. 11: whereupon it was received, by the ordinance of the Apostles, in confirmation, penance, and ordinations; as also it is said to be still used in some eastern Churches at the blessing of marriages. In fine, the frontlets and the scrolls which God appoints 395 the Jews to set upon their foreheads, and the posts of their doors, Exod. xiii. 9; Deut. vi. 8; xi. 18, for my part, I make a great question whether He obligeth them thereby to use, according to the letter, as they do: but that commanding the effect, the remembrance of the law, He should be thought to forbid the means, that is, the sensible wearing of such marks, that I count utterly incredible: seeing it was easy for them to use such marks, and yet to think themselves never a whit the holier for them, without the thing signified; though in our Lord's time they did so, as we see by His reproofs in the Gospel, and though by their writings, Maimoni by name, in the title of Fringes, cap. iii., and in the title of Phylacteries, cap. xi. and xii., we see that still they do.

§ 33. And thus, upon the reasons advanced, that is, of determining that which the law of God determines not, follows the whole power of the Church, in deciding matters of doctrine, in determining the circumstances and ceremonies of God's public worship, and of all the ordinances of God for the maintenance and exercise of the same. For, in instituting ceremonies, significative not of Christ to come—that indeed, and that only, is Judaism—but of the faith and devotion which we desire to serve God with, it is enough that this power may 396 be exercised to the advancement of godliness; if it be exercised otherwise than it ought, it is still to be obeyed, because the unity of the Church is of great consequence to maintain, though we attain not that advancement of godliness which the use of this power ought to procure, but does not: and, if any power should be void, because it is not used for the best, or absolutely not well used, then could no human society subsist, either sacred or civil: which must subsist in all things

[Grounds of the right of the Church to institute ceremonies.]

* See Prim. Govern., chap. xii. sect. 13. note x.

CHAP. wherein it commands not the contrary of a more ancient law,
IV. which is God's law in our case.

[Councils
of Divine
right.]

§ 34. From the premises it will not be difficult to resolve, whether councils be of Divine right or not, distinguishing between substance and circumstance, between the purpose and effect of them, and the manner of procuring it. For, if we speak of giving law to the society of the Church, it is proved that—whether you take it for a power or a duty, a right or a charge, or rather both, seeing the one cannot be parted from the other—the Church may, and ought, to proceed to determine, what is not determined, but determinable, by consent of particular Churches, that is, by the consent of such persons which have power to conclude the consent of their respective Churches: whereof, we have shewed, that 197 none can ever be concluded without the consent of their respective Bishops &c.

[Precedents for
councils
in the New
Testament.]

§ 35. But if we speak of the circumstance and manner of assembling, in one place, certain persons in behalf of their several Churches, with authority to prejudice, and foresway, and pre-engage, the consent of the same, we have a precedent, or rather precedents, without a precept, in the Acts of the Apostles, where the Apostles are assembled to ordain a twelfth Apostle, Acts i. 15; where they are assembled to institute the order of deacons, Acts vi. 2; where Paul and Barnabas come from Antiochia and the Churches depending thereupon, to the Apostles and Church of Jerusalem, to take resolution in their differences, Acts xv. 14; where Paul goes in to James, to advise how to behave himself without offence to the Christian Jews at Jerusalem, Acts xxi. 18: for, the premises being admitted, all these meetings are justly and necessarily counted synods or councils, both in regard of the persons whereof they consisted—the consent of divers Apostles being of as much authority to the Church as the resolution of a synod—and in regard of the matter determined at them, concerning the whole Church in a high degree, especially at that time.

§ 36. And we have a canon among those of the Apostles— 198

² Chap. iii. sect. 18. 64, 65

³ Δεύτερον τοῦ ἑνὸς σίνου γινέ-
σθαι τῶν ἐπισκόπων, καὶ ἀναρριπτεῖσθαι

ἀλλήλους τὰ δόγματα τῆς εὐσεβείας, καὶ
τὰς ἐμπιπτούσας ἐκκλησιαστικὰς ἀνι-
στορίας διαλύειν· ἅπαρ μὲν τῇ τι-

which appears very ancient, by the canons of Nice¹, containing the same, and turning custom into statute law—commanding that synods be held in every province twice a year. But when Tertullian² tells us that in the parts of Greece they held councils ordinarily, he constrains us to believe that in other parts of the Church they did not; and when we read of persecutions against the ordinary assemblies of the Church, we must presume, that as the persecution of councils would have made greater desolation in the Church, so must they needs be more subject to be persecuted. And by Eusebius, and the rest of the ecclesiastical histories, and by the communication of the primitive Bishops—Clemens, Ignatius, Polycarpus, St. Cyprian, and the rest as they follow, still extant in their epistles—we understand that their personal assemblies were supplied by their *Formæ*³, or letters of mark; whereby the acts of some Churches, the most eminent, being approved by the rest, after they were sent to them, purchased the same force with the acts of councils.

CHAP.
IV.
[And in
the records
of the
Church.]

§ 37. Wherefore, the holding of councils is of Divine right, so far as it is manifest to common sense that it is a readier way to despatch matters determinable, though, when it cannot be had, not absolutely necessary. But it is always necessary, that, seeing no Church can be concluded without the Bishop thereof, the Bishops of all Churches concur to the acts that must oblige their Churches. Not so their presbyters, because it is manifest that all presbyters cannot concur, though upon particular occasion some may, as the presbyters of the Church where a council is held, as at Jerusalem Acts xv. 6, which we find, therefore, practised in divers councils of the Church; as to supply the place of their Bishops, by deputation in their absence, or, perhaps, as to propound matters of extraordinary consequence. As for the

[Rationale
of coun-
cils.]

τάς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν τῆς Πεντηκοστῆς, δού-
τερον δὲ ὑπερβρεταλίου δωδεκάτη.—
Agost. Can. xxvii. Labbei, tom. i.
col. 33, 34. ed. Venet.

¹ Καὶ οὕτως ἔχειν ἔδοξεν, ἑκάστου ἐκ-
κλησίᾳ καθ' ἑκάστην ἑβδομάτην εἰς τοῦ
ἐκείνου συνόδου γίνεσθαι, . . . αἱ δὲ
σύνodoι γινώσκουσιν, μὴ μὴν πρὸς τῇ
τεσσαρακοστῇ, ἵνα πάσῃ μικροψυχίας
ἀκατακτάσει, τὸ δῶρον καθαρὸν προ-
σφέρηται τῷ Θεῷ διευτέρα δὲ, περὶ τὸν
τοῦ μεταπύρου καιρὸν.—Canc. Nicen.

A.D. 325. can. v. Labbei, tom. ii. col.
36. ed. Venet.

² Aguntur præcepta per Græcias
illis certis in locis concilia ex universis
ecclesiis, per quæ et altiora quæque in
commune tractantur, et ipsa represen-
tatio totius nominis Christiani magna
veneratione celebratur.—De Jejuniis,
cap. xiii. p. 987, ed. Pam. Rothomag.
1662.

³ See Prim. Govern., chap. xiv. sect.
3. note q.

for, credibly, the consistories of them consisted only of priests CHAP.
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201—for that tribe being dispersed all over the land to gather their revenue, were by that means ready to attend on this office of assisting in judgment and teaching the law. So saith Josephus, *Antiq.* iv. 8⁷, that the consistories of particular cities consisted of seven, chief of every city, assisted each with two of the tribe of Levi, which, with a president and his deputy or second—such as we know the high consistory at Jerusalem had—makes up the number of twenty-three, which the Talmud doctors say they consisted of.

§ 40. Therefore it is a mistake of them that think the Scribes and Pharisees, whom our Lord commands to obey, had usurped the office of the priests and Levites²; for what hinders the priests and Levites to be Scribes and Pharisees themselves, though other Israelites were Scribes and Pharisees beside priests and Levites³? Neither Pharisees, nor priests and Levites, had this authority as Pharisees, or as priests and Levites, but as members or assistants of the consistoria. The reason, because God's law, whereby His worship was determined, was also the civil law of that people, because the land of Canaan was promised them upon condition of living according to it; therefore the teaching of the law must belong
202 to them who, by the law, were to judge and govern the people, God stirring up prophets from time to time, to clear the true meaning thereof from human corruptions. So only the service of the temple, and only that tribe which attended on the service of the temple, was to be provided for; the rest being provided for by the possession of the land of promise.

⁷ Ἀρχιερεῖς δὲ καὶ ἱερεῖς ἐκάστη πόλει ἄνδρες ἑπτά, οἱ καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ τὴν περὶ τὰ δίκαιον σπουδὴν προσηκηκότες ἱερεῖς δὲ ἀρχὴ δύο ἄνδρες ἱσημέτεροι διδασκώσαν ἐκ τῆς τῶν Λευιτῶν φυλῆς. — § 14. p. 163. ed. Hudson, Oxon 1720. See Rel. Assembl., chap. iii. sect. 9.

² Peculiariter autem Phariseos qui erant ex Scribarum numero perstrinxit Dominus. quia tunc in Ecclesia regimine et Scripturarum interpretatione hæc secta primum tenebat. — Calvin, Comment. in Herm. Evangel. S. Matt. xlii. 2.

³ Inde post Davidem Josaphat Rex, cum morem hunc exolevisse, ac legem

plerisque incognitam esse videret, Sacerdotes ac Levitas per omnes civitates Judæ dimisit, qui eam docerent. Ab Esdra vero alii instituti putantur, qui legem explanarent, difficultates tollerent, Ergo ab illo tempore principes Sacerdotum et Scribarum legis exponenda munus præcipue obierunt, legisque doctores, ut dicti, sic etiam habiti sunt. — Sigon. de Rep. Hebr., lib. v. cap. x. pp. 268. 269. Francofurt. 1585.

Musis cathedram invaserunt diu Scribes ac Pharisei. — Lightfoot, Not. Hebr. et Talm. in S. Matt. xlii. 2.

² See Rel. Assembl., chap. iii. sect. 3—10.

[Scribes and Pharisees may have been of the tribe of Levi.]

CHAP. V.
Of the
entertainment
at the
Table.

§ 1. But when the service of God in spirit and truth was to be established in all places, as well as at Jerusalem, and the Church incorporated by God into one society and commonwealth for the exercise thereof, what endowment God appointed this corporation, for the exchequer of it, is best judged by what appears to have been done in the Scriptures, which cannot be attributed but to the authority of the Apostles, the governors of the Church at that time. At Jerusalem, the contributions were so great in the beginning of Christianity, that many offered their whole estates to maintain the community of the Church. Was this to oblige all Christians, ever after, to destroy civil society by communion of goods? As if there could be no other reason why Christians should strip themselves of their estates at that time. The advancement of Christianity, then in the world, required continual attendance of the whole Church upon the service of God. This, withdrawing the greater part of disciples, which were poor, from the means of living, required greater oblations of the rich.

Of the
State of
evn.

§ 2. The Scripture teaches us that the whole Church continued in the service of God: so that out of the common stock of the Church, common entertainment was provided for rich and poor, at which entertainment the Sacrament of the Eucharist was celebrated, as it was instituted by our Lord at His last supper. This is that which is called "breaking of bread," Acts i. 42, 46: xx. 7, and by the Apostle I Cor. xi. 20, "the supper of the Lord," not meaning thereby the Sacrament of the Eucharist, but this common entertainment, at which that Sacrament was celebrated, which therefore is truly called the "Sacrament of the Lord's supper," not "the supper of the Lord:" for, you see, the Apostle complains that because the rich and the poor supped not together, therefore they did not celebrate the supper of the Lord. The same thing it is which St. Jude, ver. 12, calls their "feasts of love." And the attendance upon this entertainment was the cause of making the deacons; which is called therefore, "the daily ministration," and "attendance at tables." Acts vi. 1, 2.

^o Facultates nemo proprias habet,
— et podes mystagogi ac prophete
scilicet Christianorum aut

Platonice reipublice exemplo, esse con-
ferantur.—Heresbach, Hist. de faction.
Monaster. p. 48, Amsted. 1650.

§ 43. Now will any man say that those primitive Chris- CHAP.
204 tians held not themselves tied to pay tithes, that offered all IV. —
their estates? At Corinth, I believe St. Chrysostom^c, that [First-
fruits.] this course was not frequented every day, as at Jerusalem,
but probably the first day of the week, because upon that the
disciples assembled at Troas, Acts xx. 7, or perhaps upon
other occasions also; for to have done always every where as
at Jerusalem would have destroyed civil society, which the
Gospel pretendeth to preserve. But those that offer the first-
fruits of their goods to this purpose, when secular laws enable
them not to endow the Church with their tithes, do they not
acknowledge that duty, and that, as taught by the Apostles,
so to acknowledge it? For can any living man imagine that
they were weary of their estates, if the Apostles, from whom
they received their Christianity, had not informed them that
Christianity required it at their hands?

§ 44. In the next place, let us consider the contributions [The obla-
tion of the
faithful.] which the Churches of the Gentiles were wont to send to the
Christians at Jerusalem, being brought low by parting with
their estates. It is to be understood, that the Jews, that
lived out of their own country, dispersed in the Roman and
Parthian empires, not being under the law of tithes, which
was given to the land of promise, nor resorting to the temple,
205 were, notwithstanding, in recompense of the same, wont to
make a stock, out of which they sent their oblations from time
to time, to maintain the service of God; as is to be seen up
and down in Josephus^d, beside Philo^e and the Talmud
doctors^f. If then the Churches of the Gentiles, in imitation
hereof, contribute their oblations to support the Church of
Jerusalem and the service of God there—being then the
mother city of Christianity, before it was settled in the capital

^c Hom. xliii. in 1 Corinth. xvi. 2, tom iii p. 530 ed. Savil.

^d Ant. q. Jud., lib. xvi. cap. vi. pp. 722, 724 ed. Hudson. See Cod. Theodori. ed. Gothofred. xvi. Tit. viii. de *Judeis Cotinolis et Samaritanis*, l. 14. and the commentary thereon.

^e Ἡπειρωτοὶ δὲ χρήματα συναγαγόν-
ται ἀπὸ τῶν ἀπαρχῶν ἱερὰ, καὶ πέμπου-
ται εἰς Ἱερουσόλυμα διὰ τῶν τὰς θυσίας
ἀναζήτων. οἱ μὴν ἀλλὰ κἀν ταῖς
μνηστικαῖς τῆς πατρίδος διακομαῖς, ἀργύ-
ριον ἢ σίτον ἐν μερεῖ πάντες τοῦ δήμου

λαμβάνοντες, οὐδέποτε τοῖς Ἰουδαίους
ἡλάττωσε τῆς χάριτος ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ
συνέβη τῇ ἱερᾷ ὀβσώματι ἐνεστώσης
γενέσθαι τὴν διακομὴν, οὐτε οὐτε λαμβά-
νειν, οὐτε διδόναι, ἢ συνδύαι τι πρῶτον
τῶν κατὰ βίον, καὶ μάλιστα τὸν ποριστὴν
ἐφεῖτα. προσετίετο τοῖς διακομαῖς
ταμιεύειν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις εἰς τὴν ὑπερ-
ραῖον τὴν κοινὴν φιλανθρωπίαν. Philon.
de Legat. ad Caium, pp. 1014, 1015.
Part. 4, 164. See also pp. 1035, 1036.

^f Maimonides, De jure Pauperis et
Peregrini apud Judeos, cap. ix.

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cities of the Roman empire—as by all those passages appears, which mention the oblations of the Churches sent to Jerusalem, Acts xi. 30; xii. 25; Rom. xv. 26; 2 Cor. viii., ix., *per tot.*; 1 Cor. xvi. 1; Gal. ii. 10, do they not thereby openly profess themselves taught by the Apostles, that they were under the same obligation of maintaining the service of God in the Church, as the Jews in the temple?

[Do good,
what it
means.]

§ 45. Again, the Apostle having shewed that Christians have the same right of communicating in the sacrifice of Christ crucified, as the Jews in the sacrifices that were not wholly consumed by fire, in the passage handled afore^s, of Heb. xiii. 8—14, pursues it thus in the next words; “By him then let us offer continually to God the sacrifice of praise, which is the fruit of the lips, giving thanks to His name: but to do good and communicate forget not, for with ²⁰⁶ such sacrifices God is well pleased.” Where by the sacrifice of praise, he means the Eucharist, as it is called usually in the ancient liturgies and writings of the fathers: for, to this purpose is the whole dispute of that place, that, in that Sacrament, Christians communicate in the sacrifice of Christ crucified—which Jews can have no right to—instead of all the sacrifices of the law. And therefore, by doing good and communicating, he means the oblations of the faithful, out of which at the beginning, the poor and the rich lived in common at the assemblies of the Church, and—when that course could no more stand with the succeeding state of the Church—both the Eucharist was celebrated, and the persons that attended on the service of God were maintained. Therefore this obligation ceaseth not, though the ceremonial law be taken away.

[Eph. iv.
11, its
meaning.]

§ 46. The next argument is from the words of St. Paul, Eph. iv. 11, in which, few or none take notice of any thing to this purpose; but to me, comparing them with the premises, it seemeth so express, that it were a wrong to the Church so much concerned in them to let them go any longer without notice. “He hath made,” saith St. Paul, “some apostles, some prophets, some evangelists, some pastors, and doctors; for the compacting of the saints, for the work of ²⁰⁷ ministry, for the edification of the body of Christ.” That is,

as it follows, "that being sincere in love, we may grow in all things in Him who is the head, even Christ. From whom the whole body compacted and put together by the furnishing of every limb, according to the working proportionable in every part, causeth the body to wax unto the edification of itself in love." Here you are to mark these words, *eis ἔργον διακονίας*. For *διακονεῖν* and *διακονία*, in the New Testament, signifies, in a vulgar sense, to furnish any man maintenance; as Matt. xxv. 44; 2 Tim. i. 18; Heb. vi. 10; Luke viii. 3; 1 Pet. iv. 10. In another sense it is used to signify the service of God in publishing the Gospel: but, almost always, with some addition discovering the metaphor, by expressing the subject of that service, to wit, "the word, the Gospel, the spirit, the new covenant." Acts vi. 4; 2 Cor. v. 18, 19; iii. 6, 8.

§ 47. In this sense it is commonly taken here, but it seems a mistake. For, when the Apostle saith that God hath given His Church governors and teachers, "for the compacting of the saints, for the work of ministry, for the edification of the body of Christ," his meaning is, that the body of the Church is compacted and held together, to frequent public assemblies, by the contribution of the rich, to the maintenance of those 208 that attend upon the service of God—which is here called the work of ministry—to the end, that, by the doctrine of the governors and teachers of the Church, at the said assemblies, it may be built up to a full measure of Christianity. This sense the words that follow require: "from whom the whole body compacted," that is, that the body of the Church being enabled frequently to assemble, by the operation of those that are able, furnishing every member proportionably to his want, cometh by Christ to perfection in Christianity.

§ 48. This sense, the parallel places of Rom. xii. 4, 7, 8, 1 Pet. iv. 10, necessarily argue: where, having speech of those things which particular members of the Church are to contribute to the improvement of the whole, both Apostles express two kinds of them; one spiritual, of instruction in Christianity; the other corporal, of means to support the Church in holding their assemblies. For as those that want, cannot balk the necessities of this life to attend upon Divine service, unless they be furnished by the body of the Church,

[Two kinds of contribution to the Church's wants.]

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[Of tithes.] § 49. Here it will be said, that all this expresses no quantity or part of every man's estate, to ground a right of tithes, and that no man desires better than to give what he list. And the answer is as ready, that no man desires more, provided he list to give what Christianity requires; and that²¹⁰ for the determination of what Christianity requires, he list to stand to the perpetual practice of the Church, when, by those things which we find recorded in the Scriptures, it appears to be derived from the Apostles themselves. First, it is not the law that first commanded to pay tithes: because we know they were paid by Abraham and Jacob—they that think they were not due by right before the law, because Jacob vows them^b, Gen. xxviii. 20, do not remember our

^b Et ita ante legem scriptam nullum fuit præceptum de solvendis decimis . . . in Scriptura de toto illo tempore non legimus obligationem aliquam solvendi decimas ex præcepto, nam licet Gen. xiv. Abraham decimas dederit Melchisedech, non constat id fecisse ex obligatione, sed ex gratitudine, vel

reverentia ac devotione et gratiarum actione pro victoria in bello parata, et in recognitionem dignitatis et sacerdotii Melchisedech, et fortasse spiritu prophetico, ut Christum in sua figura veneretur, juxta doctrinam Pauli ad Hebr. vii. Similiter licet Gen. xxviii. Jacob obtulerit Deo decimas dicens,

vow of baptism, the subject whereof is things due before—CHAP.
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and God requires them as His own before. For God saith, first, that tithes are His own, Lev. xvii. 30, to wit, by a law in force before the law of Moses, and then gives them to the priests for their service in the tabernacle. Then it cannot stand with Christianity, which supposeth greater grace of God than the law, to allow a scarcer proportion to the maintenance of God's service than the law requires.

§ 50. Now the law requires, first, two sorts of first-fruits, [Two sorts
of first-
fruits.] the one to be taken by the priest at the barn, Num. xviii. 12, the other to be brought to the sanctuary, Exod. xxii. 29; xxiii. 19; Deut. xvi. 1, the quantity of either being, in the moderate account, a fiftieth; as St. Hierome upon Ezek. xlv.¹
211 —agreeing with the Jews' constitutions in Maimoni, of First-fruits, cap. ii., and of Separations, cap. iii.—determineth it, though the Scripture, Ezek. xlv. 13^b, require but the sixtieth. After that, a tithe of the remainder to the Levites; then another tithe of the remainder to be spent in sacrificing at Jerusalem; that is, for the most part upon the priests and Levites, to whom, and to the poor, it wholly belonged every third year, Deut. xiv. 22, 28; Exod. xxiii. 19; xxxiv. 20. Add hereunto the first-born, all sin-offerings, and the priests' part of peace-offerings, the skins of sacrifices—which alone Philo¹ makes a chief part of their revenue—all consecrations, and the Levites' cities; and it will easily appear it could not be so little as a fifth part of the fruit of the land that came to their share.

Cunctorum quæ dederis mihi decimas, offeram tibi, tamen ipse modus offerendi ex voto—ut recte notarunt Hugo de S. Victore infra citandus, et Abulras in ibi—ostendit, non fuisse ex obligatione sed ex devotione et spontanea promissione. — Suarez, de Virtut. et Stat. Religion. lib. i. cap. ix. § 5. tom. i. p. 79. Mogunt. 1624.

¹ At vero primitiva quæ de frugibus offerebant, non erant speciali numero definita, sed offerentium arbitrio derelicta. Traditio nemque accepimus Hebræorum non lege præceptam, sed magistrorum arbitrio institutam, qui plurimam, quadragessimam partem dabat sacerdotibus; qui minimam, sexagesimam, inter quadragessimam et sexagesimam licebat offerre quocunque

voluissent. — Comment, lib. xiv. in Ezek. cap. xlv. tom. iii. col. 1044. ed. Ben.

^b "The ephah and the bath shall be of one measure, that the bath may contain the tenth part of an homer, and the ephah the tenth part of an homer. . . . This is the oblation that ye shall offer; the sixth part of an ephah of an homer of wheat, and ye shall give the sixth part of an ephah of an homer of barley." Ezekiel xv 11, 13.

¹ 'Εφ' ἑκάστῃ μέτρῳ καὶ τὰς τῶν ἀποκριμάτων ἀμύθῃτα δὲ ταῦτ' ἐστὶν ὁρὰς προστάττει τοῖς ὑπηρετούς τοῖς θυλαῖς ἱερῶς λαμβάνειν, οἱ θραχέων, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς μέγιστοι πολεμῶντων διεσπείν. — De Sacerdot. Honor. p. 873. Paris. 1840.

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§ 51. Now that any rate should be determined by the Gospel, agrees not with the difference between it and the law. This, constraining obedience by fear, commands, under penalty of vengeance from Heaven, to pay so much; that, persuading men, first, freely to give themselves to God, cannot doubt that they which do so will freely part with their goods for His service. And therefore, if the perpetual practice of Christians must limit the sense of those laws, which the Scripture limits not, we see the first Christians at Jerusalem far outdo any thing that ever was done under the law, 212 and we see that all Christian people, in all succeeding ages, have done what the Church now requires but to be continued.

[Tithes
due to the
act of con-
secration.]

§ 52. To this original title accrues another by consecration, which is an act of man, enforced by the law of God. There is in the law of Moses one kind of ceremonial holiness proper to persons, consisting in a distance from things not really unclean, but as signs of real uncleanness; as from meats and drinks, and touching creatures, and men, and women in some diseases; of which our Lord hath said, [Mark vii. 18,] that what goeth into the mouth polluteth not, much less what a man only toucheth: and so hath shewed that all this ceaseth under the Gospel. But there is another kind of holiness, belonging to times and places, as well as persons, commanded in the law upon a reason common to the Gospel, when it is said, Lev. xix. 30, "Observe My sabbaths, and reverence My sanctuaries." For did this belong only to the temple or tabernacle, instituted by God's express command for that ceremonial service of God which was unlawful any where else, it might seem to be proper to the ceremonial law, and to vanish with the Gospel; but the perpetual practice of that people shews that hereby they are commanded to use reverence 213 in their synagogues, which were neither instituted by any written precept of the law, nor for the ceremonial service of God, which was confined to the temple, but for public assemblies, to hear the law read and expounded, and to offer the prayers of the people to God. For in the Psalms of Asaph, which is the only mention of synagogues in the Old Testament, they are called not only houses and assemblies of God, but also sanctuaries, as here, Ps. lxxiii. 17; lxxiv. 3, 7, 8;

lxxxiv. 10. And the Talmud doctors related by Maimoni, extend this precept to them, shewing at large the reverence which they required; whereupon Philo, in his book *De Legatione ad Caium*^m, calls them places of secondary holiness, to wit, in respect of the temple; and in Maimoni, in the title of Prayer and the Priests' Blessing, cap. xi., you have at large of the holiness of synagogues, and schools, which they esteem more holy than synagogues.

§ 53. They may have joy of their doctrineⁿ that endeavour to shew that the Jews' synagogues were not counted holy places, because in the Gospels, as well as in Eusebius's Histories, v. 16^o,—where he allegeth, out of a certain ancient writing against the Montanists, that none of them was ever scourged by the Jews in their synagogues—and Epiphanius against the Ebionites^o, it appears that the Jews used to punish by scourging in their synagogues: for it hath taken so good effect as to turn churches to stables^q. But he that

^m Ἐξίσταται δὲ προσελθεῖν ἡ δι᾿ ἡμῶν τὸ ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου, τῷ λαμῶνι τοῦ πανικροῦ: ὁ δὲ γὰρ ὡς οὐ φρονιτεῖ τῶν ἀφανιστῶν καὶ τιμῆς ἐλάττωτος ἡμετέρων, δὲ τὸν περισπρότατον καὶ ἐπιφανέστατον μέν, εἰς βν ἀνατολὰς καὶ δίσκους ἀποδαικόνουσιν ἡλίου τρέπον καταχρῶντι λαμβάνοντα καθυβρίζων. — P. 101ⁿ Paris, 1611.

ⁿ Et certe nescio an locus ullus dicendus sanctus etiam presente Ecclesia. Nam templum Hierosolymitanum sanctum erat propter typum, propter spectabilem Dei presentiam, et quia dicatum ipsi Deo immediate; et propterea sanctum erat etiam extra templum Divini cultus; non ita synagoga Judæorum, nec templa nostra materialia. — Hincclav. Altare Damascen., pp. 339 340. A.D. 1623.

^o Οὐδέ γε τῇ αὐτῶν κρατηθεῖς ἐκτὸς τοῦ ὀνόματος ἀνισταυρώθη, ἐν γὰρ οὐκ οὐδε μὴ οὐδὲ ἐν συναγωγῇ τῶν Ἰουδαίων τῶν γυναικῶν ἐκαστιγὰν ποτὶ, ἡ ἐλθὼν βολήθη, σὺδραμῶσε σὺδραμῶσε. — p. 131. ed. Valis.

^q See chap. i. sect. 39. note l.

^r A.D. 1642. Sept. 23. "And when their whole army under the command of the Earl of Essex came to Worcester, the first thing they there did was the profanation of the cathedral, . . . they brought their horses into the body of the church, . . . rifled the library, . . . tore in pieces the bibles and service-books."

Dugdale's Troubles, p. 557.

Dec. 16. "Sir William Waller, . . . entering Winchester, where his soldiers committed the like barbarous outrages in that cathedral as was done by the Earl of Essex's men at Worcester." — ib. p. 558.

1643, Jan. 28. "At Sudeley in Gloucestershire, . . . they broke down the monuments, made the body of the church a stable for their horses, and the chancel their slaughter house, . . . About the beginning of March, another of their armies entered Lichfield, . . . and destroying the evidences and records belonging to that church, which being done, they stabled their horses in the body of it; . . . polluted the quire with their excrement; every day hunted a cat with hounds throughout the church, . . . brought a calf into it, wrapped it in linen, carried it to the font, sprinkled it with water, and gave it a name in scorn and derision of that holy Sacrament of Baptism." . . .

"About the same time also the like spoil and profanation was done by Oliver and his followers in Lincoln minster, . . . watering their horses at the font.

"At Lestithiel also in Cornwall, when the Earl of Essex was there with his army, one of his soldiers brought a horse into the church, and him up to the font, and made another hold him

CHAP. IV. understands their reason right, will infer the contradictory of their conclusion from it; for because synagogues were the places where matters of God's law were sentenced, as I shewed afore, therefore was that sentence to be executed in synagogues.

[Holiness of persons.] § 54. The like reason there is for the holiness of persons consecrate to the service of God, in the like precept, Lev. xix. 32, "Stand up before the grey head: and reverence the presbyters: and fear thy God. I am the Lord." Where the gradation shews that this text concerns not the fear of God, but the reverence due to their judges and doctors of the law. It is a vulgar mistake, that sovereign powers are called gods in the Scriptures. The Jews are in the right, that their judges, made by imposition of hands, are they whom the Scripture calls gods; for so it is used to signify those that were to judge God's people by God's law, Exod. xxi. 6; xxii. 8, 9. Neither doth it signify any but the consistory, Ps. lxxxii. 1, 6, being, it seems, at that time when this psalm was penned, for Absalom or for Saul, against David; for these are they "to whom the word of the Lord came," as our Saviour says, John x. 35, that is, whom the execution of the law was trusted with.

§ 55. Now you have seen that presbyters were a degree under judges, and therefore the gradation can hold only thus: first, "stand up before the grey hairs," that is, them who are only honourable for their age; secondly, "reverence presbyters," which, beside years, having studied the law till thirty or forty years of age, had authority to teach the law; and lastly, "fear your judges," who have power to sentence matters of difference. Thus the gradation continues in the

whilst he sprinkled water on his head, and said, 'I sign thee with the sign of the cross, in token thou shalt not be ashamed to fight against the Roundheads at London.' *Ib.* pp. 559, 560.

* Chap. i. sect. 39.

• Vocantur isti iudices dñi, quia loco Dei ponantur ad dirimendum lit'gia: nam iudicium istud ad Deum pertinet, et quia Deus non communicat tui modo cum hominibus, tradit iudicium hominibus, ut quidam per alios iudicentur, tanquam Deus iudicaret. Sic enim dicitur Deut. i. 'Nec accipietis cuiusquam personam, quia Dei

iudicium est,' id est: estis positi iudices loco Dei. Recte ergo Deus dicitur, qui vices Dei gerit in aliquo. Et sic vocantur iudices dñi, ut patet capite præcedenti, cum dicitur, quod si dixerit servus 'Diligo dominum meum, et uxorem meam, ac liberos meos, non egrediar hinc: offeret eum dominus dñs,' id est, iudicibus. Sic etiam patet, Psalm lxxxii. 'Deus stetit in synagoga deorum, et in medio deus dñificat,' ubi manifeste loquitur de iudicibus.—Abulensis Comment. in Exod. xxii. quest. vii. See also Cornel. a Lapide on the same place.

same kind, and thus this precept is interpreted by the Talmud doctors, in Maimoni, in the title of Learning the Law, cap. vi.², and Moses of Kotzi, upon this precept. Having therefore shewed^a that the clergy in the Church succeed into the authority which the consistories bore under the synagogue, it follows, that the precept of the Apostle, 1 Thess. v. 12, 13; Heb. xiii. 17, imports this reverence due to them, as persons consecrate to the service of God. And so this holiness is the same in persons, as in places consecrate to that purpose.

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§ 56. There is no man so simple as to think churches [Holiness of places.] capable of that holiness by which Christian souls are holy; but because the actions of God's service, proceeding from souls so qualified, are presumed to be holy³, therefore the times, the places, the persons deputed to such actions in public, are to be revered in regard of that deputation, "for their work's sake," saith the Apostle, [1 Thess. v. 13,] in an ecclesiastical, not in any spiritual capacity, common to persons with times and places: because this qualification serves to maintain, in the minds of people, the reverence they owe to those acts of God's service whereunto they are deputed; which those that never believed heretofore do now see by that ruin of Christianity which these few years have brought to pass amongst us. This ground the Jews' doctors seem very well to understand, when they question why the open street, or piazza, is not holy, seeing the public fasts of the Jews were many times held in them—those assemblies being, it seems, so great that the synagogue would not contain the people: where, by the way, you see why our Lord reproves the Pharisees, because they loved to "pray standing in the corners of streets, and to sound a trumpet before their alms," Matt. vi. 2, 5, because those fasts were solemnized in the street, with sound of trumpet—their answer is, that the market-place, or street, or piazza, is used accidentally to this purpose, but the syna-

² De Doctrina Legis, cap. vi. § 1. p. 301. ed. Claverius. Oxon. 1705.

³ Chap. ii. sect. 28. chap. iii. sect. 10.

⁴ "For dedication of Churches this is a most notorious Romish, popish superstition, and is rather a mere profanation than any dedication, except it be to superstition and idolatry, as they at Rome do use their temples: and

they would make the world believe, that by their many superstitious ceremonies, in crossings, censings, adorations, and the like, which they use in their dedication, *there goes forth a virtua hyacynth holonaa transfused into the walls and pews, especially into their sacred chauncel.*" Christ on His Throne, case v. pp. 22, 23.

CHAP. ^{IV.} gogue is deputed expressly to it; Maimoni, Of Prayer and 217
the Priests' Blessing, cap. xi.

[Rationale
of this
holiness.]

§ 57. The reason then of this ecclesiastical or moral holiness, is the deputation to the holy ordinances of Divine service, which deputation, if it be by ordinance of the Apostles, solemnized upon persons by prayer, with imposition of hands, why shall it not be solemnized by consecration of places, which is nothing else but the solemn deputation of them to their purpose, by prayer to God, as persons are consecrated when they are deputed to the service of God? And is it not strange that any man should find a negative reverence due to the places of God's service, but all positive reverence nothing else than superstition revived? For what reason can be given why men should abstain from light, or vain, or secular business, employment, or carriage, in churches, but because the mind is to be possessed and exercised about the contrary? And what reverence and devotion to God, in the ordinances of His service, can be maintained without making difference between common and consecrate places, is not to be seen by the practice of this time, that hath laid all reverence and devotion aside, and therefore, it seems, will never be seen again, until that reverence be revived again, and sensibly expressed, to persons and places dedicated to God's 218 service—for times deputed to God's service are not subject to sense, therefore not capable of the like—by such solemnities as may be fit to maintain that inward devotion which the ordinances of God's service, to which they are deputed, are to be performed with.

[Conse-
crate
things in-
alienable.]

§ 58. And not only times, places, and persons are capable of this moral quality, of relative ecclesiastical holiness, but whatsoever either by disposition of God's law, or by man's act, is affected to the service of God. For so saith our

"Let all enter the assembly, not irreverently, but in a grave and seemly manner, taking their seats or places without adoration, or bowing themselves towards one place or other."

"The public worship being begun, the people are wholly to attend upon it; forbearing to read any thing, except what the minister is then reading or citing, and abstaining much more from

all private whisperings, conferences, salutations, or doing reverence to any persons present or coming in, as also from all gazing, sleeping, and other indecent behaviour, which may disturb the minister or people, or hinder themselves or others in the service of God."

—Directory for Public Worship, pp. 5, 6. London, 1644.

Saviour, that "the temple consecrates the gold which it is adorned with, and the altar the gift that is offered upon it:" and that therefore, "he that sweareth by the temple, or the altar, sweareth by God, to whose service they were offered," Matt. xxiii. 17, 19, 20. And the Jews' corban, which our Lord reproveth, as used to bind that which was against God's law, Matt. xv. 5, was nothing but an oath by the oblations consecrated to the reparations of the temple, as you may see in Grotius^a. And as first-fruits and tithes, which the law consecrates to God, render him sacrilegious and accursed that touches them against the intent of the law, as you see by that allegory of the prophet, Jer. ii. 3, "Israel is a thing consecrate to the Lord, the first-fruit of His revenue: all that devour him are guilty, evil haunts them;" so the law, in obliging men to consecrate what they would to the Lord, makes the consecrate thing anathema, that is, the person accursed that applies it to any other use, Lev. xxvii. 28.

§ 59. Under the Gospel the difference is only this, that nothing is consecrate, by disposition of the law, without the act of man, moved by the law of Christianity, to consecrate it: according to that difference between the law and the Gospel alleged before^a, that because the law constraineth to obedience for fear of mischief, the Gospel winneth obedience by love of goodness; therefore, in correspondence thereunto, the law was to require the maintenance of God's service, under such penalties as they should not dare to incur; the Gospel, by the same freedom of mind which constrained men to give themselves to God, was to constrain them to give their goods to the maintenance of His service. For the rest, as under the law, the gold is consecrated by the temple, and the sacrifice by the Altar; and so all consecration tended to communion with God, by the participation of sacrifices offered to God.

§ 60. So having shewed^b how the Gospel ordaineth that Christians also communicate with God in the sacrifice of the

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[Of consecration under the Gospel.]

[All consecrations connected with the Eucharist.]

^a Et quia in nomine Κορβαν Dei mentio erat inclusa, . . . ideo hoc votum non esse nudum sed iuramentum religionem et translationem complecti credebat. . . . Plane si quaeramus fuisse Judaeis ut non voto tantum sed iurejurando se obstringerent ne hunc aut illi beneficerent, . . . Comment. in loc.

^a Sect. 51.

^b Sect. 45.

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cross, by the Sacrament of the Eucharist; by the same reason it follows, that what is given to build and repair and 220 beautify churches, to maintain the assemblies of the Church, to support them that minister God's ordinances, to enable the poor to attend upon the communion of the same, is consecrated by the Altar of the cross, and the sacrifice thereof represented in the Eucharist, being the chief part of that service which the Church tenders to God, and that which is peculiar to Christianity. St Chrysostom^c truly construes the reason why our Lord would not have Mary Magdalene reproved for pouring out such an expense on His body to no purpose, which might have done so much good among the poor, Matt. xxvi. 11, to be this, that Christians might understand themselves to be bound as well to maintain the means of God's service, as the poor that attend upon it. And let any man shew me the difference of the sin of Achan, from that of Ananias and Sapphira. For as he became accursed by touching that which was deputed to maintain God's service, and was so before he denied it: so no man can imagine that these had been guiltless if they had confessed; for they are charged by the Apostle not only for lying to the Holy Ghost, but for withdrawing part of the price, Acts v. 3.

[The Eucharist proper to Christians only.]

§ 61. And therefore, by the premises, having shewed that the goods which were laid down at the Apostles' feet were 221 thereby affected, applied, and deputed to maintain the body of the Church in the daily communion of the service of God, especially of the Eucharist, which they frequented, Acts ii. 42, 46, it followeth, that they were consecrated to God by the Altar, as all oblations of Christians to the maintenance of God's service are, by the sacrifice of the cross, represented and commemorated in the Sacrament of the Eucharist, being the chief part of the service of God under the Gospel, and that which is only proper to Christians. And, by consequence, that which is consecrate to the service of

^c Οὕτως ἐπειδὴ ἐποίησεν, εἰς τὴν ὁρᾶν τοῦ σώματος, ὅπως ἂν μὴ διαπορευθῇ ἐκ τῆς τῶν μαθητῶν ἐκτιμήσεως, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ θεραπείᾳ εὐθυμότερα γενομένη καὶ ἀμείνων ἀπέλθῃ. Καὶ γὰρ μετὰ τὸ χύσθαι τὸ ἔλαιον, οὐδὲ καρὸν εἶχεν αὐτῶν ἡ ἐκτίμησις. Καὶ σὺ τοίνυν ἴδαν μὴν τινα ἱερὰ σκεῖν κατασκευάσαντα

ἱερὰ καὶ προσάγοντα, ἢ ἄλλαν τινὰ ἐκκλησίας κόσμον, ἢ περὶ τοίχους καὶ ἑταροῖς φιλοποροῦντα, μὴ κέλευε παρῆναι, ἢ ἀνατραπῆναι τὸ γεγεννημένον, ἵνα μὴ πηρώσῃς αὐτοῦ τὴν προθυμίαν — Comment. in S. Matth. xxvi. 13. tom. ii. p. 300. ed. Savil.

God under the Gospel, is anathema, for the same reason as under the law, because they are accursed that take upon them to apply it to any other use. CHAP.
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§ 62. These things premised, it will not be difficult to determine the limits of sovereign and ecclesiastical power in the conduct and establishment of matters of religion in a Christian state; which, seeing it chiefly consists in the right of giving those laws by which this establishment and conduct is executed, and having shewed^d that the right of sovereign power in Church matters is not destructive, but cumulative to the power of the Church, and that there is an original right in the Church of giving laws as to the society of the Church: it follows, that the right of making those laws, whereby religion is established in a Christian state, belonging both to the sovereign power and to the Church, are not distinguishable by the subject—for I have premised^e that sovereign powers may make laws of Church matters—but by the several reasons, and grounds, and intents of both.

The interest of secular powers in all parts of the power of the Church.

§ 63. That is to say, that the determining of the matter of ecclesiastical laws, in order to the sentence of excommunication, which the Church is able to enforce them with, belongs to the Church, that is, to those whom we have shewed to have that power on behalf of the Church; but the enacting of them as laws of civil societies, in order to those privileges and penalties which states are able to enforce religion with, belongs to the sovereign powers that give law to those states. For here it is to be known, that any religion is made the religion of any state by two manner of means, that is, of temporal privileges and temporal penalties; for how much toleration soever is allowed several religions in any state, none of them can be counted the religion of the state till it be so privileged as no other can be privileged in that state, though it becomes the religion of that state still more manifestly when penalties are established, either upon the not exercise of the religion established, or upon the exercise of any other beside it. Those of the congregations seem indeed hitherto to maintain that no penalty can be inflicted by any state upon any cause of religion^f; to which point

[How a religion becomes established.]

^d Sect. 5.

^e Sect. 2, 6.

^f "A man when he sins not against the state, may justly stand for it a state

CHAP. IV. I will answer by and by^a: which, if it were so, then could no religion be the religion of any state but by temporal privileges.

[Christianity to be maintained by the secular power.]

§ 64. In the meantime, having determined^b that, by the word of God, Christianity is to be maintained by secular power, and seeing it cannot be ingrafted into any state but by making the laws thereof the laws of that state, in this doing, my conclusion is, that the matter of ecclesiastical laws is determinable by the Church; the force of them, as to such means as the state is able to enact them with, must come from the state. The reason is, first, from that of the Apostle, pronounced by him in one particular case, but which may be generalized to this purpose, 1 Cor. vii. 20, 24: "Every one, in what state he is called to be a Christian, therein let him continue;" which, if it hold, neither can any quality in any civil society give any man that right which ariseth from the constitution of the Church, nor on the contrary. Wherefore, seeing it is manifest that there is in the Church²²⁴ a power of giving laws to every respective part of it, as it is granted that there is in all sovereign powers, in respect of all persons and causes, it follows that they are distinguishable by the several reasons on which they stand and arise, and the several intents to which they operate, and the effects they are able to produce.

§ 65. Secondly, no religion but Judaism was ever given immediately by God to any state, and that by such laws as determine both the exercise of religion and the civil government of that people. But all nations think they have re-

freedom, and to deprive a man of his state liberties for the kingdom of Christ's sake, as it causeth disturbances in the world, so let any man shew me any such thing in the Gospel.

"Neither did Christ command His Apostles to use any such outward power, but He sent His disciples to preach, and bid them say, unto what house soever they entered, Peace be to this house; and if men would not receive peace and the doctrine of peace, not to force them, but to depart thence, and to shake off the dust of their feet as a witness against them, And this is all that the ministers of the Gospel can do to any

that refuse their doctrine, and not to go to the secular magistrate to ask power to punish them, or imprison them, or sell their goods, as is now practised in some parts of the kingdom, even upon the saints; and if man be wicked, is it not misery enough for them to refuse eternal life, except also they inflict on them temporal death?" Dell's Right Reformation, pp. 24, 25. A Sermon preached before the House of Commons, Nov. 25, 1646. See also Some Modest and Humble Queries concerning an Ordinance for the Preventing of Heresies, published in 1646, and Goodwin's Hagiomastix.

^a In chap. v. sect. 6.

^b Chap. I. sect. 12.

ceived religion from some Divinity which they believe; and therefore by the law of nations, the ordering of matters of religion must needs belong to those by whom, and from whom, several nations believe they have received it. Much more, Christianity received from and by our Lord and His Apostles, must needs be referred to the conduct of those whom we have shewed¹ they left trusted with it. But the power to dispose of the exercise of religion is a point of sovereignty used by all states according to several laws; wherefore Christianity much more obliging all sovereigns to use this power to the advancement of it, the coactive power
223 of secular societies must needs take place much more in establishing Christianity by such constitutions as Christianity may be established with.

§ 66. Thirdly, the whole Church is, by Divine right, one visible society, though to an invisible purpose, and the power of giving laws, either to the whole or to several parts of it, of Divine right. But neither the whole, nor the parts of it, are necessarily convertible with any one state, and yet the Church under several states, many times in extreme need of the use of that power which God hath given His Church, [is] to determine matters determinable; therefore this power cannot be vested in any of the states under which the Church is concerned, but in those that have power in behalf of the Churches respectively concerned.

§ 67. The fourth argument is very copious, from the exercise of this power in the religion instituted by God among His ancient people, of which nature there is nothing in the New Testament, because, in the times whereof it speaks, sovereign powers were not Christian. I have shewed in divers places² of this discourse, that the high consistory of the Jews at Jerusalem had power to determine all questions, that became determinable, in the matter of laws given by
226 God. And yet there is great appearance that this consistory itself was not constantly settled there according to law till Josaphat's time, at least not the inferior consistories appointed by the law of Deut. xvi. 18. as the chief, by the law of Deut. xvii. 8, to be settled in the several cities. For if so, why

[Establishment of the consistory.]

¹ Chap. iii.

sectt. 18, 19, 25.

² Chap. ii. sectt. 11, 13; chap. iv.

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should the judges and Samuel ride circuit up and down the country to minister justice according to the law, as we read they did then, Judg. v. 10; x. 4; xii. 14; 1 Sam. vii. 16, but not after Josaphat's time. And for this reason, it seems, Josaphat himself, being to put this law in force, first sent judges up and down the cities, 2 Chron. xvii. 8, 9, and afterwards settled them according to the law in the cities of Judah as well as at Jerusalem, 2 Chron. xix. 5, 8.

§ 68. Besides, Josephus, in express terms, rendering a reason of the disorder upon which the war against Benjamin followed, attributes it to this, that the consistories were not established according to law, *Antiq.* v. 2¹. And again, *Antiq.* v. 5^m, he gives this for the cause why Eglon undertook to subdue the Israelites, that they were in disorder, and the laws were not put in use. And therefore it is justly to be presumed that the exact practice of this law, on which that of all the rest depended, took not place till Josaphat applied the coactive power then in his hands to bring to effect that²²⁷ which God had established in point of Divine right. The consistory, then, by the law, is commanded to judge the people: that is, the sovereign power of the people is commanded to establish the consistory. Josaphat finds this command to take hold upon him, as having the power of that people in his hands.

§ 69. So again, God had commanded that idolaters should be put to death, and their cities destroyed; the consistory enquiring, and sentencing, as appears by the Jews' constitutions in Muimoni, of Idolatry, cap. iv.^a; Deut. xiii. 2, 13, 14. But suppose the disease grown too strong for the cure—as we must needs suppose the consistory unable to destroy an idolatrous city, when most cities do the like; or to take away high places when the land is overrun with them—then must

¹ Καὶ συνέβαιεν ἥδη τὴν ἀριστοκρατίαν διεφθάρθαι καὶ τὰς γεροισίας οὐκ ἀπεβέβηκον, οὐδὲ ἀρχὴν ἑλλήν αὐδεμίαν τῶν πρότερον νενημισμένων. ἦσαν δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς ἡδονὴ τοῦ κερδαίνειν προσδεδεμένους· καὶ διὰ τὴν πολλὴν ἔδεικνεν στάσις αὐτοῖς πάλιν κατελαμβάνε δεινὴ, καὶ πρῶτήθησαν εἰς τὸ πολέμειν ἀλλήλους ἐκ ταιαύτης αἰτίας.—§ 7. p. 194. ed. Hudson. Oxon. 1720.

² Τελευτήσαντος δὲ τούτου πάλιν τα

τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἐπὶ ἀναρχίας ἐνόησε πράγματα καὶ τῷ μὴ διὰ τιμῆς ἀγεῖν τὸν θεὸν μηδὲ τοῖς νόμοις ὑπακούειν ἐτι μᾶλλον ἐκακοῦντο, ὥς καταφρονήσαντα αὐτῶν τῆς ἀκοσμίας τῆς κατὰ τὴν πολιτείαν Ἐγλώνα τῶν Μωαβιτῶν βασιλεία πόλεμον πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐξευεργκεῖν.—p. 200, 201.

³ De Idololatria, ed. Voss. p. 52. Amstel. 1611.

the coactive power of the secular arm either restore the law, or be branded to posterity for not doing it, as you see the kings of God's people are^o. The precept of building the temple was given to the body of the people, therefore it takes hold upon David^o, and the powers under him, his princes, his officers, and commanders, 1 Chron. xiii. 2; xxviii. 1.

§ 70. In fine, the consistory, by the law, was to determine matters undetermined in the law, whether in general by giving laws in questionable cases, or in particular by sentencing causes: but if the people slide back, and cast away the yoke of the law, none but the sovereign power can reduce them under the covenant of the law to which they are born. Therefore that covenant is renewed by Asa, by Hezekiah, by Josias, by none but the king, as first it was established by Moses, "King in Jesurun," Deut. xxix. 1; xxxiii. 5; 2 Chron. xv. 12, 14; xxix. 10; xxxiv. 31. And it is a very gross mistake to imagine that the people renewed it, or any part of it, without the consent of the sovereign, under Esdras and Nehemias^o, Esdras x. 11—14; Neh. x. 29; v. 12. For Esdras having obtained that commission, which we see, Esdras vii. 11, may well be thought thereby esta-

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[Power of
the consistory.]

^o Asa, 1 Kings xv. 14; Josaphat, 1 Kings xxii. 43; Jehoshaphat, 2 Kings xii. 3; Amaziah, 2 Kings xiv. 4; Azariah, 2 Kings xv. 4.

^o See chap. i. sect. 2.

^o "That scruple, that this is done without the King's consent, will soon be removed, if it be remembered that the protestation of the fifth of May before mentioned was in the same manner voted and executed by both Houses, and after—by order of one House alone—sent abroad to all the kingdom, his Majesty not excepting against it, or giving any stop to the taking of it, albeit he was then resident in person at Whitehall. Thus Ezra and Nehemiah drew all the people into a covenant, without any special commission from the Persian monarchs—then their sovereigns—so to do, albeit they were not free subjects but vassals, and one of them the menial servant of Artaxerxes, then by conquest king of Judah also. Nor hath this doctrine or practice been deemed seditious or unwarrantable by

the princes that have sat upon the English throne, but justified and defended by Queen Elizabeth of blessed memory with the expense of much treasure, and noble blood, in the United Provinces of the Netherlands, combined not only without, but against the unjust violence of Philip of Spain. King James followed her steps so far as to approve their union, and enter into a league with them as free states; which is continued by his Majesty now reigning unto this day, who both by his expedition for the relief of Rochelle in France, and his strict confederacy with the Prince of Orange and the States General, notwithstanding all the importunity of Spain to the contrary, hath set to his seal, that all that had been done by his royal ancestors, in maintenance of those who had so engaged and combined themselves, was just and warrantable." An Exhortation touching the Solemn League and Covenant, passed by the House of Commons Feb. 9, 1643-4. Rushworth, part iii. vol. ii. pp. 476, 477.

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blished in the quality of head of the consistory by the sovereign power, as the Jews all report him: but howsoever, by that commission, we cannot doubt that he was enabled to swear them to the law, by which he was enabled to govern them in it, his commission supposing a grant of full leave to live according to their law. But in Nehemias, we must acknowledge a further power of governor under the king of Persia, as he calls himself expressly, Neh. v. 14, 15; which quality seems to me answerable to that of the heads of the captive Jews in Babylonia; of whom we read divers times in 229 Josephus¹, as well as in the Jews' writings², that they were heads of their nation in that country, having heads of their consistories under them at the same time, as Esdras under Nehemias.

[Esdras
and Nehemias.]

§ 71. The proceedings then of Esdras and Nehemias, as well as of the kings of Judah, prove no more than that which I said in the beginning of this chapter, that sovereign powers have right to establish and restore all matters of religion, which can appear to be commanded by God. For it is not in any common reason to imagine, that by any covenant of the law renewed by Esdras and Nehemias, they conceived themselves enabled or obliged to maintain themselves by force, in the profession and exercise of their religion against their sovereign, in case he had not allowed it them: therefore, of necessity, that which they did was by power derived by commission from the kings of Persia—and so with reservation of their obedience to them—who, granting Nehemias and Esdras power to govern the people in their religion, must needs be understood to grant them both the free profession and exercise of the same.

[The secular power
must
aid the
Church.]

§ 72. But having shewed³ that the Church hath power, by Divine right, to establish by a general act, which you may call a canon, constitution, or law, all that God's law deter- 230 mineth not, mediately, and by consequence, I conceive it remains proved by these particulars done under the Old

¹ Ἦν γὰρ ἄρχων τῶν ἐπ' Ἀντιοχείας Ἰουδαίων. De Bell. Jud., lib. vii. cap. iii. § 3 p. 1299. ed. Hudson.

Αὐτοὶ δὲ εἰς τὴν Τιβεριέων πόλιν πεπορεύοντο ἀφίστασθαι προσδοκῶντες αὐτὴν ἐπαχειρίων' ἐπειδὴ καὶ Ἰησοῦς ὁ κατὰ

τὸν καιρὸν τούτων ἐκεῖνων ἄρχων.—Josephi Vita, § 53. p. 931. ed. Hudson.

² See Relig. Assemb., chap. iii. sect. 19.

³ Sect. 18, 19.

Testament, that the Church is to determine, but the determinations of the Church to be maintained by the coactive power of the secular arm, seeing they cannot come to effect in any Christian state otherwise. Which also is immediately proved by some acts recorded in Scripture, whereby that is limited which God's law had not determined.

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§ 73. It is said, 1 Chron. xxv. 1, "that David, and the captains of the militia, divided the sons of Asaph, Heman and Jeduthun, to the service of God." Here it were an inconvenience to imagine that commanders of war should meddle with ordering the tribe of Levi, and the service of the temple. It is not so: we are to understand there by the militia, the companies of priests that waited on the service of the temple, the captains of whom, with David, divided the singers, as they did the priests, 1 Chron. xxiv. 3, 6, 7. Though elsewhere, 1 Chron. xxiii. 6, David alone is mentioned to do it, as by whose power a business concerning the state of a tribe in Israel, was put in effect and force. So Hezekias and his princes, and all the synagogue, advised ²³¹ about holding the passover in the second month, 2 Chron. xxx. 2; that is, he advised with the consistory, who are there, as in Jeremias xxvi. 10, 11, called the princes: for so the Jews' constitutions in Maimoni, in the title of Coming into the Sanctuary, cap. iv.^a, teach us to understand it. So David and his princes gave the Gibeonites "to wait upon the Levites," whereupon they are called Nethinim, that is, "Given," Esdras viii. 20; where by David and the princes, we must understand, by the same reason, David and the great consistory of his time. So also Maimoni, in the title *Erubin*, *sub init.*, or rather the Talmud doctors, whose credit he followeth, tell us that Solomon and his consistory brought that constitution into practice, concerning what rooms meats may be removed into upon the sabbath.

§ 74. Herewith agrees the practice of Christian emperors, if we consider the style and character of some of their laws in the Codes by which the rest may be estimated; seeing it is not possible to consider all in this abridgment. There you shall find a law by which the canons of the Church are

[The laws
of the
Church
enforced
by the
emperors.]

^a De Ingressu Sanctuarii, cap. iv. viii. col. 1091. Venet. 1747.
¹ 17. Ugolin. Thes. Antiq. Sacr., tom.

CHAP. enforced, and the governors of provinces tied to observe and
 — IV. — execute them, long before the Code of canons was made by Justinian a law of the empire^x. There you shall find the audiences of Bishops established, and the sentences of them enforced by the secular arm^y, the authority of them having been in force, in the society of the Church, from the beginning, as hath been said^z. There you shall find laws, by which men are judged heretics and schismatics, as they acknowledged the faith determined by such and such councils, or not^a; as they communicated with such and such Bishops or not^b; which what is it but to take the act of the Church for

^x Omni innovatione cessante, vetustatem et canones pristinos Ecclesiasticos, qui nunc usque tenuerunt, per omnes Illyrici provincias, servari præcipimus. Tum si quid dubietatis emeruerit, id oporteat, non absque scientia Viri reverentissimi sacrosanctæ legis Antistitis Urbis Constantinopolitanæ, quæ Romæ veteris prærogativa latatur, conventui Sacerdotali sanctoque iudicio reservari.—xvi. Cod. Theodos. Tit. ii. de *Episcopis, Ecclesiis et Clericis*. l. 45. Anno 421. Also in the Code of Justinian, c. i. ii. 6. See Euseb. de Vita Constantini, ii. 46, p. 465. ed. Vales.

^y Episcopale iudicium ratum sit omnibus, qui se audiri a sacerdotibus elegerint: eamque illorum iudicationi adhibendam esse reverentiam iubemus, quam vestris deferri neceesse est potestatibus, a quibus non licet provocare. Per iudicium quoque officia, ne sit cassa officialis cognitio, definitioni executionis trihuntur.—c. i. iv. de *Episcopali auctoritate*, 8.

Si autem ecclesiastica causa est, nullam communionem habeant iudices civiles circa talem examinationem, sed sanctissimus Episcopus secundum sacras regulas causæ finem imponat. Auth. 123. cap. xxi. § 2.

^z Chap. i. sect. 38—44.

^a Quicumque in hac sacra urbe, vel Alexandria, vel in omni Ægyptiaca diocesi, diversisque aliis provinciis Eutychetis profanam perversitatem sequuntur, et ita non credunt, ut trecenti decem et octo sancti Patres tradiderunt, catholicam fidem in Nicæna civitate fundantes: eorum quoque et quinquaginta alii venerabiles Episcopi qui in eadem urbe Constantinopolitana postea convenerunt; sicut Athanasius,

et Theophilus et Cyrillus sanctæ recordationis Episcopi Alexandrinæ civitatis credebant, quos etiam Ephesina synodus, cui beate memoriæ Cyrillus præfuit, in qua Nestorii error expulsus est, in universis secuta est, quos et nuper venerabilis Chalcedonensis synodus est secuta, prioribus conciliis sacerdotum ex omni prorsus parte consentiens, nihilque adimens sacrosancto symbolo, neque adjiciens, sed Eutychetis dogmata sancta condemnans; sciens scesse hæreticos [Apollinaristas:] Apollinaris enim facinorosissimam sectam Eutyches et Dioscorus mente sacrilega sunt secuti. § 1. Ideoque hi homines qui Apollinaria vel Eutychetis perversitatem sequuntur, illis poenis, quæ divorum retro principum constitutionibus contra Apollinaristas, vel serenitatis nostræ postmodum sanctiones contra Eutychianistas, vel hæc ipsa Augustissima lege contra eosdem decreta sunt, noverint se esse plectendos.—c. i. v. de *Hæreticis et Manicheis*, 8.

^b Idecirco Apollinaristas, hoc est, Eutychianistas, quibus est in appellatione diversitas, tamen est in hæresis pravitate conjunctio, et dispar quidem nomen, sed idem sacrilegum sive in hac alma urbe, diversisque provinciis, sive in Alexandria civitate, sive intra Ægyptineam diocesin sunt, [et] neque ita credunt, ut prædicti venerabiles Patres credebant, neque viro reverendissimo Alexandrinæ urbis Antistiti Proteo fidem orthodoxam tenenti communicant, Episcopos et presbyteros aliosque clericos creare, et habere prohibemus; scientibus tam his Eutychianistis, et Apollinaristis, qui ausi fuerint cuiquam Episcopi, vel presbyteri, vel clerici nomen imponere, quam his qui

a law, and to give force to it by the secular arm? which, CHAP. IV.
what prejudice can it import to any Christian state upon the
face of the earth?

§ 75. For first, such assemblies of the Church, at which public matters are determinable, cannot meet but by allowance of the state. In particular, though the Church hath right to assemble councils, when that appears the best course for deciding matters in difference, yet it cannot be said that the Church was ever able to assemble a general council without the command of Christian princes, after the example of Constantine the Great. And this is the state of religion for the present in Christendom. The power of determining matters of religion rests, as always it did, in the respective Churches to be tied by those determinations; but the power to assemble in freedom those judgments which may be capable
233 to conclude the Church, must rest in the free agreement of the sovereignties in Christendom.

[The relation of secular powers to councils.]

§ 76. Secondly, it hath been cautioned afore^c, that all sovereign powers have right to see, not only that nothing be done in prejudice to their estates, but also in prejudice to that which is necessary to the salvation of all Christians, or that which was from the beginning established in the Church by our Lord and His Apostles. Therefore when councils are assembled, neither can they proceed nor conclude, so as to oblige the secular powers, either of Christendom or of their respective sovereignties, but by satisfying them that the determinations, which they desire to bring to effect, are most agreeable to that which is determined by Divine right, as well as to the peace of the state. And so the objection ceases, that by making the Church independent upon the state, as to the matter of their laws and determinations, we make two heads in one body^d.

[and to their decrees.]

§ 77. For seeing there is, by this determination, no manner of coercive power in the Church, but all in the state—for

[The civil power may be resisted.]

passi fuerint impositum sibi nomen sacerdotum retinere, poenam exilii cum facultatum suarum amissione se subituros—cap. i. v. *de Hæreticis et Manichæis*, 8. 2.

^c Sect. 3.

^d *Utrum plures oppugno tantum iudicium de moribus, quod hodie ce-*

clesiasticum nominant, distinctum a iudicio politici magistratus; nempe duas jurisdictiones sive duo discriminata de manibus iudicia publica et externa nego in una republica esse oportere, cui pias magistratus a Deo prepositus est.—Erast. *Confirm. Theol.*, lib. iv. cap. i. pp. 258, 259. Peschov. 1589.

CHAP. excommunication constrains but upon supposition that a man
 IV. resolves to be a Christian—there remains but one head in the civil society of every state, so absolute over the persons that make the Church, that the independent power thereof in Church matters will enable it to do nothing against, but suffer all things from, the sovereign. And yet so absolute, and depending on God alone in Church matters, that if a sovereign professing Christianity, should not only forbid the profession of that faith, or the exercise of those ordinances which God hath required to be served with; but even the exercise of that ecclesiastical power which shall be necessary to preserve the unity of the Church, it must needs be necessary for those that are trusted with the power of the Church, not only to disobey the commands of the sovereign, but to use that power which their quality in the society of the Church gives them to provide for the subsistence thereof, without the assistance of secular powers.

[as in the
 case of
 Arius.]

§ 78. A thing manifestly supposed by all the Bishops of the ancient Church, in all those actions wherein they refused to obey their emperors seduced by heretics, and to suffer their Churches to be regulated by them, to the prejudice of Christianity; particularly in that memorable refusal of Athanasius of Alexandria¹, and Alexander of Constantinople², to admit the heretic Arius to communion, at the instant command of Constantine the Great: which most Christian action whosoever justifies not—beside the appearance of favour to such an heresy—he will lay the Church open to the same ruin, whensoever the sovereign power is seduced by the like. And such a difference falling out, so that to particular persons it cannot be clear who is in the right, it will be requisite for Christians in a doubtful case, at

¹ Τότε δὴ καὶ οἱ περὶ Εὐσέβιον αὐτοὶ τε ἔγραφον, καὶ τὸν βασιλεῖα γράφειν παρεσκεύαζον, ὅπως ἂν προσδεχθῶσιν οἱ περὶ Ἀρείου Ἀθανάσιος μὴ οὐκ πάντα τοῦ δεῖσθαι αὐτοῖς ἀπηγόρευσε· καὶ τὸν βασιλεῖα γράφων ἐδίδασκεν, ἀδύνατον εἶναι τοῖς ἀπαξ τὴν πίστιν ἀθετήσαντας, καὶ ἀναθεματισθέντας, αἷθις ἐξ ὑπιστροφῆς συλλαμβάνεσθαι.—Sozom. Hist. Eccles. i. 27. p. 63. ed. Valis.

² Εἰς ἀγῶνα μέγιστον κατέστη δ' Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ μάλιστα ὅτι ὁ Εὐσέβιος δ' Νικομηδείας πολλὰ διηπείλει αὐτῷ,

λέγων ὅσον οὐδέτις καθάρησιν αὐτὸν, εἰ μὴ εἰς κοινωνίαν δέξηται· τὸν Ἀρείου καὶ τοὺς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δὲ οὐ τοσούτον περὶ καθαρμίσσεως ἔμελεν, ὅσον ἐθελεῖ ἐπὶ τῇ σπουδαζομένῃ παραλύσει τοῦ δόγματος· φύλακα γὰρ ἱαντὸν τῶν ὄρων τῆς συνόδου νομίζον. παντοῖος ἐγίνετο, μὴ παρατραβῆναι τοῖς τύποις αὐτῆς· ἐν ταύτῃ τοῖνον τῇ ἀγωνίᾳ καθεστῶς, χαίρειν πολλὰ φράσας τῇ διαλεκτικῇ, προσφεύγει Θεῷ.—Sozom. Hist. Eccles. i. 37. p. 73. ed. Valis.

their utmost perils to adhere to the guides of the Church against their lawful sovereigns, though to no further effect than to suffer for the exercise of Christianity, and the maintenance of the society of the Church in unity. CHAP. IV.

§ 79. Now what strength and force the exercise of the keys, which is the jurisdiction of the Church, necessarily requires from the secular arm, may appear in that this power hath been, and may be, enforced by sovereigns of contrary religions. The first mention of excommunication among the Jews is, as you have seen^a, under Esdras, who proceeded by commissions from the king of Persia. In the title of both Codes, of Justinian and Theodosius, *De Judæis et Cæticis*^b, you have a law of the Christian emperors, whereby the excommunications of the Jews are enacted and enforced, by forbidding inferior powers to make them void. And thus was the sentence of the Church against Paulus Samosatenus 236 ratified by the heathen emperor Aurelian, as you may see in Eusebius's Histories, vii. 30^c. For though the matter thereof were not evident to him that was no Christian, yet the authority might be, the support whereof concerned the peace of the empire; and so it was evident in that case: for there being a difference in the Church of Antiochia, between the Bishop and some of the clergy and people, and the synod there assembled having condemned and deposed the Bishop, if this deposition were allowed by the synod of the Church of Rome, no man will deny that there was thereby sufficient ground

[Secular powers of different religions may aid the Church.]

^a Chap. i. sect. 30.

^b Judæorum querele, quosdam auctoritate judicium recipere sectam suam, reclamantibus legis sue Primatibus, adseverant, quos ipsi judicio ac voluntate persequuntur. Quam unicuique subnotari possumus injuriam. Nec eorum in ea superstitione cæculus cæcus aut per vim judicium, aut reservati subreptione, in iudicis Primatibus suis — quos vicorum clarissimum et adstantium Patriarchatum arbitrio, manifestum est habere aia de religionis sententiam — opem reconciliationis mereantur indicere. — xvi Cod Theodos. Tit. xvi. l. 8. This law is not in the Code of Justinian.

Judæi communi Romano jure viventes. . . . Si qui veni ex his communi pactione ad similitudinem

arbitrorum apud Judæos in civili duntaxat negotio putaverint obsequendum; sortiri eorum iudicium jure publico non velentur. Eorum etiam sententias judices exequuntur, tanquam ex sententia cogitoris arbitri dari fuerint. — C. i. ix. 8.

^c Ἀλλὰ γὰρ μηδαμῶς ἐκστῆναι τοῦ Παύλου τοῦ τῆς ἐκκλησίας οἴκου θεοκτοῦ βασιλεὺς ἐντευχθεὶς Ἀθηναίων αἰσιώτατα περὶ τοῦ πρακτικοῦ διελύχε· ταῖς τοῖς νεῖμας προστάττων τὸν οἶκον, οἷς ἂν ὁ κατὰ τὴν Ἱταλίαν καὶ τῶν Ρωμαίων πόλιν Ἐπισκοποὶ τοῦ δόγματι ἐπιστέλλαντες· οὐκ ὄντα δὲ προδολαθεῖς ἀνὴρ μετὰ τῆς ἐσχάτης αἰσχυρῆς ὑπὸ τῆς κοσμικῆς ἀρχῆς ἔτι καίονταί· τῆς ἐκκλησίας τοιοῦτοι γὰρ τίς ἢ τὸ τηρεῖν καὶ περὶ ημεῖς ὁ Ἀθηναῖος. pp. 262, 263. ed. Vales.

CHAP. IV. for him that was no Christian to proceed and take away possession of the Church and Bishop's house from him that by such authority was deposed: and thus you see how true it is which I said^k, that in Christian states the power of the Church cannot be in force without the sovereign, because excommunication, which is the sword thereof, and the last execution of this spiritual jurisdiction, might be made void otherwise.

[Objections to the independent jurisdiction of the Church.]

§ 80. As for the prejudice which may come to a Christian state by a jurisdiction not depending upon it in point of right, but only in point of fact, there seem to be two considerable difficulties made. The first, the excommunication of the sovereign^l; or more generally thus, that the keys of the Church may then interpose in state matters: the second, in regard that I have shewed^m, that by the words of our Lord this power may take place in matters of interest between party and party. For if in any, why not in all? And if in all, where shall the secular power become that power that is able to judge all causes, being able to govern any state?

[Of the excommunication of the sovereign.]

§ 81. To the first the answer is evident, that so far as excommunication concerns barely the society of the Church, any person capable of sovereign power is liable to it, upon the same terms as other Christians are, because, coming into the communion of the Church upon the same condition as other Christians, the failing of this condition must needs render the effect void. But if we consider either the temporal force by which it comes to effect, or the temporal penalties which attend on it; to these, which cannot proceed but by the will of the sovereign, it is not possible that he

^k Sect. 5. 6.

^l Excommunicari non posse principem, qui habet summum civitatis imperium. Neque enim per doctrinam Christi subditas unus, vel plures simul, principi suo quamquam ethnico loca publica, aut privata interdicare, aut introitum in quemcunque eorum negare potest, aut prohibere, ne faciat, quicquid in sua litione voluerit. Est enim crimen læsæ majestatis in omni civitate, cui cuicunque, vel quatenusque civibus simul, auctoritatem sibi quamcunque in totam civitatem irrogare. Qui vero auctoritatem arrogat sibi in

eum qui habet civitatis summum imperium, eandem arrogat in ipsam civitatem, Preterea, princeps summus, si Christianus sit, hoc amplius habet ut civitas, ejus voluntas continetur in ipsius voluntate, id ipsum sit, quod vocamus ecclesiam. Neminem igitur excommunicat ecclesia, nisi quem excommunicat auctoritate principis. Sed princeps non excommunicat seipsum, non igitur excommunicari potest a subditis suis.—Hobbes, de Cive, cap. xviii. § 26. pp. 158, 159.

^m Chap. i. sect. 38.

should be liable. Thus I had rather distinguish, than between the greater excommunication and the less, as some do, who conclude that the sovereign cannot be subject to the greater, but to the less". For there is indeed but one excommunication, as there is but one communion; abstinence from the Eucharist being no permanent, but a transient estate; under which whosoever comes, if he give not satisfaction to the Church, becomes contumacious, and so liable to the last sentence.

CHAP.
IV.

§ 82. Let no man marvel at the good emperor Theodosius giving satisfaction of his penitence to the holy Bishop St. Ambrose". The reason was, because Christianity, then fresh from the Apostles, was understood and uncorrupt. It was understood that he held not his empire by being of the Church, nor that his subjects owed him any less obedience for not being of it. He that taught him to be subject to God, taught his people also to be subject to him for God's sake, as Christians always were to heathen emperors, even persecutors. Which if it were received, it is not imaginable

[The case
of Theodosius]

"It now remaineth to be examined whether these alleged examples proved that which they should do, yea or no. The thing which they ought to confirm is, that no less Christian kings than other persons under them ought to be subject to the self-same coercive authority of the Church-governors, and for the same kinds of transgressions to receive at their hands the same spiritual censure of excommunication judicially inflicted by way of punishment. But in the aforesaid examples [Philip and Theodosius] . . . it doth not by any of these appear that kings in such wise should be subject."—Hacker, bk. viii. chap. ix. § 5.

"I therefore conclude that these excommunications have neither the nature of judicial punishments, nor the force of sufficient arguments to prove that ecclesiastical judges should have authority to call their own sovereign to appear before them into their consistories, there to examine, to judge, and by excommunication to punish them, if so be they be found culpable.

"But concerning excommunication, and as only a doubtful religious and holy refusal to admit notorious transgressors in so extreme degree unto the

blessed communion of saints, especially the mysteries of the Body and Blood of Christ, till their humble penitent minds be made manifest: this we grant every king bound to abide at the hands of any minister of God wheresoever throughout the world.

"For which cause, the better reason be brought to prove that kings cannot lawfully be exempted from subjection unto ecclesiastical courts, we must and do affirm their said exemption lawful." *Ib.*, chap. ix. § 6.

"Quod factum ubi cognovit sacerdos, copiam Imperatori ingrediendi Ecclesiam denegavit, nec prius dignum juhevit eam Ecclesie, vel Sacramentorum communione, quam publicam ageret penitentiam. Cum Imperator contra adsererat David adulterum, simul et homicidium perpetrasse. Sed responsum illico est: Qui secutus es errantem, sequeris eum. Quod ubi audivit clementissimus Imperator, ita suscepit animo, ut publicam penitentiam non abhorreret, cujus correctionis profectus arcupdam illi paravit victoriam.—Vit. S. Ambrosii a Paulina. § 24. S. Ambros. Opp., tom. ii. ed. Ben.

CITAP. that the powers of the world could be prejudiced by any censure of the Church.

[Of com-
mence with
the excom-
municate.] § 83. As for the objection, that excommunicate persons are not to be conversed with², by St. Paul's rule³; it is answered by all Divines⁴, that it ceases in such relations—for example, of parents and children—as are more ancient than the society of the Church, which it therefore presupposeth; and so is to cease in things necessary to civil society, which Christianity, as it presupposeth, so it enforceth, and not overthroweth. In like manner it is to be said, that all proceedings, either of the popes, or of the Scottish presbyteries, in those cases which the Burden of 239 Issachar⁵ mentions, are the productions of the corruption or

* Cum his ne cibum quidem unum sumere 1 Cor. v. 10, 11. Quam ergo talis sit excommunicationis effectus, manifestum est primo loco, civitatem Christianam non posse excommunicari. Hobbes, De Cive, cap. xvii. § 26. p. 158.

Jeremy Taylor in his Ductor Dubitantium, lays down the same principle: "But then concerning that part which is inflicted by the people, which is abstinence from the society of the offender till he repent and make amends, and get his pardon, it is infinitely certain that the Church cannot inflict that on kings, because it is destructive of the duty which the people owe to their prince, and of the right which the prince hath from God independently from the religion."—Bk. iii. chap. iv. rule vii. § 3. p. 604. London, 1676.

¹ 1 Cor. v. 9, 11; 2 Thess. iii. 6, 14.

² This relaxation of the Apostolical rule was formally pronounced by Gregory VII in a council held in Rome, A.D. 1078. It is inserted in the Body of the Canon Law, xi. Quæst. iii. Quoniam multos, peccatis nostris exigentibus, pro causa excommunicationis perire quotidie cernimus, partim ignorantia, partim etiam nimia simplicitate, partim timore, partim etiam necessitate, devoti misericordia, anathematis sententiam ad tempus, prout possumus, opportune temperamus. Apostolica quoque auctoritate anathematis vinculo hos subrahimus, videlicet uxores liberos, servos, ancillas, seu mancipia, nec non rusticos et servientes, et omnes alios qui non ad ea carnalis sunt, ut eorum consilio scelera perpetrentur, et

illos qui ignoranter excommunicatis communicant, seu illos qui communicant cum eis qui communicant excommunicatis. Quicumque autem aut orator sive peregrinus aut viator, in terram excommunicatorum devenerit, ubi non possit emere, vel non habet unde emat, ab excommunicatis accipiendi licentiam damus. Et si quis excommunicatis pro sustentatione, non superbiat sed humanitati causa aliquid dare voluerit, fieri non prohibemus.—Labbei, tom. xii. coll. 616, 617. ed. Venet. The substance of which is expressed in the following line,

Utile, lex, humile, res ignorata, necesse;

for a full explanation of which see Reginaldus, Prax. For. Poenitent. lib. xxxii. tract i., and for its correlative,

Os, orare, vale, communico, mensa, negatur.

* This was the title of a pamphlet published in 1646 by John Maxwell, Bishop of Ross, in which he gives instances of the Presbyterian judicatures interfering with the course of the civil law. "Mr. Maxwell of Ross," says Baillie, "has printed at Oxford so desperately malicious an invective against our assemblies and presbyteries, that however I could hardly consent to the hanging of Canterbury himself, or of any Jesuit, yet I could give my sentence freely against that unhappy liar's life."—Letters and Journals, vol. ii. pp. 207, 208. Edinburgh, 1841. The Burden of Issachar is published in the Phoenix, vol. ii. p. 260. It was published, in substance, with a different title in 1644.

misunderstanding of Christianity. For, as Aristotle says^t, *CHAP. IV.*
 that some things, *εὐθὺς ὠνόμασται συνειλημμένα μετὰ φανό-*
ρητος, so must we say, that those things only exclude from
 the Church, which, by the very nature and essence of them,
 are inconsistent with Christianity, being those things which a
 Christian renounces when he is admitted into the Church.

§ 84. Now the affairs of states, such as are treaties and
 alliances with foreign states, reason of government at home,
 in jurisdiction, giving laws, and commands of state, are such
 things as are not necessarily bad or good, but may be the
 subject either of virtue or vice; much less can it be manifest
 not only to the body of Christians, but even to the guides of
 the Church, when governors forsake, and when they cleave
 to their Christianity, though it is certain that they do either
 the one or the other always. Wherefore for particular actions
 of the same kind with those for which private persons are
 liable, when they become notorious, princes also, and public
 persons, are subject to the censure of the Church^u. But for
 public government, the reason whereof must not be known,
 240 the kind thereof in the whole extent being capable of good
 as well as bad; it is nothing but the misunderstanding and
 corruption of Christianity that engages the Church in them,
 by the fault of those that by their quality in the Church
 seek to themselves some interest in public affairs, which
 Christianity generally denies to be due. And the same is
 to be said of them that make public affairs the subject of
 their prayers and preaching. Which, though it may be done
 to good purpose, and in opposition to worse, yet seemg
 Christianity requires not only that it may be so in the
 Church, but also that it may not be otherwise, as it must
 needs proceed from a decay of Christianity, so it must needs
 tend to the utter ruin of it.

§ 85. As for the drawing of civil causes to the cognizance

^t Et sic Nichomach., lib. 6, cap. 6.

^u "However, if priests may now excommunicate, as they pretend, yet this concludes not that they may excommunicate princes, And once excommunication cannot be promiscuously and oppositely used by two, one against the other, without variance and confusion, but either the

one or the other must be above excommunication, it is more reasonable that the higher be exempted and privileged than the lower. And so it is a strong argument that princes are not liable to excommunication."—The True Ground of Ecclesiastical Regiment, p. 67, 70. London, 1641.

CHAP. of ecclesiastical judicatories, by some things that have been
IV.

[The ecclesiastical jurisdiction no hindrance to the secular.]

said or done to the advancement of the presbyteries in Scotland or here, it appears there is cause of scruple: but it is because the reason is overseen upon which our Lord's saying proceeds. For if the reason why our Lord will have the differences of Christians ended within the Church, is, that those that are without may not take notice of the offences that are among Christians, this will not hinder Christians to plead before Christians, and therefore will hinder no jurisdiction of civil states, as ceasing so far as the state becomes²⁴¹ Christian. Wherefore, it is not without cause that the audiences of Bishops have been, by the laws of the empire, and other Christian states succeeding the same, limited to such kinds of causes as seemed to stand most upon consideration of charity, and so fittest to be sentenced by the Church.

[Matrimonial causes belong to the Church.]

§ 86. But matrimonial causes seem to me necessarily to belong to this cognizance; because of that particular disposition which our Lord, in His Gospel, hath left concerning marriage. For if this be peculiar to Christians, as Christians, then, whatsoever becomes questionable upon the interpretation of this law, concerning the Church, as it is the Church, must needs fall under the sentence of those that are enabled to conclude the society of the Church. And therefore it is, without question, as ancient as Christianity, that no marriage be made which the Church alloweth not, the benediction whereof upon marriages is a sign of the allowance of the Church presupposed—as that upon the marriage of Boaz and Ruth, Ruth iv. 11, presupposeth the act to be allowed by the elders or consistory of Bethlehem—as you have it afore^a. These difficulties thus voided, it remains that the secular powers stand bound in conscience to enforce the jurisdiction of the Church, where the exercise of it produceth²⁴² nothing contrary to the principles of Christianity, or the quiet of the state.

[Interest of the state in ordinations.]

§ 87. As for the interest of the state in ordinations, the same reason holds. It is very manifest, by many examples of commendable times under Christian emperors, that many ordinations have been made at the instance and command of

^a Chap. i. sec. 26.

emperors and sovereign princes^v. And why not? What hindereth them to make choice of fitter persons than the clergy and people can agree to choose; and what hindereth the Church, upon consideration of their choice, to reform their own. But when sovereign powers, by general laws, forbid ordinations to proceed but upon persons nominated by themselves^u, how then shall the right of the Church take place? or what shall be the effect of St. Paul's precept to Timothy, "to lay hands hastily on no man, lest he partake of other men's sins?" which cannot take place unless he that ordains be free not to ordain.

§ 88. The president Thuanus^x, writing of the concordats

^v See Prim. Govern., chap. xii. sect. 15.

^u Such is the condition of the English Church by a law of Henry VIII. — "That at every avoidance of any archbishopric or bishopric within this realm, or in any other the king's dominions, the king our sovereign lord, his heirs and successors, may grant to the prior and convent, or the dean and chapter of the cathedral Churches or monasteries, where the see of such archbishopric or bishopric shall happen to be void, a licence under the great seal, as of old times hath been accustomed, to proceed to election of an Archbishop or Bishop of the see so being void, with a letter missive, containing the name of the person which they shall elect and chose. By virtue of which licence, the said dean and chapter, or prior and convent, to whom any such licence and letters missives shall be directed, shall with all speed and celerity, in due form elect and chose the said person named in the said letters missives, to the dignity and office of the archbishopric or bishopric so being void, and none other. And if they do defer or delay their election above twelve days next after such licence and letters missives to them delivered, that then for every such default the king's highness, his heirs and successors, at their liberty and pleasure, shall nominate and present by their letters patents under their great seal,

— If any Archbishop or Bishop, within any the king's dominions, after any such election, nomination or presentation shall be signified unto them by the king's letters patents, shall refuse and do not confirm, consent, and consecrate, with all due circumstance

as is aforesaid, every such person as shall be so elected, nominate, or presented, and to them signified, as is above mentioned, within twenty days next after the king's letters patents of such signification or presentation shall come to their hands, they "shall run in the dangers, pains, and penalties of the statute of provision and prebend, made in the 25th of the reign of Edward III., and in the 16th Rich. II."—25th Henric. VIII. cap. 20.

^x Additum a Leone munus, quo tanquam pignore nova federatio ob-signaretur, ut sublata veteris Ecclesie a Deo et Apostolis ministros eligendi instituta consuetudine, jam esset regi, quis vellet per oratores suos apud Pontificem proponere, et eos in Episcopos aut canoniorum presules diplomate suo creare Pontifex obligaretur. Id actum Antonio Pratensi Francie Francie cancellario suggerente, . . . Cause obtendebantur, quod corruptis moribus per gratiam et sordida omnia agerentur, Acta publica de eare inter ipsos confecta, quod adeo odiosum omnibus regni ordinibus visum est, ut a senatu transferretur, in quo hujusmodi res ex antiqua regni consuetudine, prius habita sedemmi deliberatione, approbati debent, post multas preces via tandem impetrat, potuerit, ut in acta publica eare absque ulla approbatione referrentur. Juhenio nuntiorum id exitum Francisci relatu et ejus generi, atque Pratensi ipsi attulisse creditur. editusque postea libris ipsorum memoria passim ex nomine perarissa est: nec delinunt qui jam tum culpam putas in Leonem, rejecerunt, neque enim novum aut sine exemplo

CHAP. between Leo the Tenth and Francis the First —by which the
 IV. canonical way of election of Bishops was abolished in France
 [Case of —saith freely, that that great prince never prospered after
 Leo X. and Francis I.] that act; giving this for his reason, because thereby that
 course of electing Bishops was taken way, which had been 243
 introduced from the beginning by the Apostles. In fine, of
 this particular I shall need to say no more but this, according
 to the general reason premised, that qualities ordained by the
 constitution of the Church are to be conferred by persons
 qualified so to do by the constitution of the Church, but with
 this moderation, that secular powers be satisfied, not only
 that the persons promoted be not prejudicial to the peace of
 the state, whereof they have charge by their proper qualities,
 but also, that as Christians they be not assistant to the pro-
 motion of those who profess the contrary of that which they,
 as Christians, professing, are bound to maintain.

[The civil
 power may
 not alienate
 the eccle-
 siastical
 property.]

§ 89. In the last place, it will not be difficult, from the
 premises, to determine the interest of the state in settling,
 maintaining, and disposing of the endowment of the Church.
 For seeing the reasons premised—which now are laughed at
 by those that will not understand wherein Christianity con-
 sists—have prevailed so far with all Christian people, that all
 tithes and many other oblations and endowments are, and
 have been, in all parts consecrated to God, as the first-fruits
 of Christians' goods, for the maintenance of His service, it
 remains the duty of the secular sword to maintain the Church 244
 in that right. For that public power that shall lay hands on
 such goods, shall rob both God and the people^b: God, in
 respect of the act of consecration passed upon such goods;
 the people, in respect of the original right and reason of the

esse apud nos regum eam potestatem
 fuisse, præcipue in prima et secunda
 familia, ut Episcopus instituere acce-
 dente provincialium Episcoporum in-
 auguratione, et aliquando etiam depo-
 nere possent: id vero in eo, qui ipse
 fratrum suffragiis eligatur, novum et
 nuncupandum fuisse quod Episco-
 pos et alios præsules eligendi potesta-
 tem his, ad quos jure divino et sacris
 Patrum decretis pertinet, ademptam,
 ad se summa injustitia traxerit, ut
 eam pretio accepto et causa religionis
 impia prævaricatione prodita Chris-

tiani orbis principibus turpiter diven-
 deret.—Thuan. Hist., lib. i. cap. vii.
 pp. 17, 18. London. 1723.

^b October 9, 1646, an ordinance
 was passed 'for the abolishing of
 Archbishops and Bishops,' and their
 lands and possessions were vested in
 trustees for the general purposes of the
 state. Nov. 16, in the same year,
 another 'ordinance' was passed by
 which was directed the sale of those
 lands.—Rushworth's Collections, part
 iv. vol. i. pp. 373, 376.

Church, which first moved Christians to consecrate the same; CHAP. IV. by virtue of which right, that which first was consecrated being taken away by force, Christian people remain no less obliged to separate from the remainder of their property, that which shall be proportionable to that which all Christian people have always consecrated to God out of their estates. And those that persuade good Christians that such consecrations have proceeded only from the cozenage of the clergy for their own advantage, may as well persuade them that they were cozened when they were persuaded to be Christians, seeing such consecrations have been made by all Christian people.

§ 90. As for the disposing of that which is given to the public use of the Church, I say not the same. I hold it necessary that the Church satisfy the state, that whatsoever is given to such use may be to the common good of the people, and so leave the imperfection of laws to blame, that it is not. A thing which I think may very reasonably [Its disposal belongs to the Church.] be done. For first, all cathedral Churches being, by the institution of the Apostles, entire bodies in themselves, distinct from other Churches, according to that which hath been proved of the dependence of Churches^c, all oblations to any Church originally belong to the body thereof in common, at the disposing of the Bishop and presbyters thereof, which is known to have been the primitive order of the Church derived from the practice of the Apostles, which I have declared out of the Scriptures^d. Though they have complied with the bounty of those that have endowed parish churches, and consented to limit the endowments of every one of them to itself alone.

§ 91. Secondly, it is manifest that the clergy are under such a discipline of the primitive Church, that so long as they continue to live in such a discipline, they can neither waste the endowment of the Church upon themselves, nor use it to the advancement of their families^e; which disci- [The discipline of the Church a security for its right use.]

^c Chap. ii. sect. 8.

^d See Prim. Govern., chap. x. sect. 6.

^e The laws of the empire were severe in auxilary to the emperor, — *Conventus agros lapideiscoli erigi et ordinari sacrorum tex. quibus nec liberi sunt, nec*

nepotes: . . . Nam cum quidam, summa in Deum spe, et ut animarum eorum salus fiant, ad immensissimas adcurrant Ecclesias, et eas omnes suas facultates adferant et devolvant, ut in pauperes et egentes, et alios pios usus con-

CHAP.
IV.

pline, if the secular power be employed to retrieve, it will not be thereby destructive to the power of the Church, but cumulative. As likewise if it be employed to the most advantageous distribution of that mass of Church goods which lies affected and deputed to any cathedral Church, through the whole diocese thereof, in case the distribution made by human right appear prejudicial to those charitable²⁴⁶ purposes which are the means by which the service of God through that Church or diocese is maintained and advanced. Provided always, that a greater sacrilege be not committed by robbing the Bishop and presbyters of the right and power, which they have from the Apostles, in disposing of the endowment of their Church.

[Sacrilege.]

§ 92. These things premised, it is easy to undertake that there never was so great a part of the fruits of this land mortified²⁴⁷ and put out of commerce, and applied and affected to the Church, but that it was in that estate more advantageous to the public strength, security, and plenty of the nation, as well as to the service of God, and the charitable maintenance of those that attend it—in case the secular power had been improved to dispose of it for the best—than it can be in any particular hands, especially in the hands of sacrilege.

CHAPTER V.

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HOW THE CHURCH MAY BE REFORMED WITHOUT VIOLATING DIVINE RIGHT. WHAT PRIVILEGES AND PENALTIES A CHRISTIAN STATE MAY ENFORCE CHRISTIANITY WITH. THE CONSENT OF THE CHURCH IS THE ONLY MARK TO DISCERN WHAT IS THE SUBJECT OF REFORMATION, AND WHAT NOT. ALL WAR MADE UPON THE TITLE OF CHRISTIANITY IS UNJUST AND DESTRUCTIVE TO IT. THEREFORE RELIGION CANNOT BE REFORMED BY FORCE. OF THE PRESENT STATE OF CHRISTIANITY AMONG US, AND THE MEANS THAT IS LEFT US TO RECOVER THE UNITY OF THE CHURCH.

How the Church may be reformed

THAT which hath been said, as it concerns the present case of this Church, seems to be liable to one main objection,

Indecens est. Episcopus in causa sua, velius laicum, et in proprio ministerio, et ministerio impendere. — *C. I. R. de Episcopis et Clericis, M. L.*
Aliter morum mortuum. "What was thus given to the Church, was of

old said to be assigned *in manus mortuas*; the law, by this style, may have supposed that the clergy had no more power to alienate them *de jure* than a dead man can *de facto*." — *Basire's Sacrilege Arraigned*, p. 72 Oxford, 1646.

which is this: that if the power of Bishops and presbyters be such as hath been said^a, by Divine right, that nothing can be done without them in their respective Churches, it will follow, that in case the state of the Church be corrupt, by process of time, and their default especially, so that the common good of the Church require reformation, by changing of laws in force, if they consent not, it cannot be brought to pass without breach of Divine right. This may well seem to be the
 218 false light that hath misguided well-affected persons to seek the reformation presently pretended. For seeing it is agreed upon among us, that there was a time and a state of the Church which required reformation, and that if the clergy of that time had been supported in that power, which, by the premises, is challenged on behalf of the clergy, this reformation could not have been brought to pass: it seems, therefore, to the most part of men, that distinguish not between causes and pretences, that where reformation is pretended, there the power lawfully in force to the society of the Church ought to cease, that the reformation may proceed, either by secular power, or, if that consent not, by force of the people^b.

§ 2. To strengthen this objection, as to the reformation of this Church, it may further be said, that though it is true that the order of Bishops hath been propagated in this Church, at and since the reformation, by ordinations made according to the form of that Apostolical canon^c, "that a Bishop be ordained by two or three Bishops;" yet if we judge of the original intent of that canon, by the general

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 — V.
 without
 violating
 Divine
 right.

[Of ordi-
 nation of
 Bishops.]

^a Chap. iii. sect. 45. 44.

^b "And ye, although ye be but subjects, may lawfully require of your superiors, be it of your king, be it of your lords, rulers and powers, that they provide for you true preachers, and that they expel such as under the name of pastors devour and destroy the flock, not feeding the same as Christ Jesus hath commanded. And if in this point your superiors be negligent, or yet pretend to maintain tyrants in their tyranny, most justly ye may provide true teachers for yourselves, pastors according to the mind and heart of God, by whom you may be fed with that most comfortable soul of your souls, Christ's Evangel truly preached. Ye may, moreover, in a

peaceable manner, without sedition, withhold the fruits and profits which your false Bishops and clergy most unjustly receive of you, unto such time as they shall faithfully do their charge and duties, which is, to preach unto you Christ Jesus truly, rightly to minister the Sacraments according to His own institution," &c.—The Admonition of John Knox to the Comynalty of Scotland, p. 40. At the end of the History of the Reformation of the Church of Scotland, London, 1644, which is attributed, but not truly, to John Knox.

^c *Ἐπίσκοπος χριστογενέθης ἐκ τῶν ἐπίσκοπων δύο ἢ τριῶν.* Can. Apost. i. Labbet, tom. i. col. 25. ed. Venet.

CHAP. practice of the Church, it will appear that it is but the
 V. abridgment of the fourth canon of the council of Nice^b,
 which requireth that all Bishops be ordained by a council of
 the Bishops of the province: which, because it cannot always 249
 be had, therefore it is provided that two or three may do the
 work, the rest consenting, and authorizing the proceeding.

[Canonical
 consecra-
 tions are
 the bond
 of unity.]

§ 3. A thing which seems necessarily true by that which
 hath been said¹, of the dependence of Churches consisting in
 this, that the act of part of the Church obliges the whole,
 because that part which it concerns, and the unity of the
 whole which it produceth, stands first obliged by it, being
 done according to the laws of the whole. By which reason,
 the act of ordination of a Bishop obliges the whole Church
 to take him for a Bishop, because the mother Church to
 which he belongs, and the rest of cathedral Churches under
 the same, do acknowledge it. And this is that which the
 ordinance of the Apostles hath provided, to keep the visible
 communion of the whole Church in unity. To which it is
 requisite, that a Christian communicate with the whole
 Church as a Christian; a Bishop, presbyter, or deacon, as
 such; but when among the Bishops of any province, part
 consent to ordinations, part not, the unity of the Church
 cannot be preserved unless the consent of the whole follow
 the consent of the greater part.

[Unity the
 highest
 law of the
 Church.]

§ 4. And therefore, though the canon of Nice be no part
 of Divine right, yet seeing the precept of the unity of the 250
 Church—being the end which all the positive laws of Church
 government aim at—obligeth before any positive precept of
 the government thereof, which we see are many ways dis-
 pensed with for preservation thereof, and that it appears to
 be the general custom of the primitive Church to make
 ordinations at those provincial councils, which, by another
 Apostolical canon, xxxviii.^m, were to be held twice a year, it

^b Ἐπισκοπον προσήκει μάλιστα μὲν
 ἐπὶ πάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐπαρχίᾳ καθι-
 στασθαι. Εἰ δὲ δυσχερὲς εἴη τὸ τοιαῦτο,
 ἢ διὰ κατεπεύγουσαν ἀνάγκην, ἢ διὰ
 μήκους ὁδοῦ, ἐξ ὅσωντος τρεῖς ἐπὶ τῷ
 αὐτῷ συναγομένους, συμφέρον γινόμε-
 νων, καὶ τῶν ἀπόντων, καὶ συντιθεμένων
 διὰ γραμμάτων, τότε τὴν χειροτονίαν
 ποιῆσθαι. Τὸ δὲ Κύριος τῶν γινόμενων
 διδόντων καθ' ἐκάστην ἐπαρχίαν τὴν μη-

τροπολίτην.—Labbei, tom. ii. coll. 33,
 35, ed. Venet.

¹ Chap. ii. sect. 5, 7, 8.

^m Διούτερον τοῦ ἔτους σύνοδος γινέσθω
 τῶν Ἐπισκόπων, καὶ ἀνακρινέτωσαν ἀλ-
 λήλους τα δόγματα τῆς εὐσεβείας, καὶ
 τὰς ἐμπικτούσας ἐκκλησιαστικὰς ἀντι-
 λογίας διαλυήτωσαν. Ἀπαξ μὲν τῇ τετάρ-
 τῃ ἐβδομάδι τῆς Πεντηκοστῆς, δεύτερον
 δὲ ὑπερβερταίου δωδεκάτῃ.—Aron.

seemeth that there can no valid ordination be made where the greater number of the Bishops of the province dissent. Which is confirmed by the ordination of Novatianus for Bishop of Rome, which, though done by three Bishops—as the letter of Cornelius to the Eastern Bishops, recorded by Eusebius, *Eccles. Hist.* vi. 43^a, testifieth—yet was the foundation of that great schism, because Cornelius was ordained on the other side by sixteen, as we read in St. Cyprian^o.

§ 5. Now it is manifest that the ordinations by which that order is propagated in England, at and since the reformation, were not made by consent of the greater part of Bishops of each province, but against their mind, though they made no contrary ordinations. And by the same means it is manifest that all those ecclesiastical laws by which the
251 reformation was established in England, were not made by a consent capable to oblige the Church, if we set aside the secular power that gave force unto that which was done, contrary to that rule wherein the unity of the Church consisteth. But in other parts, the reformation established was so far from being done by Bishops and presbyters, or any consent able to conclude the Church by the constitution of the Church, that the very order of Bishops is laid aside and forgot, if not worse, that is, detested among them. Upon which precedent it sounds plausibly with the greatest part among us, that the unity of the whole being dissolved by the reformation, the unity of the reformation cannot be preserved but by dissolving the order of Bishops among us^p.

§ 6. Before I come to resolve this difficulty, it will be requisite to examine what privileges and penalties the secular power is enabled to enforce religion with in a Christian state: because it hath been part of the dispute of this time, that some privileges of the Church are contrary to Christianity, as also some penalties upon matter of conscience: and the resolution of it will make way to my answer. Now the resolution hereof must come from the ground laid from the

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V.

[The English reformation rests on the civil power.]

What privileges and penalties a Christian state may enforce Christianity with.

Can. xxxvi.—xxxviii. in the Latin. Labbei, tom. i. coll. 33, 34. ed. Venet.

^a Eusebius has not distinguished between Novatus and Novatianus. In the place mentioned in the text he speaks of Novatianus, but calls him

Novatus, who was a Carthaginian priest.

^p Cited before in *Prim. Govern.*, chap. xii. sect. 5.

^q See *Prim. Govern.*, chap. xv. sect. 3. note 1.

CHAP. V. beginning of this discourse, that Christianity importeth no temporal privilege or advantage of this present world; and therefore that Christianity enableth no man to advance and propagate his Christianity by force. For as it is contrary to the nature thereof to be forced, seeing the service of God which it requireth is not performed by any man that is not willing to do it, nor the faith believed but by them that are willing to believe it; so, seeing it gives no man any privilege of this world, which he cannot challenge by a lawful title of human right, and that no title of human right can enable any man to impose upon another that faith which human reason reveals not, therefore can no human power force any man to be a Christian, by the utmost penalty of death: which is that which force endeth in to them that submit not.

[Idolatry and disobedience punishable with death under the law.]

§ 7. It is true the law of Moses imposeth death for a penalty in two cases of religion; the first of idolaters, the second of those that disobey the consistory. But it is to be considered that idolatry is a sin which the light of nature convinceth, and is always attended with the consequences of such horrible sins, as the Apostle declareth, that God suffered the Gentiles to fall into for their idolatries, in the beginning of the epistle to the Romans. Besides, that penalty by the law lies but in respect of the seven nations, whom God—for their idolatries, and the consequences thereof, such as I have mentioned—gave up to destruction by the sword of His people, on whom He bestowed their inheritance: and in respect of Israelites, whom God having entered into covenant with, on condition to serve Him alone, had thereupon endowed with secular power to punish the transgressors of it. So that the power of inflicting death in these cases, proceedeth upon the sentence of destruction and death, pronounced by God against the seven nations, and committed to the execution of His people; and upon the sovereign power estated upon the people, by virtue of their covenant with God; which, though more than human for the original, yet must needs be available, according to human right, to the same effect which the same power, established by title of human right, is able to produce. And therefore this penalty, by these laws, cannot belong to any that absolutely refuse to submit to Christianity.

§ 8. Besides, it is to be observed, that those acts which this law punishes with death, are specified by the law to be the worshipping of the sun and moon, and other gods, Exod. xxii. 20; Deut. xvii. 3; the persuading to worship other gods, and for cities to fall from God to do it, Deut. xiii. 5, 6, 13; and therefore this punishment cannot be extended to other acts, which, by interpretation and consequence, may be argued into the general nature, or rather notion, of idolatries. A thing necessary to be said, because it is manifest that there have been those that have made reading service or a sermon^a, much more kneeling at the communion^r, idolatry; who, if they should proceed to improve their madness to that consequence which naturally it produceth, must proceed to destroy civil society, by destroying all them, whom, in their madness, they take for idolaters, as that wretched person did his father, for persuading him to receive the communion kneeling^s.

CHAP.
V.

[Idolatry
does not
imply
other sin.]

^a "Because it is not lawful to worship God by real prayer, or to impose it upon the Church of Christ, first, because God did never command to us, nor promise to accept, such a worship; and then it is a human invention and tradition, breaking the second commandment, Exod. xx. 1, 5. Secondly, because it is as lawful to prescribe duties, as prayers, for the ministers to read, . . . Finally, because the worshipping of God by real prayer is a part of the worship of Antichrist, used and enjoined in the Papacy, maintaining superstition and a dumb and idolatrous ministry, nourishing the people in ignorance of the nature and right use of prayer."—An Apology of such true Christians as are called Brownists, p. 67. A.D. 1611.

^r "We are to abhor kneeling, not only because we abhor the heresies of worshipping images, transubstantiation, and consubstantiality, but also because it is the law of the greatest evil, that ever were, viz. idolatry in worshipping a God made of a piece of bread, and of communion with Antichrist, rather than with Christ; and therefore the greatest scandal that ever was, or can be, both in regard of those evils it doth occasionally teach or confirm, as also in regard of multitudes—indeed the most part of people—either not sufficiently instructed in the right

understanding and use of the Sacrament, and therefore carried by a blind devotion learned by tradition, or corrupted, more or less, with the leaven of popery, who all in regard of their weakness are endangered by this gesture, either grossly to commit the Idolatry of Popery, or to have a superstitious estimation of the outward elements, and the rather because, by the 21st canon it is provided, 'That no bread and wine newly brought shall be used, but first the words of institution shall be rehearsed when the said bread and wine be present upon the communion table.' As if the words were incantations, and the table like the altar which sanctifieth the sacrifice."—Bradshaw's Proposition concerning Kneeling in the very Act of Receiving, p. 163. London, 1660, but first printed in 1604.

^s The Editor has not been able to find this story. Peter Studley, Master of Arts and Minister of God's Word in Shrewsbury, gives in "The Looking-glass of Soliman," an account of one Enoch ap Ewan, who murdered his brother and mother. "Touching the gesture at the communion, saith Enoch, 'they would kneel, and I would not and bow my body.' He is asked this question, 'And did you for this cause shed that blood?' He answers, 'My wrath kindled for that

CHAP.
V.

[The secular and ecclesiastical state one under the law.]

§ 9. As for those that disobeyed the consistory, it is to be remembered, that hath been formerly observed², that religion, and the civil state of God's ancient people, made but one society, by virtue of the law that estated them in the land of promise, upon condition of worshipping God, and governing themselves in their civil life according to the same; by consequence whereof, whosoever should refuse to stand to that judgment, which God by the law appointeth to determine the differences which should arise about the interpretation and limitation of that which the law had not²⁵⁶ expressed, must endanger a breach among the people, which it is all one whether you call rebellion or schism.

[Civil peace not to be disturbed under the title of Christianity.]

§ 10. Now it is no inconvenience to grant, that whosoever shall pretend, under the title of Christianity, to trouble the civil peace of that people and state wherein he liveth, be thought guilty of such punishment as the height of his offence shall deserve. Because as this crime is most capital, as nearest concerning the public, so is it most manifest that Christianity cannot be wronged by the punishment of it, seeing it hath been shewed² that Christianity enableth no man to trouble the public peace. So that if any man make it a part of his religion to maintain his religion by force—being by such profession fallen from the innocence of Christianity—he is justly exposed to the violence of all temporal laws that punish those which trouble the public peace. This is the case of them that thought themselves tied in conscience by the bull of Pius the Fifth against Queen Elizabeth³; and it is the case

cause only, against my brother, and in that wrath I slew him."—p. 72. London, 1634.

² See Prin. Govern., chap. viii.; Relig. Assemb., chap. ii. sect. 10—13; and above, chap. iii. sect. 19.

³ Sect. 6.

⁴ Illius itaque auctoritate suffulti, qui non in hoc supremo justitiæ throno, licet tanto oneri impares voluit collocare, de Apostolicæ potestatis plenitudine declinamus prædictam Elizabeth hæreticam, et hæreticorum faultricem, eique adherentes in prædictis, anathematis sententiam incurrisse, esseque a Christi Corporis unitate præcisos.

Quam etiam ipsam prætenso regni prædicti jure, necnon omni, et quocunque domino, dignitate, privilegio, que privatam,

Et item proceres, subditos, et populos dicti regni, ac ceteros omnes, qui illi quomodocunque juraverant, a jramento hujusmodi, ac omni prorsus dominii, fidelitatis, et obsequii debito, perpetuo absolutos, prout nos illos presentium auctoritate absolvimus, et privamus eandem Elizabeth prætenso jure regni aliisque omnibus supradictis. Præcipimusque et interdiciamus universis, et singulis proceribus, subditis, populis, et aliis prædictis, ne illi ejusve monitis, mandatis, et legibus audent obedire. Qui secus egerint, eos simili anathematis sententia innodamus.

Datum Romæ apud S. Petrum, Anno incarnationis Dominicæ 1570, 5 Kal. Marti Pontificatus nostri Anno V.—Ebull. Ampl. coll. tom. iv. par. iii.

of all them, that under any title of religion whatsoever, pretend to maintain the profession or exercise thereof by faction or force. For it is easy to see that the primitive Christians maintain themselves so against the Gentiles, that supposing them no Christians, yet it doth appear that they could not rightfully persecute them for their Christianity^a; which none can maintain but those that profess to assert their Christianity by nothing else but by suffering for it.

§ 11. And here it is worth our noting, that about the time of our Lord there was a constitution of the consistory against rebellious elders, as they call them—that is, such as having attained the degree of Doctors of the Law, should teach any thing to be lawful or unlawful by the law, contrary to the determination of the consistory—that they should be put to death, as you may see in Maimoni, in that title. Which, how far it was ever in force is hard to be said, because by the Gospels we understand that the nation had not power of life and death at that time. For that it was about that time that they say it was established, appears, because they report it to have been made in regard of the differences then on foot between the scholars of Hillel and Shammai, which we know were not long before our Lord's time.

§ 12. This constitution is nothing else but the limitation of that which the law of Deut. xvii. 8, establisheth, to particular circumstances. And upon supposition of this constitution it is that our Lord expresseth the difference between Moses' law and His Gospel, when He saith, Matt. v. 19, "He that shall break the least of these commandments, and teach men so, shall be least in the kingdom of heaven, but he that teacheth and doeth them, shall be great in the kingdom of heaven." For the very terms of that constitution, being death to him that should "both teach and do" contrary to the determination of the consistory, it is manifest that our Lord, alluding to that constitution of the synagogue, declareth hereby, that on the contrary there is no penalty of death upon him that should "teach and do" contrary to His precepts as those of the consistory, but greater, that is, to be least in the kingdom of heaven.

p. 99. Romæ, 1746. See Callier's ^a See chap. iv. sect. 4.
Eccles. Hist. vol. ii. p. 322.

CHAP. V. § 13. Whereby He sheweth, that the Gospel appointeth no temporal punishment to those that break Christ's precepts, but denies not that civil states might. For the Gospel, supposing and establishing civil society, supposeth also those penalties without which it subsisteth not. And the punishment of those that violate civil society, under the title of Christianity, is not by the Gospel, but by the civil power which it presupposeth and voideth not; because preaching that Christianity cannot be prejudicial to states, it confirmeth as to Christianity that power which all states have towards all religions, to see that they prove not prejudicial to the public²⁵⁸ peace.

[Temporal penalties come from the state.]

§ 14. We have then two cases of religion punishable with death: the first, when that which is contrary to the law of nature is, by the corruption of natural light, made matter of religion, as hath been said of idolaters, and as it may be said of the whole spawn of Gnostics, from Simon Magus to the Manichees, their heirs and successors, which, as they corrupted Christianity with heathenism, so they took away the difference of good and bad, and brought in, under pretence of religion, such horrible uncleanness as nature abhors: which being, by mistake of the Gentiles, imposed upon the primitive Christians, as by the defence which they make for themselves they do evidence sufficiently that they are wronged by those reports, so they declare that if they were true, they would not refuse the persecutions which they plead against⁷.

[Two cases of religion punishable with death. The first.]

§ 15. The second case is, when any thing prejudicial to civil society is held and professed as part of Christianity. For as that which is prejudicial to the public peace, must needs be punishable by those powers which are trusted with the maintenance of public peace, and that with the utmost punishment when the case deserves it; so it is certain that it is not Christianity which is punished in so doing, because²⁵⁹ Christianity contains nothing prejudicial to civil society and public peace; setting these cases aside, if no man can be constrained by capital punishment to become a Christian, it

[The second.]

⁷ Ἄλλ' ἵνα μὴ ἄλογον φανήν καὶ τολμῶν δόξῃ τις ταῦτα εἶναι, ἀξιούμεν τὰ κατηγορούμενα αὐτῶν ἐξετάζεσθαι, καὶ ἂν οὕτως ἔχοντα ἀποδεικνύωνται, καλὰ

ξεσθαι, ὥς πρέπειν ἐστὶ, μᾶλλον δὲ καλᾶζειν — S. Justin. Martyr. Apol. i. cap. iii. pp. 44, 45. ed. Ben.

followeth that no heretic, schismatic, or apostate from Christianity, can be punishable with death, merely for the opinion which he professeth. The same reasons rightly improved, seem to conclude that no man is punishable by the civil death of banishment from his native country and people, merely for an opinion which he believeth and professeth, though falsely, to be part of Christianity.

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V.

§ 16. For you see there is a great difference between the case of the law and the Gospel; the law is the condition of a covenant between God and the people of Israel, by which they were all estated in the land of promise, and every one in his several interest in the same: so that whosoever should renounce or violate the condition of this covenant, which is the law, must needs become liable to the punishment of death, when the law establisheth it; and therefore to that of banishment or civil death, or any less punishment, when the law enableth to establish it. But the Gospel is the condition of a covenant which tenders the kingdom of heaven to all those that embrace and observe it: and therefore requires all nations, kingdoms, states, and commonwealths, to enter into one society of the Church, merely for the common service of God, upon conscience of the same faith, and duty of the same obedience: but otherwise acknowledging the same obligation, both of civil and domestic society as afore.

[Difference between the law and the Gospel.]

§ 17. Whereupon it follows, that as Christians, embracing Christianity freely, because it cannot be truly embraced otherwise, purchase themselves thereby no right or privilege against the secular powers which were over them afore, so no secular powers that are sovereign, by professing Christianity themselves, purchase any right and power, as to God, of enforcing Christianity upon their subjects, by such penalties as the constitution of those civil societies, which they govern, enables them not to inflict according to the common law of all nations. Wherefore, seeing common reason discovereth not the truth of Christianity to us, and therefore the common law of nations enjoineth not Christianity, as the condition of civil society, but that civil societies, as they subsisted before Christianity, so still subsist upon principles which, for their original, are afore it, though for their perfec-

[No secular privilege or penalty follows the profession of Christianity.]

CHAP. tion, after it, it seems that the sovereign powers of civil socie-
 V. — ties are not enabled to make Christianity the condition of being a member of those states which they govern.

[But secular powers may annex them.]

§ 18. But if secular powers be not enabled to punish the renouncing of Christianity, or of any part of it, with natural or civil death, doth it therefore follow that all men are by God's law to be left to their freedom to believe and profess what they please*? I suppose there are very great penalties under the rate of those which the constitution of civil societies, by the common law of nations, will enable the sovereign powers thereof to punish the neglect of Christianity with, when they have avowed it for the religion of the states which they govern. For in that case, the neglect of Christianity is not only a sin against God and a good conscience, but against civil society, and that reverence which every man owes the powers that conclude his own people, in thankfulness to the invaluable benefit of peaceable protection which he enjoys by the same.

[Secular powers may restrain the profession of a corrupt religion.]

§ 19. Secondly, seeing that all religion, excepting true Christianity, is a most powerful means of disturbing the public peace of civil societies, though perhaps it profess no such thing expressly, it follows by consequence, that all powers that are trusted with the preservation of public peace, are enabled to forbid that which is not true Christianity, by all penalties under those that have been excepted. So that when true Christianity is forbidden under such penalties, the fault shall be, not in usurping, but in abusing the power, in applying it to a wrong subject, not in straining it to that which it extendeth not to. And in so doing, that is, in suffering that which is so done, it is not to be thought that Christianity can be wronged, though wrong be done to the men that are Christians. For seeing it is the common profession of Christians to bear Christ's cross, and seeing it was the disposition of God to advance Christianity to the stern of the Roman empire, and to the rule of other Christian king-

* "It is impossible our judgment and profession should be one: so I believe it is, whether there be a toleration or no; but certainly the likeliest way, if there be any thereunto, is by finding out one truth; which most

probably will be by giving liberty to every man to speak his mind, and produce his reasons and arguments, and not by hearing one sect only." — *Toleration Justified and Persecution Condemned*, p. 14. London, 1616.

doms and commonwealths, by demonstrating that it was not prejudicial to civil society, by the sufferings of the primitive Christians, it followeth, that whatsoever a man holds for true Christianity, cannot be demonstrated to be so, as God hath appointed Christianity to be demonstrated, but by the sufferings of them that profess it. And therefore it remains agreeable to reason, that God hath given secular powers such right to restrain pretended Christianity, that when it is used against the true, it cannot be said to be usurped, but abused.

- 203 § 20. It will be said*, for it is said already, that any constraint to Christianity by temporal punishment will serve but to confirm some, and engage them to that which they have once professed contrary to truth; and that others, who, to avoid punishment, shall outwardly submit to what inwardly they approve not, must needs forfeit all power of Christianity by preferring the world before any part of it. To which it must be answered, that all this granted proves not that it is unjust, or that civil powers have no right to make such laws, but that it is not expedient, the exercise of it being, probably, to no good purpose, which defeats not the right till it be proved that it cannot be exercised to any good purpose; which in this point cannot be done. For it is as probably said on the other side, that by temporal penalties a man is induced to consider with less prejudice that which the law of his country pretendeth to be for his good, and to relish it aright, when upon due consideration it appears to be no otherwise: and so the punishment of the law tends to the same purpose, as all afflictions are sent by God to drive men

CHAP. V.
[Advantages and disadvantages of penalties.]

* "And though they have not concluded every particular of their own, but are still upon the search and enquiry, yet it is seasonable however to move for toleration, for that the ground of moving is not because they are independent, but because every man ought to be free in the worship and service of God, compulsion being the way to increase not the number of converts but of hypocrites." *Toleration justified, and Persecution condemned*, p. 5 London, 1616.

"Concerning other civil means for the suppression and restraint of those

spiritual evils, errors, heresies, &c., as imprisonment, banishment, interdictions, finings, &c., both reason and experience concur in this demonstration, that such fetters as these put upon the feet of errors and heresies to secure and keep them under, still have proved—and are like to prove no other but—wings whereby they raise themselves the higher, in the thoughts and minds of men, and gain an opportunity of a further and ranker propagation of themselves in the world."—Goodwin's *Θεομαχία*, p. 37. London, 1614.

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V.

to their good against their will; and that those who feignedly submit to Christianity, may, as Aristotle says, be sun-burnt by walking in the sun, though they walk not in the sun for that purpose^b: that is, by trying the effect of Christianity in the worship of God, and reformation of men's lives among whom they live, by being under such laws may be won to embrace it for itself, which at first they embraced for the worldly privilege of it.

[Necess-
ity of
penance]

§ 21. To which purpose there can be no mean so effectual as the restoring of the public discipline of penance in the Church; by which it becomes most evident what inward esteem men set upon Christianity, by the esteem they set upon the communion of the Church; and that the sentence of excommunication is abhorred, not for the temporal penalties which by civil laws attend upon it, but for the society of the Church, which it intercepteth. And truly, this last inconvenience of hypocritical profession can by no means be avoided, wheresoever Christianity, or any opinion supposed to be a necessary part of it, is made the religion of any state. For evidence whereof, I must repeat first that which was supposed afore^c, that there are but two reasons for which any religion can be said to be the religion of any state,—to wit, privileges and penalties. In the second place, I must suppose here, that as exemption from any penalty is a privilege, so exemption from a privilege is a penalty. Wherefore, seeing no religion can be the religion of any state, but by such privileges as another religion is not capable of, it is manifest that toleration of religion, as it is a privilege in comparison of punishment, so it is a punishment in comparison of that religion which is privileged.

[Cause of
the decay
of Chris-
tianity]

§ 22. These things supposed, it will not be difficult to render a reason why Christianity must of necessity decay, and why the power of it is so decayed since the world came into the Church. For when men came not to Christianity till they had digested the hardship of the cross, and resolved to prefer the next world afore this, it is no marvel if they endured what they had foreseen and resolved against. But seeing temporal privilege, as well as temporal punishment,

^a The Editor has not been able to ascertain where this may be found.

^b Chap. iv. sect. 63

may belong to true Christianity, no marvel if men follow the reason of privilege, not of Christianity, when they go both together, though by consequence they will be ready to change as the privilege changes. CHAP. V.

§ 23. Now as to the privileges which Christianity is endowed with by the act of God, or made capable of by the same from sovereign powers, when they make Christianity the religion of those states which they govern, it is very easy to resolve from the premises that the clergy are not exempt by Divine right from any law of those states under which they live. For seeing the clergy is a quality which presupposeth Christianity, and subsisteth by virtue thereof, and that no quality subsisting by the constitution of the Church, or by Christianity, endoweth any man with any temporal right, wherewith he is not invested by the quality which he holdeth in his own country, it followeth, that no man, by being of the clergy, can be privileged against secular power, or against those laws which are the acts of it. [Relation of the clergy to the civil power.]

§ 24. And therefore the example of Abiathar, high-priest, removed from his office by Solomon for rebellion and treason, 1 Kings ii. 26—to wit, because, as it is there expressed, he had deserved to be removed out of the world—is an effectual argument to this purpose. For if that office, to which his person was designed by God's express law—supposing him to be lawful high-priest—might be taken away for a crime committed against the majesty of the king, subsisting by an act subsequent to the law established by God, because the law which allowed a king, enjoined obedience by all the penalties of the law; much more the clergy, presupposing the Church, as the Church the state, must needs leave all men that are qualified by it obliged upon the same terms as it finds them, to the states wherein they profess themselves Christians. And indeed, seeing the clergy is but a degree qualifying men in Christianity above the people, those temporal privileges, which by Divine right are pretended to belong to the clergy, must needs belong to the people in an inferior degree, by the same right; which cannot be when both societies of the Church and the commonwealth consist of the same persons.

§ 25. But though the clergy be not exempt from any

[Not exempt from the secular jurisdiction.]

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[but may be lawfully exempted.] secular jurisdiction by Divine right^d, yet they are so capable of exemption by Divine right, that no man can deny^e the privilege granted by the first Christian emperors—the causes of the clergy to be heard and determined within the clergy themselves—to be very agreeable to reason of Christianity. For if our Lord hath commanded, and the Apostles ordained, the differences of Christians to be ended within themselves, that they might not prove a scandal to Christianity, it is but correspondent and consequent thereunto, that for avoiding the scandals which the differences of the clergy may occasion, or to make them less public, they be ended within themselves; seeing it is manifest to all understandings, that the reverence of the clergy is of great interest to the advancement of Christianity.

§ 26. On the other side, seeing the discipline which the clergy are liable to by Christianity, is so much stricter than that which the civil laws of any commonwealth whatsoever can require and determine, that clergymen cannot incur the penalties of criminal laws, but they must be supposed to have violated the stricter discipline of the Church which they are under afore; it follows, that it is so far from Christianity to privilege them against such laws, that the Church cannot otherwise be cleared of the scandal than by ecclesiastical censures, correspondent to the temporal punishments which they incur.

[Civil employment not unlawful in the clergy.] § 27. But if thus it be true, that no man by virtue of his Christianity is endowed with any secular privilege of that

^d Ad sacerdotes enim Deus voluit, quæ Ecclesiarum dispenenda sunt, pertinere, non ad sæculi potestates, quas, si fideles sunt, Ecclesiarum suarum sacerdotibus voluit esse subjectas. Non sibi vendicent alienum jus, et ministerium quod alteri deputatum est; ne contra eum contendat abrumpi, a quo omnia constituta sunt: et contra illius beneficia pugnare videatur, a quo propriam consecutus est potestatem, non a legibus publicis, non a potestatibus sæculi, sed a pontificibus et sacerdotibus omnipotens Deus Christianæ religionis ecclesiam et sacerdotes voluit ordinari et discenti, et recte de errore remeantes. Imperatores Christiani: subdere debent executiones suas Ecclesiasticis præsu-

libas, non præferre.—Dist. xcvi. Can. Si Imperator. Vid. Caus. xi.

^e Sed Papiste isti Ecclesiastici dicunt, reges ipsos et publicas potestates cessasse de jure suo et voluisse clericos esse exemptos. Verum non est spectandum quid principes hac in re fecerint, sed quid facere debuerint. Non enim in illorum manu situm est, ut rescindant leges Dei. Quare si Divinum istud præceptum Pauli vult, omnem prorsus animam subjectam esse publicæ potestati, illi omnino parendum est. Neque enim ulla humana auctoritate revocari debent decreta Dei.

Petr. Martyr. Comment. in Roman. cap. xlii. l. p. 604. Basil. 1558.

civil society wherein he liveth; by the same reason it must be true, that no man is by his Christianity incapable of any right common to all members of the state in which he liveth, unless some law of Christianity can be produced, whereby it may appear to be incompatible with the quality he holdeth in the Church. Which hath been pretended with much noise, to render the clergy of this Church incapable of employment in secular affairs, in point of Divine right¹, but will be very difficult to prove by the Scriptures, in regard that
 160 Christianity containeth nothing but that which tendeth to the maintenance of civil society; as on the other side, civil society and the powers thereof tendeth to the maintenance of Christianity. Therefore the words of our Lord, that His disciples should not be as the Gentiles, among whom the great ones domineer over the rest, and in so doing are called gracious lords, Matt. xx. 25; Mark x. 42, 43; Luke xxii. 25, 26, being spoken to His disciples as Christians, not as Apostles, in commendation of humility and meekness, a quality concerning all Christians, cannot prove the clergy forbidden secular employment², but they must by the same reason enforce all civil power to be unlawful among Christians, as also in the society of the Church all superiority of

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V. —

¹ "Secondly, for the episcopacy—I conceive, that first their baronies, and the intermeddling of the clergy in civil councils, affairs, and employments, ought to be taken from them.

"First, I conceive such happ. [lordship] and intermeddling is against the law of God. Christ refused to meddle in dividing inheritances—though, more able and fit for it than any Bishop—Luke xii. 13, and saith, His kingdom is not of this world, John xviii. 36; and the disciple is not above his master, Matt. x. 24; and, Acts vi., the Apostles refused to intermeddle in the deacon's or churchwarden's office, though of all earthly employments the nearest to the Church, and the reason they give is remarkable for this purpose, because they were to attend to prayer and administration of the word, and therefore not meet for them to attend such secular matters, and 2 Tim. ii. 4, the Apostle lays down a rule in this case, that *non militamus* *Deo, ne implicemur negotiis hujus seculi*, &c., and upon this ground even the

Pope's canon laws are against these things, as inconsistent with the ministerial function."—A Speech of Mr. J. White in Parliament, p. 6. London, 1641.

"And these things alone this bill takes away, that is, their offices and places in courts of judicature, and their employments by obligation of office in civil affairs; . . .

"In this respect our Saviour hath expressly prohibited it, telling His Apostles that they should not lord it over their brethren, nor exercise jurisdiction over them, as was used in civil governments among the heathen—they were called gracious lords, and exercised jurisdiction as lords over others, and surely they might lawfully do so, had to the ministers of the Gospel our Saviour gives this rule, It shall not be so done by you, if ye strive for greatness he shall be the greatest, that is, the greatest servant to the rest."—Lord Say and Seal's Speech in Parliament, &c., p. 2. London, 1641.

CHAP. V. power as unlawful as that which is here challenged on behalf of Bishops and presbyters.

[The case
of the
Roman
soldiers.]

§ 28. On the other side, that which they are supposed to destroy, they manifestly presuppose, that is to say, a superiority of power among the disciples of Christ by the names of greater and less, competent with the quality of His disciples, and therefore concern not the lawfulness of power, but the right use of it, and so forbid no sort of Christians any power whereof any Christian is capable. The words of St. Paul are more pertinent to this purpose, 2 Tim. ii. 4, for it is a comparison that he borroweth from the custom of the 270 Roman empire, wherein soldiers, as they were exempted from being tutors to men's persons, or curators to their estates, so they were forbidden to be proctors of other men's causes, to undertake husbandry or merchandize. Therefore when St. Paul saith to Timothy, "No man that goeth to the army entangleth himself in business of the world, that he may please him that imprested him;" he raises indeed a particular exhortation to Timothy upon a general ground of reason appearing in the Roman laws, that those of Timothy's quality oblige not themselves to business inconsistent with it.

[Why pub-
lic employ-
ments were
forbidden
to the
clergy.]

§ 29. But can he be understood hereby to make that a law to the militia of the Church, which was a law to the militia of the empire? Or can an exhortation drawn from a comparison be thought to create a general law to all of Timothy's quality in general or in particular, further than the reason of the comparison will infer in every particular case? It is true that soldiers were forbidden business of profit, were exempted [from] employments of public service, as was that of tutors and curators, because thereby they became obliged to the laws, or to their own profit, to the prejudice of their attendance upon their colours; that is to say, that for the great distance between civil and military employ- 271 ment in that state, the laws had rendered soldiers incapable of such qualities. And so it is confessed that the laws of the Church, the canons^b, rendered the clergy incapable of the

^b Ἐπίσκοπος, ἢ πρεσβύτερος, ἢ διάκονος κυσμικὰς φροντίδας μὴ ἀναλαμβάνειν, εἰ δὲ μὴ καθαρῶς ἰσθῶ. = Can. Apost. vi.

Ut episcopus rationem testamentorum non suscipiat. — Conc. Carthag. n. iv. A.D. 398. Can. xvi. Labbe, tom. ii. col. 1439, ed. Venet.

like during the distance between the Church and the state not yet Christian. For so we find that in St. Cyprian's time¹ clergy-
men were forbidden to be tutors or curators for the like reason, because their obligation to the laws in that estate would have excused them to the Church; and because that by reason of the distance between the state and the Church at that time, it could not tend to any public good of the society of the Church.

§ 30. But in states that profess Christianity, can it be said² that the attendance of clergymen upon the affairs of the commonwealth cannot be to the public good of the Church, consisting of all the same persons only in a distinct reason and quality, whereof the commonwealth consisteth?

[Employment of the clergy in civil matters is service to the public good.]

To me it seems far otherwise, that in all public assemblies of states, whether for making laws, or for jurisdiction, or for counsel, or for preservation of public peace, to banish those from them whose quality and profession entitles them to the most exact knowledge and practice of Christianity, is to
272 banish the consideration of Christianity from the conclusions and effects of those assemblies. For though it be seen by experience, that the clergy come short of the holiness and exact conversation in Christianity which they profess, yet it will be always seen likewise, that the people fail more, and

¹ *Graviter commoti sumus ego et collega mei . . . cum cognovissemus quod Geminus Victor frater noster de saeculo excedens Geminium Facetium presbyterum tutorem testamenti suo nominaverit: cum jam pridem in concilio Episcoporum statutum sit, ne quis de clericis, et Dei ministri tutorem vel curatorem testamenti suo constitueret, quando singuli divino sacerdotio honorati, et in clerico ministerio constituti, non nisi altari et sacrificiis deservire et precibus atque orationibus vacare debeant. Scriptum est enim: Nemo salutaris Deo obligat se molestiis secularibus, ut possit placere ei cui se prebavit. . . .*

Quod Episcopi antecessores nostri religione considerantes, et salubriter providentes, censerunt ne quis frater excedens ad tutelam vel curam clericum nominaret, ac si quis hoc transset non offerretur pro eo, nec sacrificium pro donatione ejus celebraretur. —

Epist. i. pp 1—3. Oxon. 1682.

² "It now behoves us to restrain the Bishops to the duties of their function, as they may never more haunter after heterogeneous, extravagant employments, . . . and further to regulate them according to the usage of ancient Churches in the best times, that by a well tempered government they may not have power hereafter, to corrupt the Church, to undo the kingdom."—Sir Benjamin Rudyer's Speech, &c., pp. 16, 17, printed 1641.

"Now sir, I am at an end, only I shall draw out three conclusions, which I conceive may clearly be collected out of what I have said: first, that civil jurisdiction in the persons of clergymen, together with their great revenues and high places of dignity, is one great cause of the evils which we suffer in matters of religion."—Hon. Nath. Piennes's Speech in the Commons, Feb. 9, 1640, p. 27, printed 1641.

CHAP. before them, and that they are first corrupted, by and with
 —V— the people, than corrupters of the people.

[Difficulty
 resulting
 from non-
 residence
 obviated.]

§ 31. And as for the service of the Church, which they cannot attend upon in the meantime¹, supposing the order here challenged to be instituted by the Apostles, the inconvenience ceaseth. For supposing all cathedral Churches to be corporations, trusted to provide for the government of all congregations contained in them in Church matters, and the ministry of the offices of Divine service at the same, whatsoever clergyman shall, by public employment, destitute his congregation, shall leave it to the care of the Church originally entrusted with it; which Churches, being all nurseries and seminaries of clergy, designed for the service of their respective bodies, may easily, by the means thereof, see all offices discharged from time to time to all congregations which they contain.

§ 32. And this is that which I desired to say here in general, to this most difficult point, of the privileges and penalties which Christianity may be established and enforced with by a state that professes it. As for the particulars which, upon those general reasons, may be disputed in point of lawful or unlawful, as also for the point of expedience, whereby that which in general may be done, ought or ought not to be done when the case is put, I leave to them that are qualified and obliged, to proceed in determining the same.

[The
 Church
 is com-
 manded
 by
 Bishops.]

§ 33. To come then to the great difficulty proposed, it is to be acknowledged that the power of the Church, in the persons of them to whom it is derived by continual succession, in a law ordained by the Apostles, for the unity and edification of the Church; so that no part of the whole can stand obliged by any act that is not done by the council and synod of Bishops, respective to that part of the Church which it pretendeth to oblige. But withal it is to be acknowledged that there are abundance of other laws given the Church by our Lord and His Apostles, whether they concern matters of faith or matter of works, whether immediately concerning the

The first of the reasons given to the Lords by the Commons against the Bishops' sitting in Parliament, was this, "Because it is a great hind-

rance to their ministerial function."—Rushworth's Collections, part iii. vol. i. p. 281.

salvation of particular Christians, or only the public order of the Church, which, proceeding from the same, if not a greater power than the succession of the Church, are to be retained, all and every one of them, with the same religion and conscience. And with this limitation, the distinction which the Church of Rome is usually answered with, is to be admitted between succession of persons and succession of doctrine^m. Not as if it were not a part of Christian doctrine that the succession of the Apostles is to be obeyed as their ordinance, but because there are many other points of doctrine delivered the Church by our Lord and His Apostles, all and every one of them equally to be regarded with it.

§ 34. Again, I have shewedⁿ that the secular power is bound to protect the ecclesiastical in determining all things which are not determined by our Lord and His Apostles, and to give force and effect to the acts of the same; but in matters already determined by them, as laws given to the Church, if by injury of time the practice become contrary to the law, the sovereign power being Christian and bound to protect Christianity, is bound to employ itself in giving strength, first, to that which is ordained by our Lord and His Apostles. By consequence, if those whom the power of the Church is trusted with shall hinder the restoring of such laws, it may and ought, by way of penalty to such persons, to suppress their power, that so it may be committed to such as are willing to submit to the superior ordinance of our Lord and His Apostles. A thing thoroughly proved, both by the right of secular powers in advancing Christianity with penalties, and in establishing the exercise of it, and in particular by all the examples of the pious kings of God's people, reducing the law into practice and suppressing the contrary thereof.

§ 35. Seeing then that it is agreed upon by all that profess the reformation, that many and divers things ordained by

^m "Succession, you say, is the chief way for any Christian man to avoid Antichrist. I grant you, if you mean the succession of doctrine. . . . Now, M. Haring, if the Pope and his Roman clergy, by his own friends' confession, be fallen from God's grace, and departed from Christ to Antichrist,

what a miserable claim is it for them to hold only by bare succession? It is not sufficient to claim succession of place, it behoveth us rather to have regard to the succession of doctrine."—Jewel's Defence of the Apology, p. 170.

ⁿ Chap. i. sect. 12. chap. iv. sect. 5, 6.

[The secular power must give effect to the decrees of the Church.]

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V.

[No necessity for abolishing Bishops.]

our Lord and His Apostles, whether to be believed, or to be practised in the Church, were so abolished by injury of time, that it was requisite they should be restored, though against the will of those that bore that power which the Apostles appointed necessary to conclude the Church; it followeth, that the necessity of reformation inferreth not the abolishing of the succession of the Apostles, but that more laws of our Lord and His Apostles, and of more moment, were preferred before it, where it could not regularly be preserved; which, when it may be preserved, is to be so far preserved before all designs which may seem to human judgment expedient to the advancement of Christianity, that whosoever shall endeavour, without such cause, to destroy the power derived from the Apostles, by conferring it upon those that succeed them not in it, and much more, whosoever shall do it to introduce laws contrary to the ordinance of the Apostles, shall be thereby guilty of the horrible crime of schism.

[Of heresy and schism.]

§ 36. For it is to be remembered that there are some things immediately necessary to the salvation of particular Christians, whether concerning faith or good manners; and there are other things necessary to the public order and peace of the Church, that by it Christians may be edified in all matters of the first kind. The denying of any point of the first kind, may for distinction sake be called heresy, when a man is resolute and obstinate in it; but in the other kind, it is not a false opinion that makes a man a schismatic, till he agree to destroy the unity of the Church for it. It can scarce fall out indeed, that any man proceed to destroy the unity of the Church without some false opinion in Christianity: yet it is not the opinion, but the destroying of a true, or erecting of a false, power in the Church, that makes schism. And it can scarce fall out that any man should broach a doctrine contrary to Christianity without an intent to make a sect apart; yet only a false persuasion in matters necessary to salvation is enough to make an heretic.

[Definition of heresy and schism.]

§ 37. This is the reason that both heresy and schism goes many times under the common name of heresies, or sects, among the ancient Fathers of the Church*. Otherwise it is

* Proinde quamvis inter schisma et heresim magis eam distinctionem ap-
problem, qua dicitur schisma esse recessus congregationis ex aliqua sententiarum

aid, that heresy is contrary to faith, schism to charity; CHAP. V.
 the crime of heresy is found in a single person that
 some point of faith, though the name of it be general
 those, and to all those that make sects apart. In the
 me, we must consider that the word schism signifies
 te as well as the crime, in which sense all that are in
 te of schism are not in the crime of schism, but those
 ve the cause of it. For as it is resolved that war can-
 just on both sides that make war, so is it true that the
 of all divisions in the Church must needs be only on
 de, and not on both: and that side which gives the
 are rightfully called schismatics, though both sides be
 state of schism, as he in St. Augustine^p said of Tarquin
 crece, that being two in one act, yet one of them only
 ated adultery.

1. If then the laws given by our Lord and His Apostles [Who are guilty of schism.]
 lored by consent of some part of the council and synod,
 te to oblige any respective part of the Church, and the
 sion of the Apostles propagated by them alone, in
 tion to the rest that consent not unto them, the cause
 lem cannot lie on this side, which concurrerth with the
 ive succession of our Lord and His Apostles, but upon
 that violate the communion of the Church by refusing
 laws and the right of such persons as acknowledge the
 the condition of the unity and communion of the
 h consisting as much in the rest of laws given by our
 and the Apostles, as in that of the succession and power
 Apostles: which is the case of the Church of England.
 hoever, by virtue of any authority under heaven, shall
 ecclesiastical power, shall usurp the succession of the
 les, and take it from them that rightfully stand possessed
 upon pretence of governing the Church by such laws,
 is really persuaded, but falsely, to be commanded the
 h by our Lord and His Apostles; this, whosoever shall
 be accessory to, is guilty of schism.

^p *De dissensio.*—neque enim et fieri potest, nisi d'versum aliquantur qui fuerunt—heresia schisma inveteratum.—S. An. Contra Crisost. Damasc. lib. ii. tom. ix. col. 413. ed. Ben.

^p *Egregie quidam ex hoc veraciterque declinans, ait, Mirabile dictu, duo fuerunt, et adulterium unus admisit. Splendide atque verissime.*—De Civitate Dei, lib. i. cap. xix § i. tom. vii. col. 16. ed. Ben.

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The consent of the Churches the only mark to discern what is the subject of reformation, and what not.

§ 39. The issue, then, of this whole dispute stands upon this point, how and by what means it may be evidenced, what laws of the faith and manners of particular Christians, of the public order of the Church, have been given the Church by our Lord and His Apostles? A point which cannot be resolved aright but by them which resolve aright for what reasons, and upon what grounds and motives, they are Christians. For without doubt, the true reasons and motives of Christianity, if they be pursued and improved by due consequence, will either discover the truth of any thing disputable in the matter of Christianity, or that it is not determinable by any revealed truth.

[Difference between persons, by whom, and persons to whom revelation is made.]

§ 40. Here it is much to be considered that the truth of things revealed by God is not manifested to the minds of them to whom, and by whom, God reveals them to the world, by the same means as to them whom He speaks to by their means. Moses and the prophets, our Lord and His Apostles, when they were sent to declare the will of God to His people, were first assured themselves that what they were sent to declare to the world was first revealed to themselves by God, and then were enabled to assure the world of the same. By what means they were assured themselves, concerns me not here to inquire. It is enough that they were always enabled to do such works as might assure the world that they were sent by God. For how could they demand of any man to believe them, till they shewed him a reason to believe?

[Not truth but credibility is matter of evidence.]

§ 41. Indeed, though there can no reason be given why matters of faith are true, there may be a reason given why they are credible; because many things are true, the reason whereof man's understanding comprehends not, yet God can shew him reason why he should believe. Thus was the law of Moses, thus was the Gospel of Christ, advanced to the world and received; God having bestowed on them that advanced the one and the other, a power to do works, the greatness and strangeness whereof might be able to prevail over the difficulty of those things which they propounded to be believed and obeyed. For though it is no inconvenience that God should grant revelations to many persons, to whom He granteth not the power of doing such works as

may serve to convince the world that those revelations are sent by God; yet that He should employ any man to declare unto the world, any thing that God requireth to be believed and obeyed, without any means to make evidence of his commission, ordinary reason will shew to be too gross an inconvenience.

§ 42. This being the motive of faith in general, the difficulty that remains will be, how it becomes evident to the senses of all ages, all places, all persons of the world that can be obliged to receive the faith, being done and seen only by those persons that were sent, and to whom. A difficulty endless to those that advise not as they should do with their own common sense. For it is manifest that we receive an infinite number of truths which never came under our own senses, from the sense of others, when we find all those that have had the means to take sensible notice of them agree in the same. Such are all things that are, or are done, in any distance from any man's senses, whereof he cannot be informed but by historical faith. For all that is related from them that have seen, carries with it the credit of historical truth, as far as common sense obliges to believe, that all that relate can neither be deceived nor agree to deceive. Whereupon that which all agree in becomes unquestionable, because it is as easy to know what may be seen, as it is impossible that all that agree in a report should agree in a design to deceive. The common notions in Euclid are unquestionable; and is it more questionable that there is such a city as Rome or Constantinople, such a country as Persia and China, to those that never were there? Would physicians and astronomers build their studies, or be suffered to build their practice, upon experiments and observations related by particular persons, did not common sense assure that men would not take the pains to abuse others, only to be laughed at and detested themselves?

§ 43. The question then being—to suppose a question where there is none, because there is a question what is the true answer—whether the miracles recorded in the Scripture were done or not, neither could they that first received them agree to deceive or be deceived, but stood convict, because they must have done violence to their own senses otherwise,

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V.

[Rational
of evi-
dence.]

[Of mira-
cles.]

a few words the subject of voluminous disputes. All men know how those of the Church of Rome would have us believe and receive the Scriptures, upon the credit of the Church⁴, affirming them to come from God; and consequently, whatsoever the Church determines, to be the true meaning of the Scriptures and the word of God; so that there can be no true faith in any man that disbelieves any part of it; whether by the Church they mean the Pope, or a council, or whosoever they shall agree to have right to conclude the Church.

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V.
—
[The
Roman
theory.]

§ 47. On the other side it were easy to say who they are⁵ that profess to believe the Scriptures upon the immediate dictate of the Spirit of God to their spirit, that they come from God. And, though I cannot say that consequently they deny any man to have faith that believes not all that their

[The Puri-
tanical
theory of
evidence.]

⁴ Mañet ergo firmam auctoritatem hanc deterni mandis, taxandi, et approbandi quoad nos, Sacre Scripture libros, ad Ecclesiam Christi præsentem, vel quocunque tempore existentem, non secus pertinere, quam ad Apostolorum Ecclesiam, et sane sit penes Ecclesiam Catholicam hujus temporis, tum contra hæreticos præsentis epistolam Jacobi, Machabæorum libros, atque scripturas, quas ille sacro canone expungunt, sua auctoritate confirmare: tum etiam præterea, ut id ei Spiritus Sanctus suggeret, librum aliquem alium nondum in canonem receptum, Apostolorum famam tempore conscriptum, et nunquam hætenus Ecclesie jureiuramento reprobatum exempli causa, librum Hermæ discipuli Pauli, Pastoris nomine inscriptum a multis antiquissimis Patribus Clemente, Irenæo, Origene, Athanasio, Basilio, Hieronymo et citationem diligenter, et egregie commendatum, vel constitutionem Apostolicam a Clemente editam, et numerum librorum sacrorum et certis canoniceorum referre posse. Quod ut non tempore unquam fuerit Ecclesie, et si faceret, auctoritatem Divinam apud nos illi libri haberent, non secus quam alii sive sub ipsos Apostolis, sive post illorum tempora ut eamurum relati. — Stapleton. Princip. Fid. Controv. v. lib. ix. cap. xiv. p. 361. Pars. 1582.

⁵ Sed ingenuis ois tantum ob illam Ecclesie commendationem Scripturis fidem adducere. Eas enim dicimus

certius ac illustrius testimonium, quo nobis persuadetur hos libros sacros esse. testimonium nempe internum Spiritus Sancti sine quo Ecclesie commendatio nullius apud nos ponderis aut momenti futura esset. Wintaker. de Auctorit. SS. Script. lib. i. pp. 11, 12. Geney. 1610. Ille defendit himself against Stapleton in this way: — Dicebas enim internum Spiritus Sancti testimonium ad librorum sacrorum disputationem nihil valere et tunc disis hoc testimonium ad nostram controversiam non pertinere. Ego vero vel maxime valere ac pertinere defendo, ut quantumvis Ecclesia Scripturæ canonem nullius consignet, nunquam tamen nobis certo constare possit de ullo sacri canonis libello, propter illam commendationem et consignationem Ecclesie, possit autem constare ex interno illo Spiritus Sancti testimonio, quod tu tam insolenter respicis absque Ecclesie consignatione. Deinde quando ab hac controversia removes internum testimonium Spiritus, et tamen negas haberi Scripturis fidem solum propter Ecclesie commendationem, aut mecum sentis, aut ea loqueris quæ apertissime pugnant. Nam si internum testimonium Spiritus Sancti mihi eripias, unde ego aliter Scripturas interoseam secretarumque sacras a profanis, nisi aut per Scripturas ipsas, aut duntaxat per illam commendationem, et publicum testimonium Ecclesie? — *Ib.* p. 13.

§ 47. **SOME** SAID TO be the meaning of God's word, because
 ———— **dictates** of several spirits are so contrary, that this can be
 true. But when the qualities of men's persons, with the
 uses of their spirits, are alleged in bar to the received
 sense of the Church, it is manifest that men expect such
 to be struck out of the darkness and confusion of such
 ways, that the Church shall at length be convinced to be
 and receive it. And truly those that profess that they do
 not believe the Scriptures but by the immediate dictate
 the Spirit, by the same reason can nominate nothing to be
 will of God, and the true intent of His word, without it.

§ 48. This if it were meant only of the testimony of
 Spirit of God - witnessing with our spirit that we are
 children of God, and sending the assurance of His favour
 our persons and actions, then would it not take away
 grounds upon which, and the means by which we are ed-
 ually moved and brought to be Christians, both in profess
 and indeed: so that by consequence, means might be
 whereby a man's own spirit might be enabled to disc-
 between the dictates of God's Spirit and that of the wor-
 But being advanced in answer to this difficulty, as the f-
 ground of faith, and the last resolution of it, cannot be
 understood: but of necessity importeth that no man can
 assured by the assurance of faith, of any truth, without a
 means by which God reveals Himself to them by whom
 declares His will to others.

The Per- § 49. That either any person on behalf of the Church,
 fectious they re- any private spirit should pretend to any such endowment
 futed; contrary to common sense, and their own proceedings, wh-
 they use the like means to inform themselves, both why
 believe the Scripture, and what the meaning of it and
 will of God is, as other men do. And if they do prete-
 more, they must shew such evidence as God hath ordained
 convince the world, before they can pretend to oblige a
 man to believe them. Besides, that so, it would not
 possible to render a reason why God hath given His Scri-
 tures at all, seeing that notwithstanding He must furni-
 either some persons, in behalf of the Church, or all believe
 with revelations, to convince them what is His will and mea-
 ing by the Scriptures. But if they admit of such means

God hath appointed Christians to decide, whether it be the Spirit of God, or of the world, that witnesseth with their spirit, then is the question where it was: because, as God gives His Spirit to those that are Christians, upon such qualities and to such intents as they who pretend to the Spirit of God ought to find in themselves, and to propose to themselves, and no other; so are they assured that it is the Spirit of God that moves them, because they are assured of those qualities and intentions in themselves, and by no other means.

§ 50. Now having shewed before upon what grounds
 127 Christianity is to be embraced, I demand whether it be in the compass of any reason, that is convinced of the truth of Christianity, to question whether the Scriptures are to be received or not. Certainly, he were a strange man that should consent to be a Jew, or a Mahometan, and yet make a question whether the book of the Law came from Moses, or the Aleoran from Mahomet or not. Therefore, supposing that we stand convict of the truth of Christianity, by the same means we stand assured that God hath caused those great works to be done by Moses, and the prophets, by our Lord and His Apostles, by which the world stands convict that they were sent by God; and by the same, that the Scriptures, wherein those works and their doctrine is related, are from God. Neither can the Church act to the assuring of any body herein, as the Church, but as a multitude of men endowed with common sense, which cannot agree to deceive or be deceived. For if the profession of Christianity go before the being of the Church, and Christianity cannot be received till it be acknowledged, with the records thereof, to be from God, then this assurance, though it come from the agreement of the men that make the Church, goes in nature before the
 128 quality of a Church, and therefore comes as well from the consent of Jews for the Old Testament, as of Christians for the New.

§ 51. Nor let it trouble any man, that by this means faith may seem to be the work of reason, and not the grace of God, seeing it may very reasonably be demanded, where is the necessity of grace to enable a man to believe what he sees reason to believe? For though the matter of faith be credible

CHAP.
V.[Chris.
tians must
receive the
Scripture.][D. Meulty
of believ.
ing.]

CHAP. V. of itself, yet it is not evident of itself; and though sufficient reason may be shewed why a man ought to believe, yet, on the other side, there are many scandals and stumbling blocks in the way, to hinder him from believing; the chief of which is the offence of the cross, whereof our Lord saith, [Matt. xi. 6.] "Happy is he that is not offended at Me." For it cannot seem strange that a man should refuse to believe that which he sees sufficient reason to convince him to believe, when by believing, he becomes liable to bear the cross of Christ, specially not being enforced by the light of reason, evidencing the truth of Christianity, and determining the assent of the mind, as fire does wood to burn, but swayed by external motives working upon the mind, according as they find it disposed to goodness. For when this disposition is not perfectly wrought by God's grace, nothing hinders sufficient motives to prove ineffectual to them whom the cross of Christ scandalizeth.

[All things
in the
Scripture
do not
bind now.]

§ 52. This being resolved, it follows by necessary consequence, upon what reasons and by what means, the meaning of the Scriptures, or rather the will of God concerning all matters questioned in Christianity, is determinable. For it is not the same thing, many times, to know the meaning of the Scriptures, as it is to know how far it is God's will that it bind the Church. The name of the Scripture enforceth no more but that all is true which it containeth. Now it containeth many times the sayings and doings of evil men, as well as of good; of Satan himself sometimes; wherein it intends only to assure that such and such things were said and done. And, not to insist on the law of Moses—which is all the word of God, and no part of it binding to us as the law of Moses—because another disposition of God's will may appear by other Scriptures, in the New Testament itself are found many things that now have not the force of precepts, though it appear that they did sometimes bind the Church. Such is the practice of the feasts of love, which St. Paul presses so hard, as I shewed afore^{*}; such is his precept that women be veiled, men bare, when they pray in the Church[†]; the decree of the Apostles at Jerusalem, against eating blood, and things

^{*} Rel. Assemb^l, chap. vi. sect. 28.

[†] Chap. iii. sect. 66 chap. iv. sect. 30.

strangled, and sacrificed to idols"; the precept of St. James of CHAP. V. anointing the sick; the ceremonies of baptism, which I shewed afore out of St. Paul, to have been in use in the primitive Church; yea, the very custom of drenching in baptism, which no man doubts but the institution signifies, and yet is now scarce any where in use.

§ 53. If, therefore, there be question of the will of God, [How to find out the meaning of Scripture.] what is the true meaning of the Scriptures, and how far it binds the Church, the same common sense of all men, that assures the truth of the Scriptures, must assure it. The knowledge of original languages, the comparison of like passages, the consideration of the consequence, and text of the Scripture, the records of ancient writers, describing affairs of the same times; and if there be any other helps to understand the Scriptures by, they are but the means to improve common sense, to convince, or be convinced of it. If that will not serve to procure resolution, there remains nothing else but the consent of the Church, testifying the belief and practice of the first times that received the Scriptures, and thereby convincing common sense of the meaning of them, as the intent of all laws is evidenced, by the original practice of the same. So that this whole question, what laws God hath given His Church, falls under the same resolution by which matters of faith were determined in the ancient councils, in which, that which originally and universally had been received in the Church, that was ordained by them to be retained for the future, as demonstrated to have been received from our Lord and His Apostles, by the same kind of evidence for which we receive Christianity, though not so copious, as of less importance.

§ 54. And therefore it will not serve the turn to object⁴ that the mystery of iniquity was a working even under the Apostles, as St. Paul saith, 2 Thess. ii. 7, to cause the belief

[The ancient Church Antichristian according to the Parliament.]

⁴ Rel. Assembl., chap. vi. sect. 29.

⁵ See the Epilogue, bk. iii. chap. xi.

⁶ Rel. Assembl., chap. ix. sect. 6.

⁷ "The very next age after the Apostles produced many grave errors and superstitions, as Eusebius tells us, and as the Apostle premonished, Acts xv. 29. Yea they complained of it in their own times, while they yet lived; 'For the mystery of iniquity,' saith St. Paul,

2 Thess. ii. 7, 'doth already work,' which mystery was that of prelacy, as appears clearly from that text, where the man of sin who exalts himself over the Church, is set forth as the head and top of that mystery, namely, of the hierarchy, which is and hath been the Lame or source of all iniquity.'—Christ on His Throne, case ii. p. 8. A.D. 1640.

CHAP. V. and practice of the primitive Church always to stand suspect, as the means to bring in Antichrist. For it is not enough to say that Antichrist was then a coming, unless a man will undertake to specify, and prove by the Scriptures, that the being of Antichrist consists in that which he disputes against. For if we will needs presume that the government of the Church which was received in the next age to the Apostles, is that wherein Antichristianism consists, because the mystery of iniquity was at work under the Apostles^a, why shall not the Socinians^b argue with as good right, that the belief of the Trinity and Incarnation is that wherein Antichristianism consists, being received likewise in the next age to the Apostles,²⁷ under whom the mystery of iniquity was at work? Or rather, why is either the one or the other admitted to argue from such obscure Scriptures, things of such dangerous consequence, unless they will undertake further to prove by the Scriptures, that Antichrist is Antichrist for that which they cry down? Which I do not see that they have endeavoured to do for the things in question among us, about the government of the Church.

[Answer to
their ob-
jection.]

§ 55. Besides this, my reason carries the answer to this objection in it, because it challenges no authority but that of historical truth, to any record of the Church: appealing for the rest to common sense to judge, whether that which is so evidenced to have been first in practice, agreeing with that which is recorded in the Scriptures, be not evidently the meaning of those things which we find by the Scriptures,

^a "The Apostles questioning among themselves which should be the superior, are sharply reproved by our Saviour for it; and He tells them plainly it shall not be so among them. Mark x. 42. Luke xxi 26, and Diotrophes, 3 John 9, is branded for it, that he sought preeminence in the Church. The mystery of iniquity in the Popish Hierarchy, in the presbyters exalting themselves, began to work in the purest primitive times—as we see in Diotrophes and Peter's caveat, 1 Pet. v. 3, and never left till it came to the Pope, the highest degree and top thereof; by which it seems to me evident, that to leave the pattern of Church government, set down in the word of God, to follow the example of after ages upon a false cry of primitive times, is to for-

sake the pure fountain, and wallow in the muddy and corrupted streams, of antichristian ambition." White's Speech in Parliament, pp. 7, 8. London, 1641.

^b Immo contra fidem de uno vero Deo nullus gravior in Christi Ecclesiam ab Antichristi Spiritu error infectus est, quam in Deo, inque illius simplicissima essentia plures esse personas inter se distinctas, quarum quaelibet sit verus Deus, et non Patrem tantum Domini nostri Jesu Christi esse illum unum verum Deum, sed Filium quoque ipsum, et Spiritum Sanctum. Quo nihil vel absurdius, vel ut ita dicamus, impossibilius, vel divinis oculis magis contrarium excogitari potest.—Socin. Opp., tom. ii. p. 423. Irenopol. 1656.

to have been instituted by our Lord and His Apostles. CHAP. V.
 And this it is which for the present I have pretended to prove by this discourse: which being spent chiefly in removing the difficulty of those Scriptures which have been otherwise understood in this business, confesseth the strength of the cause to stand upon the original, general, and perpetual practice of the Church, determining the matters in difference
 293 by the same evidence as Christianity stands recommended to us, proportionably to the importance of them. Which, as it is not such as is able to convince all judgments, which are not all capable to understand the state of the whole Church; yet is it enough to maintain the possession of right derived to this instant, so that no power on earth can undertake to erect ecclesiastical authority, without and against the succession of the Apostles, upon the ground of a contrary persuasion, without incurring the crime of schism^c.

§ 56. I will not leave this point without saying something of their case that have reformed the Church without authority of Bishops; that have abolished the order, and vested their power—in which I have shewed^d that they succeed the Apostles, as to their respective Churches, with dependence on the whole—upon presbyteries, or whatsoever besides; which to decline here, might make men conceive that I have a better or worse opinion of them than indeed I have. [The continental reformation.]

§ 57. For a rule and model, or standard to measure what ought to be judged in such a case; suppose we—that which is possible in nature, the terms being consistent together, though not at all likely to come to pass in the course of the world—a Christian people, greater or less, destitute of pastors
 294 endowed with the chief authority left by the Apostles in all Churches. I suppose, in this case, no man can doubt but they are bound to admit the same course as those that are first converted to be Christians; that is, to receive pastors from them that are able to found and erect Churches, and to unite them to the communion of the whole Church, which is no less authority than that of a synod of Bishops, that only—or the equivalent of it, in the person of an Apostle, or commissary of an Apostle—being able to give a chief pastor to [How it is to be considered.]

^c See sect. 38.

^d See Prin. Govern, chap. iii. Re.

lig. Assembl., chap. iv.; and above, chap. iii.

CHAP. any Church. But suppose, further, that this authority cannot
 V. be had, shall we believe that they shall be tied to live without ecclesiastical communion? When it is agreed, that, as the unity of the Church is part of the substance of the Christian Faith, necessary to the salvation of all, so the first Divine precept that those Christians shall be bound to, is, to live in the society of a Church. For, where several things are commanded by God, whereof the one is the means whereby the other is attained, it is manifest that the chief precept is that which commandeth the end, and that which commandeth the means [is] subordinate to the other.

§ 58. Now it is manifest that all powers, and all offices endowed with the same in the Church, are ordained by God, and enjoined the Church, to the end that good order may be preserved in the Church; and good order is enjoined as the means to preserve unity; and the unity of the Church commanded, as the being of that society whereby Christians are edified, both to the knowledge and exercise of Christianity, by communicating with the Church, especially in the service of God, and in those ordinances wherein He hath appointed it to consist. Seeing, then, this edification is the end for which the society of the Church subsisteth, and all pastors and officers ordained, as means to procure it, as it is sacrilege to seek the end without the means, when both are possible, so I conceive it would be sacrilege not to seek the end without the means, when both are not. Now it is manifestly possible that the edification of the Church may be procured effectually, by those that receive not their power, or their office, from persons endowed with it themselves afore; especially if we suppose them to receive the same power, to be exercised by the same laws, which those that received it from the Apostles themselves, had, and acknowledged from the beginning.

§ 59. The consequence of all this is plain enough. The resolution of Gulielmus Antissiodorensis* among the School

[Opposition
 of William
 of Auver-
 gne.]

* Quando vero Episcopus consecrat Archiepiscopum dispensatio necessaria sicut cum ad sacerdotem proprie pertinet baptizare, in articulo necessitatis tamen licet alius potest baptizare quam sacerdos. Similiter cum Dominus Papa non habeat superiorem vel parem, de necessitate inferior consecrat

cum. Unde si non essent in mundo nisi tantum tres simplices sacerdotes, opoteret quod aliquis illorum consecraret alium in Episcopum et aliam in Archiepiscopum. — Guillelmi Antissiodorensis Summæ Arme, lib. iv. fol. 284. Paris. 1500.

196 doctors, is well known and approved; that the order of CHAP.
V.

Bishops, in case of necessity, may be propagated by presbyters, supposing that they never received power to do such an act. from them that had it. My reason makes me bold to resolve further, that, in the case which is put, Christian people may appoint themselves Bishops, presbyters and deacons, provided it be with such limits of power, to be exercised under such laws, as are appointed before, by our Lord and His Apostles; and, that upon these terms, they ought to be acknowledged by the rest of the Church, whensoever there is opportunity of communicating with the same, provided that they, and their Churches, submit to such further laws, as the rest of the Church hath provided, for the further regulating of itself, according as the part is to submit to the determination of the whole: and that this acknowledgment of them would be effectual, instead of solemn ordination, by imposition of hands of persons endowed with that power which is intended to be conveyed by the same. Whereby I make not personal succession to be no precept of God—which if it were not, then no schism were necessarily a sin, and, by consequence, all that can be said of the society of the Church would be a fable—but commanded in order to another, of living in the
197 society of a Church, and therefore not binding, when both are not possible, but the chief is.

§ 60. Beside this main reason included in my resolution, [Whether it may justify the foreign reformers.] drawn from the rank of precepts given by God, as these are, the same may be concluded by this consequence: that whosoever will consider how many ordinances, instituted by the Apostles, have been either totally abolished, or very much changed by the necessity of time, rendering them useless to the succeeding condition of the Church, will not marvel to see their authority maintained, in the rest of the laws wherewith they have regulated the Church, without perpetual succession, where it cannot be had, though otherwise not to be abolished without sacrilege. How far this was the case of those whom I speak of, I will not undertake. It seems they could not have this authority propagated by them that then had it, not consenting to those Apostolical laws, which, as it is agreed among us, were necessarily to be restored in the Church. It seems also, that authority was not altogether

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V.

wanting to the authors of such reformations, being still of some order in the Church. For presbyters, though they succeed not the Apostles in the chief authority established by them in all Churches, yet their office was, from the beginning to assist them in the government of those Churches where they were made presbyters, not by way of execution of their commands only, as deacons, but by exercising the same power, where they could not discharge it themselves though with dependence on them in all matters not determined afore.

[The plea
of necessity cannot
be urged
for them.]

§ 61. Here was some degree of necessity, to bar the personal succession of the Apostles. But no necessity can be alleged, why they erected not Bishops, presbyters, and deacons over themselves, with such limits of power as the Apostles from the beginning determined; seeing it is manifest, that the superiority of them was generally thought to come from the corruption of the Papacy¹, not from the institution of the

¹ Nemo autem contra statum Ecclesiasticum, et veros Episcopos vel bonos pastores dictum putet, quicquid contra hos tyrannos dicitur. Nemo putet contra capita et majores Ecclesie Christiane dictum aut factum, quod contra hæc ignava et somnolenta ventris animalia sit aut dicitur. Neque enim sunt Episcopi, sed plane idola et mutæ statuae, inertes puppæ, larvæ trunci, umbræ, personæ commæ, qui ne vocabulum quidem, quid Episcopus significet, norint, nedum quid munus aut officium sit Episcopi. Vis uno verbo dicam, quid sint? Lupi, tyranni, proditores, homicidæ, monstra orbis, terre pondera. Apostoli Antichristi sunt, ad pendendum orbem et extinguendum Evangelium sculpti et facti.

Et ut semel effundam quid sentio, en præconem hic agam, notum ergo sit omnibus Episcopos, qui jam super multas urbes in amplissima ditione exercent tyrannidem, non esse Episcopos ex ordinatione Dei, sed ex errore et seductione Satanae, et traditionibus hominum, quare et proculdubio sunt nupcii et vicarii Satanae.—Luther. adv. falso-nom. Ord. Episcop., tom. ii. fol. 318. Wittebergæ, 1551.

Quod si quis totam hanc gubernationem Ecclesiasticam faciem quæ hodie sub Papismo est, rite perpendat ac excutiat, reperiet esse nullum spoliarium, in quo licentiosius sine lege et modo

latrones grassentur. Certe omnia illa a Christi institutione adeo dissimilia sunt, imo aliena, adeo ab antiqua Ecclesie institutis ac moribus degenerarunt, adeo cum natura et ratione pugnant, ut nulla major Christo fieri injuria possit quam nunc ejus nomen ad defensionem tam ordinati regiminis obtendunt. Nos, inquit, sumus Ecclesie columnæ, religionis autistites, Christi vicarii, fidelium capita; quia potestas Apostolica per successionem ad nos pervenit. Quasi apud stipites loquantur, istis ineptiis perpetuo superbiunt. Quoties vero istuc jactabunt, quæram ab his vicissim quid habeant cum Apostolis commune. Non enim de hereditario aliquo honore agitur, qui doctis mentibus deferri queat, sed de predicationis munere, quod ipsi tantopere defugiant. Similiter quum ipsorum regnum tyrannidem Antichristi esse asserimus, continuo excipiunt, cum venerabilem illam toties a magnis et sanctis viris laudatam hierarchiam. Quasi vere Sancti Patres, quum Ecclesiasticam hierarchiam aut spirituale regimen, ut ipsis per manus ab Apostolis traditum erat, commendarent, hoc deforme et vastitatis plenum chaos somniarent, ubi Episcopi vel rudes et plurimum assini sunt, qui ne primum quidem et plebeia fidei rudimenta tenent: aut interdum pueri a nutrice adhuc recentes: et si qui doctiores sunt

Apostles; and therefore cannot be excused by necessity, because they did not find themselves in necessity, but by their own false persuasion created it to themselves. Which notwithstanding, seeing they profess all that is necessary to the salvation of all Christians, either in point of faith or manners; seeing, as to the public order of the Church, they intended, and desired, and sought to restore that, which, to their best understanding, came from the institution of our Lord and His Apostles; they cannot easily be condemned to have forfeited the being of a Church, out of which there is no salvation, by this or other mistakes of like consequence, of them that consider the abuses from whence they departed. For the Church is necessarily a human, though no civil society⁸, which we are commanded by God in the first place, to entertain; and, as there is no society of men, wherein a particular member can prevail, to settle such laws, and such order, as are properest to the end of it, so must he live and die out of communion with the Church, that stays till he find a Church that maintains all that was instituted by our Lord and His Apostles.

§ 62. Wherefore, though that which they have done contrary to the Apostles' order cannot be justified, yet there is a reasonable presumption that God excuses it, being no part of that which He hath commanded all to believe to salvation, or which He hath commanded particular men to do: because the public order of the Church is commanded particular persons, as members of the Church, which cannot be done without consent of the whole, that is, of them that are able to conclude it. But if any secular power upon earth shall presume to erect this ecclesiastical power, by taking it away from them that lawfully have it—that is, by an act of those that have the power before, done by virtue of some human law, which act the law of God doth not make void—and giving it to those that have it not by any such act; and that, upon another ground than that which hath been specified, of bringing back into force and use, such laws of our Lord and His Apostles, as

[Relation of the succession of Bishops to other parts of Christian doctrine.]

—quod tamen ratum est exemplum. Episcopatum nihil aliud esse putant quam splendoris et magnificentie titulum. ubi Ecclesiarum rectores non magis de pascendo grege cogitant quam auctor de arando. ubi omnia plusquam

Babylonica dissipatione ac confusa sunt, ut nullum integrum vestigium paternæ illius ordinationis amplius appareat. — Calvin. Inst., lib. iv. cap. v. § 13.

^a See chap. i. sect. 6.

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□

estates and qualities of this world, that accrue unto any man by the use and success of such arms, are necessarily held and possessed by no title but that of Christianity. For, they that have right to defend themselves, cannot be subject to the cross, whensoever they are able to defend themselves, seeing they may as well impose it upon their enemies if they have success, as bear it themselves if they have not; though neither is it Christ's cross which a man bears for want of success.

§ 64. And if this had not been the profession of the primitive Christians, how could they have defended themselves by reason, and maintain that the Gentile powers ought not to persecute them? seeing that all powers are bound to maintain themselves, because therein consists the maintenance of the world in peace. So unreasonable is it which hath been said¹, that Tertullian^m understood not himself, when he affirmeth that the Christians were then able to defend themselves against persecution, were it not contrary to their profession so to do. For, as no man of common sense would tell the Romans that the Christians were able to resist them, if they were not, because they knew well enough how able they were; so no man zealous of Christianity would think to advantage it, by such commendations as the enemies of it might discover to be false. And, therefore, if we reason not amiss, this is the difference between Christianity and Mahometism.

§ 65. For Mahomet also pretended to be persecuted for

[The first Christians held it unlawful to defend themselves by force.]

¹ "If the Primate have now recourse to the practice of the Christians in the first ages, and urge that because they used no arms but tears and prayers when they were oppressed, we ought to do the like, we answer, first, the Christians till Constantine's time in [all] probability were not equal in numbers and forces with the pagans, whatsoever Tertullian might conceive.

"Secondly, if they were, they wanted other advantages of arms, commands and other opportunities, to free themselves." — *Jus Populi*, pp. 66, 67. London, 1664.

"Externi sumus, et vestra omnia implesimus, urbes, insulas, castella, munitiones, concubitus, castra ipsa, tribus, decurias, palatium, senatum, forum, sola vobis relinquimus templa. Qui bello non idonei, non prompti fuissetis, etiam impares copiis, qui tam

libenter trucidamur? Si non apud istam disciplinam magis occidi liceret, quam occidere. Potuimus et inermes nec rebelles, sed tantummodo discordes solius divortii invidia adversus vos dimicasse. Si enim tanta vis hominum in aliquem orbis remoti sinum abruptissimus a vobis, suffudisset utique dominationem vestram tot quacunque amissio civium, imo etiam et ipsa destituitio permississet, proculdubio exparissetis ad solitudinem vestram, ad silentium rerum et stuporem quandam quasi mortuae urbis quaesissetis quibus in ea imperassetis. Plures hostes quam cives vobis remansissent, nunc etiam pauciores hostes habetis prae multitudine Christianorum pene omnium civium, pene omnes cives Christianos habendo.

— *Apologeticus*, cap. xxxviii. p. 67. Ed. Pam. Rothomagi. 1662.

CHAP. V. religion by the Gentiles of Arabia,—witness the computation of their years, from the expulsion or persecution, or flight of Mahomet from Mecca^a. But, when we see that he took up arms thereupon, and began an order which all his successors have observed, to propagate their religion by the same means, we see by this means the difference between Christianity and Mahometism. And it is to be considered by them that bring Jews again into Christian states, how they will secure those states against this danger of Judaism^b. For, since they have made it part of their profession, to expect a Messias that shall conquer the nations, and restore them to the land of promise: upon appearance that such a Messias is come, they are not like to rest, if they can hope to be His followers: as they rested not under Adrian^c, and at other times, when they have disturbed the peace of the states under which they lived, upon the like hope.

[The Crusades justified.]

§ 66. This also, if we reason not amiss, is the justest title of all the wars that Christians have made upon the Mahometans, for the holy land, because the title upon which the Mahometans first subdued it, makes them enemies to all civil nations that are Christian; seeing that the title of religion is as good against all, as against any, and whatsoever person or people usurpeth sovereign power upon it, proclaimeth thereby defiance to all states which he shall be able to deal with^d. And therefore this is not the case of the people of Israel under Moses: the title whereupon they challenged the land of promise from the nations presently in possession, being the

^a The era of the Hegira: the Mahometan computation begins on the 16th of July, 622.

^b "But when once they observed that the fulness of time was come; when England was to be punished for all her transgressions; when a sword more dreadful than that of famine, or pestilence, was to be unsheathed against her, and wild, frantic enthusiasm was permitted by Providence to break down her fences, and set aside her laws, they thought that then, if ever, was the proper time to endeavour their re-establishment.

^c And accordingly we find that as soon as King Charles was murdered, the Jews petitioned the council of war to endeavour a repeal of that act of Par-

liament which had been made against them; promising in return to make them a present of five hundred thousand pounds, provided that they could likewise procure the Cathedral of St. Paul to be assigned them for a synagogue, and the Bodleian Library at Oxford to begin their traffic with. Which piece of service, it seems, was undertaken by those honest men at the solicitation of Hugh Peters and Harry Marten whom the Jews employed as their brokers, but without any success." —Torey's *Anglia Judaica*, pp. 259, 260. Oxford, 1738.

^d Vide Baron. *Annal. Eccles.* ad annum 137.

^e See chap. iv. sect. 4.

104 deed of God's gift, and the consideration and condition upon which God granted it, their undertaking His law. For, though it is true that they claimed the land of promise upon covenant with God, to be ruled by His laws in which their religion is contained; and though this deed of God's gift could not be evident by natural reason to other nations; yet seeing they professed themselves constituted only God's commissaries, to punish the sins of the seven nations, and to root them out for their idolatries, not to impose their religion upon any other nations, or to seek any interest out of the land of promise; it followeth, that by this profession, they did not give other nations just cause to resist them by force, neither had they any right to hinder them in their pretended conquest of the land of promise. And therefore, the kings of the Amorites beyond Jordan, Sihon and Og, [Numb. xxi. 21—35.] hindering them by force to accomplish and execute this commission of God, we see they received an accessory command to subdue them by force, and destroy them; and thereupon, an accessory grant of their dominions for an addition to their inheritance.

§ 67. So, my intent hereby is not to say that God may not dispose of the goods of this world, to those that enter into covenant of religion with Him, as the condition of the same; 105 or, that man may not lawfully make use of such a disposition of His, made known by that revelation which is unknown to those against whom it is granted—for I avow that He did so to the children of Israel under Moses, and that they lawfully did so against the seven nations—but that He did it not by the new covenant of Christianity, because it invites the sovereign powers of all nations, upon condition to enjoy the same rights which they stand possessed of when they embrace it; and, that He did not, by any revelation afterwards, make

CHAP.
V.

All war made upon the title of Christianity is unjust and destructive to it.

* Cardinal Bellarmine saith otherwise. Quando reges et principes ad Ecclesiam veniunt, ut Christiani fiant, recipiuntur cum pacto expresse, vel tacite, ut accepta sua subiacent Christo, et polliceantur, se Christi fidem servaturos et defensores, etiam sub pena regni perdendi; Ergo quando sunt hæretici, aut religionem obscurant, possunt ab Ecclesia juberi et etiam depulsi a principatu, nec ulla eis injuria fiet, si

deponantur. Nam non est idoneus Sacramento Baptismi, qui non est paratus Christo servire, et propter ipsum amittere quicquid habet, ait enim Dominus, Luc. xiv. 26. Si quis venit &c. . . Præterea Ecclesia nimis graviter erraret, si admitteret aliquem regem, qui vellet impune fovere quamlibet sectam, et defendere hæreticos ac convertere religionem.—De Rom. Pont., lib. x. cap. vii. col. 605. Colon. 1620.

CHAP. V. the like grant to Mahomet, as a privilege of the religion which he pretendeth to have received from God, because, if Christianity be true, no other religion must succeed it. Whereupon it follows, that those Christians that shall take upon them to bear arms, and make war upon the title of Christianity, do make themselves thereby enemies to all civil nations that are Christian, as Mahometans are. Because, as we know that Mahometism is not from God, so we know that Christianity enables no man to use the power of the sword, wherein sovereignty consists: and that if any might maintain themselves in their religion by the title of Christianity, then all that might come to have the same opinion might do the like, and so all states might be troubled by fighting for Christianity within themselves, though not subdued, as by Mahometans seeking to impose their religion upon others.

[The case of the Maccabees.]

§ 68. Against this place there is only one objection of moment, so far as I can imagine, out of the Scriptures, and that is from the example of the Maccabees. For on the one side it is manifest that the arms which they took up against Antiochus Epiphanes, their lawful sovereign, are approved by God, not only as foretold by Daniel and Ezekiel, and other prophets*, that by them God would give His people freedom, and rule of the land of promise, but also because the Apostle manifestly commendeth their faith, when he reckoneth their sufferings among those great effects which it brought forth, Heb. xi. 35, 36. And upon this account it is, that in propounding this objection, I said that it is taken out of the Scriptures, not meaning thereby the books of the Maccabees, but those Scriptures which by consequence seem to approve of the Maccabees' proceedings.

[Meaning of the word Maccabees.]

§ 69. For on the other side, it is manifest that they justified their arms upon title of religion by the first breaking out of it, 1 Mac. ii. 24, 26, 27, where the zeal of the law, and the example of Phineas, is expressed to be that which moved Mattathias to kill the Jew whom he saw sacrificing to idols, and to maintain it by arms. Whereby it is manifest that out of zeal to the law they took arms to defend it, lest it should be extinguished by the tyranny of Antiochus; and therefore

* Dan. vii. 27; xii. 1. Ezek. xxxvii. xliii. 26; Is. xxvi. 19—21; Mal. iv. 3, 24—28, xxxviii. 8; xxxix. 23—29;

that when their arms took effect, and purchased them freedom, and the sovereignty to the race of Mattathias, all this they held by religion, and by no other title. And for this reason it is that they are called Maccabees, though other extravagant reasons have been imagined by men of excellent learning¹.

§ 70. For it is to be observed, that all those that suffered as well as fought in this cause, are called Maccabees, no less than Judas Maccabæus; and therefore the histories of their acts are called "the Books of the Maccabees," in which is comprised as well the story of the mother and the seven children, and others that suffered for the law, as the acts of Judas and his successors: and Josephus's book, in praise of that mother and her children, is intitled *εἰς Μακκαβαίους λόγος*. The reason of which is found in the Syriac, in which language זֵלֹוֹת signifieth Zelotes, as you have it in Ferrarius's *Nomenclator Syriacus*. And that this was the title of their arms, is more manifest by the case of the Jews under Caligula, when out of his madness he commanded to set up his statue in the temple at Jerusalem. For as by Philo, *de Legatione ad Caium*, we understand that they were willing to undergo any thing, and continue in obedience, so they might enjoy their religion; so Josephus dissembleth not in the relation of that business, *Antiq.* xviii. 11^a, that they would have taken arms rather than endure it, if Caligula had not been slain in the meantime.

§ 71. The clearing of this difficulty is to be fetched from the difference between the law and the Gospel, expressed in the words of our Lord to His disciples, that required Him to call for fire from heaven upon those that would not entertain Him, Luke ix. 55, 56: "Ye know not of what spirit ye are: for the Son of Man is not sent to destroy men's souls," that is, their lives, "but to save them." For, "the law worketh wrath;" and, "where there is no law, there is no transgression;" and, "by law is the knowledge of sin," saith the Apostle, Rom. iv. 15; iii. 20; vii. 7. Therefore the law

[War of the
Maccabees
just.]

[Upon
what title.]

¹ Vnde Cornel. a Lapide Prolegom. in lib. Machab. Francisci Polygraph. Sicut in voce Machabæus.

² Καὶ ὁ Πετράκιος, ἐκ τῶν λόγων Θεοδότου δυσκίνητον αὐτῶν τὸ φρεσίν, καὶ μὴ ἂν ἀναχθῇ δουλεῖν αὐτῷ παραγενέσθαι διακονήσασθαι τῷ Καίῳ

τὴν ἀνάθειν τοῦ ἀνδριαντοῦ, πολὺν δὲ ἴσασθαι φόβον, τοὺς τε φίλους ἀναλαβὼν καὶ ῥερωσίαν ἢ περὶ αὐτὸν ἦν, ἐπὶ Τιβερίῳδῳι ἠπαίετο, χρηθίων κατανοῶσαι τῶν Ἰουδαίων τὰ πράγματα ὡς ἔχοι. cap. ix. § 3. p. 422 ed. Harkn. Oxon. 1720.

CHAP. V. suffered him that was next of kin to any man that was slain, to kill him that slew him, before it was judged whether he was slain by chance or by malice, Num. xxxv. 16—22. Therefore the law commanded him that was tempted to idolatry, to seek the death of him that tempted him, were he his father or never so near of kin, Deut. xiii. 6—11.

[Difference between the law and the Gospel.]

§ 72. In fine, the law being the condition of a temporal estate, assigned at first by God to the people of Israel observing it, can there be any marvel that it might be lawful for that people to defend it by force, and by that defence to regain the same estate? Or will this draw any consequence in Christianity, to make it lawful to take arms upon the title thereof, and so to hold estates of this world by the same title, in case those arms take effect? For the Gospel is the condition of life everlasting, promised to those that embrace it, including the cross of Christ, and therefore renouncing all advantage of this world, and equally belonging to all people, and therefore maintaining all in the same estate of this world which it finds. Therefore the zeal of Elias, [2 Kings i. 10—12,] when he punished with fire from heaven those that attempted to seize him at the unjust command of an idolatrous king, our Lord declares not to suit with the spirit of the Gospel—the profession thereof being to take up Christ's cross, and to bear it with patience though under the law it might be commendable.

[Ecclesiastical crimes not punishable by civil death.]

§ 73. Whereunto agreeth that which I said before*, that heresy and schism, upon causes only contrary to Christianity, and that are not against the law of nature and nations, are no capital crimes in Christian states; and that instead of death, which the law inflicteth upon him that obeyeth not the consistory, but causeth schism, the punishment allotted by the Gospel is, only to be least in the kingdom of heaven. For if sovereign powers, lawfully established, being Christian, are not enabled by their Christianity to inflict death on the said crimes, when, setting aside Christianity, they are not liable to it, much less is any man, under a sovereign power, enabled by his Christianity to use the sword wherein sovereignty consists, for the maintenance of it†.

* Scott 17, 18.

† Multo magis poterit spiritualis res-

publica imperare temporali reipublice sibi subjectae, et cogere ad mutan-

§ 74. Neither is it contrary to this, that, under the Gospel, CHAP. St. Peter punishes Ananias and Sapphira with death, [Acts v. 5—10]; and the Apostles, as I shewed before^v, were endowed with a miraculous power of inflicting bodily punishment upon those which obeyed them not; the effects whereof were seen upon those whom they cast out of the Church, as also upon Elymas, [Acts xiii. 11,] struck with blindness by St. Paul, for resisting his Gospel. Nor, that the souls under the Altar, Rev. vi. 10, pray for the vengeance of their blood to be shewed upon the inhabitants of the earth. For that which this prophetic vision representeth, is to be understood suitably to Christianity, and to the kingdom of God attained by it. Since therefore revenge is contrary to the principles
211 of Christianity, we cannot imagine that blessed souls desire it; but the cry which they make must be understood to be the provocation of God to vengeance, which their sufferings produce; so much more pertinently attributed to blessed souls, inasmuch as being acquainted with God's counsels, they approve and rejoice in His justice, and the advancement of His Church by the means of it.

§ 75. Now the power granted the Apostles of inflicting bodily punishments upon those that disobeyed them, tended first to manifest that God was present in the Church, and, by consequence, to subdue the world to Christianity, and to win authority to the Church and the censures of it; whereas Elias, when he called for fire from heaven, as the Apostles desired our Lord, might have been secured himself by the like miracles, without destroying his enemies. So he caused Baal's priests to be put to death, [1 Kings xviii. 40,] not to vindicate the cause in debate, which was already done by a miracle, but to do vengeance on them as malefactors; and so Eliseus [2 Kings ii. 24] curseth the children to death, on purpose to punish the affront offered his person. In all which

(Difference between bodily punishments under the law and under the Gospel.)

dam administrationem et deponere principes, aliosq; medicum, quandoque non potest bonum suum spirituale tuum, et hoc modo intelligenda sunt verba Bernardi l. ii. iv. de consideratione, et Benigni. viii. in Extravagant. Cuius Sacram. de Majoritate et Obsequio, ubi dicitur, in potestate Papa cum utroque gladium. Vo-

lunt enim significare Pontificem habere per se et proprio gladium spiritualem, et quia gladius temporalis subiectus est spirituali posse Pontificem regi imperare aut interficere usum gladii temporalis quando id requirit Ecclesie necessitas.—Bellarm. de Rom. Pont. lib. v. cap. vii. col. 903. Colon. 1620.

^v Chap. i. sect. 55.

CHAP. V. particulars you have manifest characters of the law inflicting death for the punishment of sin; whereas under the Gospel, which giveth life, the inflicting of bodily punishment serveth to procure the good of the world, by manifesting the truth³¹² of the Gospel, and the presence of God in His Church, which was known and supposed under the law, because those who had received the law could not make any question that God was amongst His people, and spoke to them by His prophets.

[All wars for religion's sake not lawful to the Jews.]

§ 76. When I say that it might be lawful to take arms upon the title of religion under the law, I say not that it was so in all cases, or that it was not lawful for the Jews to be subject to foreign powers—which was the doctrine of Judas of Galilee, complained of by Josephus^a—but that it was possible for some case to fall out wherein it might be lawful. As for the conceit of Judas of Galilee, it is manifestly taken away by God's command to the Jews under Nabuchodonosor, Jer. xxix. 7: "Seek the peace of the city to which I have sent you captives, for in the peace thereof you shall have peace." And it is most remarkable, that our Lord, being falsely accused of this doctrine to Pilate by the Jews, it pleased God to suffer it so far to prevail afterwards, that the arms which they took afterwards against the Romans, and the miseries which they endured by the Zelotes, and finally, the ruin of the city, temple, and nation, must needs be imputed to this doctrine, which they falsely accused our Lord of, to³¹³ gain the good will of the Romans.

[No wars lawful for Christianity's sake.]

§ 77. But of Christianity it must be said on the contrary, that there is no case possible wherein it can be just to take arms, for preservation or reformation of it upon the title thereof, that is to say, where there is not a power of bearing arms, established by some other title of human right^b. For

^a Ἐπὶ τούτου τις ἀνὴρ Γαλιλαῖος Ἰούδας ὄνομα εἰς ἀπόστασιν ἐνήγαγε τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους, κακίστων. εἰ φόρον τε Ῥωμαίοις τελεῖν ὑπαμένονσι, καὶ μετὰ τὴν θεὸν οἰσούσι θνητοὺς δεσπότας. Ἦν δὲ οὗτος, σοφίστην ἰδίᾳ αἰρέσεως, οὐδὲν τοῖς ἔλλοις προσποιεῖς.—Joseph. Bell. Jud., lib. ii. cap. 8 § 1. p. 1060. ed. Hudson. Oxon. 1720.

^b "When he speaks of the occasions of taking up arms and using resistance against powers, he seems to allow of no degrees at all; if religion be to be

subverted, if the ruin of the prince himself, or of his whole kingdom be attempted, if the attemptors proceed ad infinitum, yet in all cases—for ought he distinguishes—resistance is alike unlawful, and altogether as damnable, as if the mischief were not publicly considerable. This tenet seems to us horrid, unnatural, and against the light of all men's reason: for hereby it is plainly averred, that either government was erected for subversive ends, or else that general sub-

where there is any such power and right established upon a title which the law of nations justifieth, it is not to be said that Christianity voideth or extinguisbeth the same, seeing it hath been said that it preserveth the state of this world upon the same terms in which they are when it is embraced; but nevertheless it moderateth the use of it, so that it cannot, with Christianity, be employed in very many cases in which the law of nature and nations justifies the use of it.

§ 78. These things thus premised, it will be easy to shew that the Presbyterians offer wrong when they demand that the superiority of Bishops over presbyters be proved to be of Divine right, by some precept of God's law recorded in the Scriptures: supposing that, otherwise, it will be in the secular power of itself to erect an ecclesiastical power, by taking it from them that have it, and giving it to them that have it not, and requiring that so it be done. For it is notorious to the world, that from the beginning they claimed that presbyteries should be erected instead of the government of the Church of England, upon this ground, that the presbyteries are commanded by God, and that therefore the superiority of Bishops, as contrary to His law, is to be abolished; and that upon this pretence the people were drawn in to seek the innovation endeavoured at this time. So that to require now that it be proved, that the superiority of Bishops is commanded by God to be unchangeable by men, otherwise that it be changed, is to require that the conclusion may stand without any promises to prove it.

§ 79. Notwithstanding, to pass by this advantage, suppose we the superiority of Bishops neither forbidden nor commanded, but introduced by ecclesiastical right, grounded upon the power given the Church, of giving laws to the Church, by determining that which God's law determineth not; supposing, but not granting, this to be true, it will remain, nevertheless, without the compass of any secular power upon earth to erect this ecclesiastical power by taking it from them which have it, and giving it to them which have it not. For wheresoever there is a Church, and the government thereof not contrary to God's law, in those hands which

CHAP.
V.

[The title
of the Epi-
scopate
cannot be
set aside,]

[nor de-
stroyed by
the secular
power,]

version may conduce to salutiferous ends. — *Jus Populi*, p. 56. London, 1644.

* See chap. iii. sect. 44. note d.

CHAP. V. have it by man's, there the Apostle's precept of obeying the governors of the Church, 1 Thessa. v. 12; Heb. xiii. 17, must needs oblige the people to those governors that are established not against God's law.

[even if
that power
be Chris-
tian.]

§ 80. And this precept of the Apostle being of that Divine right by which Christianity subsisteth, cannot be voided by any secular power, by which the Church subsisteth not in point of right, but only is maintained in point of fact. For the obligation which they have to the Church, and the unity thereof, and the order by which that unity is preserved, and the government in which that order consisteth, being more ancient than the maintenance of Christianity by the state, cannot be taken away by any obligation or interest thereupon arising; and therefore as the first Christians that were under Christian powers, in the time of Constantine, were bound to adhere to the pastors which they had by the law of the Church—for which reason neither did Constantine, Constantius, or Valens, ever endeavour to intrude those Bishops, which they were seduced to think necessary for the quiet of some Churches, being indeed dangerous to Christianity, by their own power, but by a pretended legal act of the Church—after Constantine took Christianity into the protection of the empire, upon the same terms as afore: so are all Christians, to the world's end, obliged to adhere to the pastors which they shall have by the law of the Church, not contrary to God's law, against the command of any secular power to obey others. And to demand that ecclesiastical power, not contrary to God's law, be dissolved by secular^d, to which the persons endowed therewith are subjects, is to demand that there remain no Christians in England that can be content to suffer for their Christianity, by obeying God's law before man's, especially when they can obey both, acting by God's, and suffering by man's.

§ 81. But though I insist upon this right of the Church,

^d "And this shall the better be done, if a law be made this present Parliament, that as Antichrist's kingdom in the presacy shall and must be cast out, so Christ's kingdom may be freely set up in this kingdom, while His people—even as many as will—are suffered freely to enjoy Christ's ordinances in

their purity, and so may at length recover that Christian liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free, and for which His precious blood was poured forth, and wherof this land by the hierarchy hath been till now deprived."—Christ on His Throne, p. 77. A D. 1640.

yet it is not my purpose to balk the fruit of the Divine right of Bishops, upon such terms as it hath been asserted*; that is to say, as that which no man may lawfully destroy, though not as that which, being destroyed, voideth the being of a Church—if it can be done without schism—because not commanded particular Christians, as the substance of Christianity, but the society of the Church, for the maintenance and support of it†. For if no secular power be able to give that power to the presbyteries, which must be taken from the Bishops, supposing that the superiority of Bishops stands neither by, nor against, the law of God, but only by the law
 317 of the Church, according to God's: how much more, when it is demonstrated that it subsisteth by the act of the Apostles, shall it be without the compass of any secular power to dissolve it? And therefore the consequence hereof, in the present state of Christianity among us, is further to be deduced, because many men may be persuaded of their obligation to the Church, upon supposition of the Divine right of Bishops, who perhaps perceive not the former reason of their obligation to them here asserted, as to the ordinary pastors of the Church.

CHAP.
V.

[And the episcopate of ecclesiastical institution only.]

§ 82. To proceed then, out of the premises, to frame a judgment of the state and condition of Christianity in England at the present, and from that judgment to conclude what they, that will preserve the conscience of good Christians, are to do or to avoid, in maintaining the society and communion of the Church. Put the case, that an ecclesiastical power be claimed and used, upon some persuasions contrary to the substance of true Christianity, and pretending thereby to govern those that adhere to the same persuasion, in the communion of those ordinances, which God requireth to be served with, by His Church, according to the same
 318 persuasion: I suppose no man will deny this to be the crime of heresy; containing not only a persuasion contrary to the foundation of faith, but also an ecclesiastical power founded upon it, and thereby a separation from the communion of the Church, which acknowledgeth not the same.

Therefore religion cannot be reformed by force.

§ 83. Put the case again, that an ecclesiastical power is claimed and used, not upon a persuasion contrary to any

* See chap. iii. sect. 11.

† See scot. 62.

CHAP. V. thing immediately necessary to the salvation of all Christians —as the foundation of faith, and all that belongeth to it is— but upon a persuasion contrary to something necessary to the society of the whole Church, as commanded by our Lord Christ, or His Apostles, to be regulated thereby; and this with a pretence to govern those that adhere to the same persuasion, in the communion of all ecclesiastical ordinances, according to it; this I cannot see how it can be denied to be the crime of schism. And this, God be blessed that I cannot say it is done in England, but in consequence to the premises. I must say, that this is it which hath been, and is endeavoured to be done in it, and therefore to be avoided by all that will not communicate in an act of schism:

[The pres-
byterian
govern-
ment
schis-
matic,]

§ 84. I do not deny that presbyters have an interest in the power of the keys, and by consequence in all parts of ecclesiastical power, being all the productions thereof: but I have shewed^a that their interest is in dependence upon their respective Bishops, without whom, by the ordinance of the Apostles, and the practice of all Churches that are not parties in this cause, nothing is to be done. When, therefore, presbyters, dividing among themselves the eminent power of their Bishops, presume to manage it without acknowledgment of them; out of an opinion that the eminence of their power is contrary to the ordinance of our Lord and His Apostles, or that, not being contrary to the same, it is lawful for presbyters to take it out of the hands either of Bishops or of simple presbyters, had they been so possessed of it. When they join with themselves some of the people, in the quality of lay elders, or whatever they will have them called, and of these constitute consistories for all several congregations, endowed with the power of the keys over the same, though in dependence upon greater assemblies, out of the opinion that this is the ordinance of our Lord and His Apostles; and this, not to manage the interest of the people, that nothing pass contrary to the laws given the Church by God, which are their inheritance as well as the clergy's, but in a number double to that of the presbyters in all consistories, and in a right equal to them, man for man^b: so that it is

^a Chap. iii. sect. 1—18.

^b "That out of every congregational eldership, there shall be two elders or more, not exceeding the number of

may truly be said, that the whole power of clergy and people is vested in these lay elders, that one quality consenting, being able to conclude the whole. CHAP.
V.

§ 85. When the determination, who shall, or shall not, be admitted to communion, returneth at last to a number of secular persons, making them thereby judges of the laws of Christianity, and enabling them thereby to give and take away the ecclesiastical being of any member of the Church, in those cases to which that power extendeth, and investing a civil court with the power of the keys in the same¹: all these points being members of the ordinance for the establishment of the presbyteries². I say then, that by that ordinance an ecclesiastical power is erected, upon so many persuasions, of things concerning the public order of the society of the Church, contrary to the laws given the Church by our Lord and His Apostles, by a secular power, interested only in point of fact in Church matters, without any ground of right to do it; and that therefore the endeavouring to establish these presbyteries is an act of schism, which particular Christians, though they never, by any express act of their own, tied themselves to be subject to Bishops, are nevertheless bound not to communicate in, because they are bound upon their salvation to maintain the unity of the Church, and the unity of the Church established upon these laws, whereof the succession of Bishops is one.

§ 86. As for the design of the congregations, it is easily perceived to come to this effect; that to the intent that Christian people may be tied to no laws, but such as the Spirit of God which is in them convinces them to be established upon the Church by the Scripture; and that there-

four, and one minister sent to every classis."—Ordinance of the Lords and Commons, March 14, 1645. Rushworth, part iv. vol. i. p. 226.

¹ "That if any person shall commit any scandalous offence—not enumerated in any ordinance of parliament—upon the day of the administration of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, in the face of the congregation after it is assembled, the minister of that congregation may forbear to administer the Sacrament to such a person for that time; and he shall within eight days after certify the said offence and

forbearance unto the commissioners aforesaid, and upon certificate so made, the said commissioners shall proceed thereupon as in other cases not enumerated, and shall make certificate of the case or cases, with their opinions, to both houses of parliament, with all speed: and thereupon the parliament shall proceed to a final determination of the case, and send the same determination thereof to the parish where such offence shall have been committed."—Ordinance, &c. Rushworth, *ut supra*, p. 227.

² See the two preceding notes.

(and set
up by the
secular
power
without
colour of
right.)

(The case
of the In
depend
ents)

CHAP. V. upon the ordering of all matters concerning the society of the Church, may proceed upon conviction of every man's judgment: therefore every congregation of Christians, assembling to the service of God, to be absolute and independent on any other part, or the whole Church, the power being vested in the members of the said congregation, under the authority of the pastor and elders, as aforesaid¹. And that therefore every congregation constituting itself a Church, constitutes by consequence, and destitutes pastors, elders, and members^m; so that, by this design, an ecclesiastical power being erected upon so many persuasions, contrary to the laws given the Church by our Lord and His Apostles, the act of schism is more visible.

[more suitable to Christianity than that of the Presbyterians;]

§ 87. Though for the claim and title, by which this ecclesiastical power is erected in both ways, that of the congregations is more suitable to Christianity—because that of the presbyteries more forcible—both equally destructive to the right of the Church. For that a parliament, by which power the assembly of divines was calledⁿ—not disputing now the power of a parliament in England, but supposing it to be as

¹ Chap. ii. sect. 2.

^m "The mutual relation wherein all the members in the Church stand one to another, members to members, and all of them to their officers, and their officers to them, together with their mutual interest one in another, and mutual power one over another, do all of them necessarily imply a mutual confederacy one with another; and that whosoever will partake herein, must partake in their confederacy. Suppose a godly Christian come over into these parts—as every year some or other do—there is not any minister of any of our Churches can usurp pastoral authority over him, unless that Christian call him thereunto, or profess his subjection to his ministration according to God. Nor can such a man expect any minister's watchfulness over him as his minister, unless the minister see just cause to accept such a charge, and profess so much. No Church in the country, nor all the members of any Church, can take upon them to censure any stranger, though an inhabitant amongst them, unless he give himself up to them, and profess his subjection to the Gospel of Christ

amongst them. Nor can he challenge such watchfulness from them, unless he have given them a just call to take upon them that care over him. That Christian liberty, which the Lord Jesus by His blood hath purchased for His Church, and for all His children, giveth them all liberty to chuse their own officers, and their own fellow members, unto whom to commit the care of their souls according to the rules of the Gospel."—Cotton's Way of the Churches, chap. iii. sect. 4. § 3. p. 63. London, 1645.

ⁿ "On Monday, June 12, 1643, there was passed 'An ordinance of the Lords and Commons in parliament, for the calling of an assembly of learned and godly Divines, and others to be consulted with by the parliament, for the settling of the government and liturgy of the Church of England, and for vindicating and clearing of the doctrine of the said Church from false aspersions and interpretations.' The assembly met on Saturday, July 1, in the same year, in the Chapel of King Henry the Seventh in the Abbey of Westminster."—Rushworth, part iii. vol. ii. p. 337

great for the purpose as any Christian state can exercise—should erect an ecclesiastical power by taking it from those that have it, and giving it to those that have it not, is without the sphere of any power which stands not by the constitution of the Church. For if the Church subsisted before any secular power was Christian, by a power vested by our Lord in His Apostles—extending it in one visible society, beyond the bounds of any dominion, with equal interest in the parts of it through several dominions—what title but force can any state have to do it, if we presuppose the society of the Church, as such, unable to do it? Therefore by the society of the Church, and by Christians as members thereof, it must be done, whatsoever is done, either in reforming the Church, or in separating from the Church. And therefore the proceeding of the congregations, when they separate from the Church of England by a right founded upon the constitution of the Church, is more agreeable to Christianity than the proceeding of the presbyteries, when they pretend to reform the Church of England by the power of the parliament, supposing it to be as great as any secular power can be in Church matters.

§ 88. But I intend not hereby to grant that it is a rightful title upon which those of the congregations separate from the Church of England. For as men cannot make themselves Christians, but the doing of it must presuppose a Church, as at the first it presupposed the power of constituting a Church, estated by our Lord upon His Apostles—because our Lord hath required of those that will be saved, not only to believe His Gospel, but also to profess Christianity, and this profession to be consigned in the hands of those whom He trusteth with the conduct of His Church, and by them accepted, because if not sincere and complete, it is not to be admitted—so the continuance in the communion of the Church, presupposing an acknowledgment of the Christianity professed therein to contain nothing destructive to salvation, professeth an obligation of acknowledging the governors thereof, in order to the same.

§ 89. And this obligation unavoidable by the premises, unless Christian people, by those governors appear to be defeated of the benefit of such laws, given the Church by our Lord and

[but not
the less
free from
schism.]

[Both par-
ties unus-
tainable.]

CHAP. V. His Apostles, as appear to be of greater consequence to the service of God, for which the society of the Church subsists, than the personal succession of governors, and the unity of the Church, wherein it consisteth, can be imagined to be. Which in our present case is so far from being true, that the premises being true, all the particulars, for which the congregations separate, and which the presbyteries would reform, the chief power of the clergy over the people, the superiority of Bishops above presbyters, the dependence of congregations upon the city Church, the power of giving laws to the Church, the right of first-fruits, tithes, and all consecrate things, and above all, the unity of the Church, and the personal succession of governors in which it consisteth, are all demonstrated to have been ordained by the Apostles. The same is to be said of the ceremonies, as to the whole kind, though not to the particulars questioned. For first, it is proved that the rule of charity requires all Christians to forbear the use of that freedom which Christianity alloweth, in all things determined by the law of the Church, not contrary to God's. Secondly, though it be granted that the particulars questioned were not instituted by the Apostles, for, indeed, the customs of several nations that have received Christianity are so different, that, for example, that which the Apostle commandeth, "that men pray uncovered," 1 Cor. xi. 3, cannot be used among those nations that cover the head in sign of reverence, which the ancients did not: and this is the true reason why the same ceremonies of Divine service are not in use now as under the Apostles; yet whosoever shall separate from the Church upon this ground, that significative ceremonies are not to be used in the service of God, shall do it to establish a law contrary to the Apostles, who ordained such to be used, as I shewed afore^o.

{Case of
the English
Bishops.}

§ 90. Besides, the Church of England, and governors thereof, do not maintain any infallible power of conducting the Church, professing themselves the reformation which their predecessors made; and therefore, are so far from refusing any law of God to be a law of this Church, that if any human constitution had been recommended to them—evidently necessary or useful to make the laws of our Lord and His

^o Chap. iv. sectt. 30—33.

Apostles effectual to this particular Church—by such an authority as the secular power hath over them, it is visible to
 26 all English, that, for the peace of the Church and themselves, they would not have refused it. And therefore the true reason of this separation or reformation is, because they will not part with that power which is in them, derived from the Apostles, and at once with the unity of the Church, necessarily, in this case, depending on the same.

§ 91. I suppose what will be answered, that all this is done to reform the Church, to bring in plentiful and powerful preaching, and praying as the Spirit shall indite. For, not knowing any thing else to be pretended, and having shewed the rest of the change to be contrary to the ordinances of the Apostles—though I see no man is so hard-hearted as not to think his own design to be the reformation of the Church, without ever proving it to be so—yet I must needs think it part of my charge to say somewhat also to this.

§ 92. I do acknowledge, then, a charge upon the Church, to provide that Christians, made members of the Church by baptism, be taught more and more in the true intent of their Christianity, and exhorted to the performance of it, by virtue of the precept of our Lord, Matt. xxviii. 19, 20: "Go preach, and make disciples all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost: teaching them to observe all that I have commanded you:" which, being given
 27 the Apostles, is, by the same reason, given to all whom they should assume, or ordain, or cause to be ordained, to exercise their power, or any part of it, in dependence upon the same, and according as the same should determine in time or place. But that any thing is determined, as of Divine right, or by the Scriptures, when, where, how often, how seldom, in what manner, and how frequent preaching is, by the Church, to be furnished to the Church, he will make himself ridiculous that undertakes to affirm.

§ 93. That the Church is to endeavour, that this office be as frequent as may be to the edification of the Church, appears indeed by the Scriptures: not those which speak of "publishing the Gospel," under the terms of *εὐαγγελίζεσθαι* or *κηρύσσειν*², or any equivalent, as Rom. x. 15; 2 Tim. iv. 2, 5;

² See chap. vi. sect. 18—19

CHAP. ^{V.} 1 Cor. ix. 16, but those that express the diligence of the Apostles and Apostolical persons of their time, in teaching the assemblies of Christians, Acts ii. 42, 46; v. 42; vi. 2, 4; xi. 26, and the frequenting of this office in those times, 1 Cor. xiv.; 1 Tim. v. 17; Rom. xii. 6, 7. But that it should be so easy for them, that now are admitted to the service of the Church, to preach continually, so as to edify the Church by their preaching, as it was for Apostles, Apostolical persons, and prophets, is not for a reasonable man to imagine. And those that stand so much upon preaching twice every Lord's day^a, would find themselves at a marvellous exigent, if they should prove either the necessity of it, in point of right, by the Scriptures, or the utility of it, in point of fact, by the abilities of the men whom themselves set about it.

[Of prayer.] § 94. As for prayer, I yield that it is a precept of God that the prayers of Christian congregations be presented to God by the presbyters. But what prayers? None but those which the Eucharist was celebrated with, of which I spoke afore^c. All the world will never shew any title in the Scriptures, or the original practice of the Church, to prove that the Apostles ordained these prayers before or after the sermons of presbyters, which are now made the greatest part of the exercise of Christianity, unless it be because the sermon went before the Eucharist, as Acts ix. 7; 1 Cor. xiv. 16. The prayers which the presbyters offer to God in behalf of the Church, being, by the institution of the Apostles, only those which the Eucharist is celebrated with.

§ 95. I acknowledge that, under the Apostles, the prayers of the Church were not prescribed, but conceived by those that were employed in that office by the Church; but, in consideration of the prophetic revelations and immediate inspirations which the persons employed about that office were then graced with, to shew the truth of Christianity and the presence of God in the Church. And therefore, since those graces ceased, I have shewed in the Apostolical Form of Divine Service, p. 348^d, that those prayers of the Church which went not with the Eucharist, were ministered by deacons, because it was found necessary that both the one

^a See Rel. Assembl., chap. x. sect. 93. note 1.

^c Chap. iii. sect. 29.

^d Chap. x. sects. 36. 37.

and the other should be done in a prescript form, to avoid the scandals of Christianity that we see come by referring it to all persons that are trusted to officiate public service. And I am astonished that any Christian should imagine that God should be pleased with the conceptions of the mind, or expressions of the tongue—setting aside the affection of the heart—that any man prays with.

§ 96. But now, by the pretence on foot, which makes the exercise of Christianity to consist in a sermon, and a prayer conceived before or after it; not only the celebration of the Eucharist, which the Apostles ordained to be as frequent as the prayers of the presbyters, and which the Church of England recommends on all Sundays and festivals, is turned out of doors, to three or four times a-year'; but also all the public service of God, by prayer, reading the Scriptures, and the praises of God, forbidden when the preacher's mouth opens not; and by referring the form of prayer and matter of doctrine to each man's discretion, the exercise of religion is turned into a lecture of state, infused into the conscience of the hearers, by desiring of God the interest of that faction for which a man preaches". And by this means, they that do challenge to themselves the title of Apostles, when they style themselves "ministers of Christ and of the Gospel," are now discovered, by their adversaries of the congregations, to be ministers of that power which set them up*, as indeed they

CHAP.
V.

(Perver-
sion of
Divine
service
by the
Puritans.)

"The Communion, or Supper of the Lord is frequently to be celebrated: but how often may be considered and determined by the ministers and other Church-governors of each congregation, as they shall find most convenient for the comfort and edification of the people committed to their charge. And when it shall be administered, we judge it convenient to be done after the morning sermon."—Directory for the Public Worship, p. 23. London, 1644.

In the first Book of Discipline the celebration is confined to four times a-year, to the first Sundays in March, June, September and December; p. 63.

"And whereas at the administration of the Sacraments, the holding public fasts, and days of thanksgiving, and other special occasions, which may afford matter of special petitions and thanksgivings; it is requisite to express

somewhat in our public prayers—as at this time it is our duty to pray for a blessing upon the assembly of divines, the armies by sea and land, for the defence of the king, parliament and kingdom. Every minister is herein to apply himself in his prayer before, or after, his sermon to those occasions; but for the manner he is left to his liberty as God shall direct and enable him, in piety and wisdom to discharge his duty."—Directory for the Public Worship, p. 12. London, 1644.

* "Consider whether under popery the mystery of the national priesthood was not rather held up by the power of princes and states, than states themselves by such a way of power and whether the mystery of the national ministry be not rather held up by the power of states now, than the states themselves in such a way of power,

CHAP. must needs be, when a double number of votes in their presbyteries is able to cast them out of the Church, if they prove not faithful ministers.

[Puritan slander of the early Christians.]

§ 97. The ruin of Christianity is yet greater in going about to reform religion by the sword, and taking up arms upon the title of Christianity, whether it be pretended or not. For, they that say^v that the Christians of Tertullian's time would have defended themselves by force against the persecutions of the Roman emperors if they had been able, must needs say that Christians may and ought to defend themselves upon the title of their Christianity, as both Buchanan^a and Bellarmine^b by consequence must do, when they say that the reason why St. Paul commands Christians to be subject to the secular powers of his time was, because they were not able to resist.

[The solemn league and covenant.]

§ 98. But I do remember to have read in Burroughs's Lectures on Hosea^b,—which I speak to do him right,—that the title of this war is not grounded on religion, as religion, but as professed by this kingdom; which, I conceive, cannot

and then whether all the pretences and consequences to draw in states and kingdoms for the Church's interest, if clearly discussed, be not rather a way of Antichristian mystery than of zeal to religion or the power of magistracy." — Saltmarsh's Groans for Liberty, preface, § 1. London, 1646.

^v See sect. 36. note c.

^a "Paul wrote these things in the very infancy of the Church, in which time it was not only necessary to be blameless, but none was to give occasion to such as sought occasion of reproaching, and unjust causes of staining the professors of Christianity.

"What other cause may we imagine, than that at that time there were no kings or magistrates in the Church, to whom he might write. Imagine that Paul doth now live in our days, wherein not only the people, but princes also profess Christianity. At the same time let there be some prince who doth conceive that not only should human laws, but also divine laws be subject to his lust and pleasure. . . . What would Paul write of such to the Church? If he were like himself he would certainly deny that he should be accounted a magistrate. He would interdict all Christians to have any communion with him, either in diet, speech or converse, and leave him to the people to

be punished by the laws, and would think they did nothing but their duty, if they should account him not to be their king, with whom they were to have no fellowship by the law of God."

De jure Regni, pp. 50. 51. of the English Version, London, 1680.

^b Quod si Christiani clita non deposuerunt Neronem, et Diocletianum, et Julianum Apostatam, ac Va. entem Ariannum, et similes, id fuit quis de-erant vires temporales Christianis. Nam quod alioqui jure potuissent id facere, patet ex Apostolo, 1 Corinth. vi. ubi jubet constitui novos judices a Christianis temporalium causarum, ne cogentur Christiani causam dicere coram judice Christi persecutore. Sicut enim novi judices constitui potuerunt, ita et novi principes et reges propter eandem causam, si vires adfuissent. — Bellarmine, de Rom. Pont., lib. v. cap. vii. tom. i. col. 904. Colon. 1620.

^c "But now our taking up arms is justified in this, to maintain the civil right that we have to the practice of our religion; so that our case is not the case of the Christians among the heathens. there is a law of nature, I confess, beyond the right of any law, and the right in that cannot be given away by any predecessors." — Chap. viii. 4. vol. ii. p. 21. London, 1650.

be said by those that advance the covenant, or allow two clauses of it. The first, when it promiseth to maintain the king's person and estate in maintenance of religion^c. For if the maintenance of the state be limited within the condition of religion, then it is professed by consequence, that the sovereign power of the state is not to be maintained when religion is not maintained by it, which if it did maintain, religion were to be maintained. Therefore religion is the ground upon which those that enter into the covenant undertake to maintain one another, without any exception in the maintenance of the same. Therefore that war is made upon the title of religion, which maintains not the state but in the maintenance of it. The second, when it saith that this is done that those which groan under the yoke of Antichrist may be moved to do the like^d; which, belonging to the subjects of popish princes, professeth religion to be the title of those arms, which all of like religion may use, whatever the state be, under which they live. Now would I fain know of any friend of the covenant, what is the difference between it and the holy league of France under Henry the Third^e, as to this point, and in this regard?

§ 99. There is, indeed, difference enough between the subjects in which the two leagues suppose religion to consist, and there is as much in the rule of the same which both suppose: but as to the right which religion introduceth, of maintaining itself by force, both covenants agree in supposing it,

(The English covenant and French league compared.)

^c "We shall with the same sincerity, reality and constancy, in our several vocations, endeavour with our estates and lives, mutually to preserve the rights and privileges of the parliaments, and the liberties of the kingdoms, and to preserve and defend the king's majesty's person and authority, in the preservation and defence of the true religion and liberties of the kingdoms, that the world may bear witness with our consciences of our loyalty, and that we have no thoughts or intentions to diminish his majesty's just power and greatness."—Solemn League and Covenant, in Rushworth's Collections, part iii. vol. ii. p. 478.

^d "And this covenant we make in the presence of Almighty God, the Searcher of all hearts, with a true inten-

tion to perform the same, as we shall answer at that great day, when the secrets of all hearts shall be disclosed; most humbly beseeching the Lord to strengthen us by His Holy Spirit for this end, and to bless our desires and proceedings with such success as may be a deliverance and safety to His people, and encouragement to the Christian Churches groaning under, or in danger of, the yoke of Antichristian tyranny, to join in the same or like association and covenant, to the glory of God, the enlargement of the kingdom of Jesus Christ, and the peace and tranquillity of Christian kingdoms and commonwealths." *Ib.* p. 479.

^e See Davila, *Hist. delle Guerre civili di Francia*, libr. vii.

CHAP. V. and thereby found temporal right upon the grace of Christianity, contrary to that which I presuppose from the beginning¹, seeing whatsoever is purchased by such arms, is the production of that title under which they are borne. True it is, that religion is not the only title of that league or this covenant, both of them pretending as well abuse in government. But it is to be considered on the other side, that these two titles are not subordinate but concurrent; that is, that this right of maintaining religion by force of arms, riseth from the truth of religion in itself presupposed, and not by the establishment of religion by the laws of any state, for the religion of the same; because not by that power by which these laws were made: and therefore, by consequence, makes those that take arms, and join in covenant, supreme judges of all that is questioned in religion; which being of much more consideration to all Christians, than the good estate of any commonwealth, though both titles concur in this war, yet it would be possible that war might be made upon the title of religion alone, contrary to the premises.

[Pope Gregory VII.]

§ 100. The learned Casaubon once called the doctrine of Gregory VII., Pope, when he undertook to deprive Christian princes of their estates, because they stood excommunicate, *Hæresim Hildebrandinam*², "the heresy of Pope Hildebrand!" and not without cause. For seeing the foundation of Christianity consisteth in things to be done, as well as things to be believed, and that the sum of that which Christians profess to do, consists in bearing Christ's cross, how shall he be other than a heretic, that renounceth the profession of Christ's cross? Or how can he be understood to profess Christ's cross, that holds any thing purchased by the arms which are borne upon the title of Christianity? For as all is his that conquers in lawful arms, so cannot he be understood

¹ See chap. i. sect. 3.

² Ut jure liceat *Hildebrandinam* appellare eam doctrinam; quæ etsi primum autorem Hildebrandum non habuit; sic tamen ab eo primo est exalta, et quod ad theoriam, et quod ad praxin, ut nulla temere scientia ab uno homine majora acceperit incrementa, quam hæc accepit ab Hildebrando . . . Docet hoc et Thomas. . . . Docet

idem et Bellarminus, qui pervertat hujus doctrine auctores curiosa diligentia enumerans, ab Hildebrando est ortus: non quia defuerunt ante qui semina illius hærescos jacerent: sed quia hic plurimum illam confirmavit, qua scriptis, qua tactis.—Casaubon, Exercit. xv. in Baron. Ann. p. 303. Francofurt. 1615.

334 to renounce all for Christ's cross, that holds any thing by it, which he is bound to maintain, with the title whereby he holds it. CHAP.
V.

§ 101. Thus that Pope is not unjustly called a heretic by some; as heresy imports a vice of a particular man's mind, not a sect in the society of the Church; seeing it cannot be said that this position is enjoined, though suffered in the Church of Rome, as it must be said of that Church, the society whereof, and the power which governeth that society, subsisteth by arms grounded on Christianity. Therefore, supposing an ecclesiastical power, and by consequence a Church constituted by force used upon this ground, it would be hard to clear it of heresy, the constitution whereof cannot stand with the profession of Christ's cross.

§ 102. But not to aggravate consequences, seeing it is manifest that all errors in religion overthrow the foundation by consequence, but to shew what regret I have to say that which I must not conceal, I will advance the only possible expedient that I can imagine, to restore the unity of the Church among us. For that of a national synod, which is most obvious and plausible, seems to me impossible to be used lawfully and effectually both in our case. I am not so faintly
335 in love with the cause which I expose myself to so much offence to maintain, as to make a question how the Church of England were to be re-established if right might take place, that is, by re-estating the synod thereof in full possession of that right, which hereby I have proved that they are outed of only by force.

And the means that is left us to recover the unity of the Church.

§ 103. But I speak now upon supposition, that there is force on their side that refuse this right, upon opinions contrary to the same, and with an intent to advance a course, by which it may be discerned how far the Church of England may abate of the right, which is denied only by force, for so good a purpose, as to reconcile unto it those who may otherwise fall into Churches in name, but schisms indeed. And in this case my reason is, because those who challenge the right of a synod must proceed as authorized to judge between, or rather to give law to all parties: now, being divided as we are, between right and force, or the opinion of either or both, it is not imaginable that either those that think themselves to

CHAP. have right can, or those that think themselves to have force, will, submit to receive sentence or law from their adversaries, unless we think them either no men, to change their judgment when they come to have power on their side, or no Christians, to acknowledge that to be right which they are assured³³⁶ is not.

§ 104. What remains, then, to restore peace, when no party can yield? Surely, in all bodily diseases, those parts and principles and elements of nature which remain untainted, must be the means to recover the whole: and in this distemper of the Church, so much of Christianity as remains commonly acknowledged by all parties, rightly husbanded, may serve to re-unite them in one, upon better intelligence. And the despair which any party ought to have, of reducing the rest to themselves, ought to persuade all to condescend to this good husbandry.

§ 105. What remains, then, common to all parts, beside the profession of Christianity and the Scriptures, to agree them about the meaning and consequences of them, in matters questionable, being that which remains in debate? Could I say that all parts acknowledged that, which the Church, from the beginning, every where, hath received and used, to be agreeable to the Scripture, I should think the business half done: but since it is otherwise, we must have recourse to a more remote ground, or principle, which may serve for a reason to produce those consequences which follow from the said rule, in matters in debate, seeing we pretend not to make a rule without cause. And this must be, by examining the first motives of Christianity, for what reasons we undertake³³⁷ the profession of it, which, being well rendered, and shot home to the mark, will not fail either to decide any thing in controversy, or to shew that it concerns no man's Christianity that it be decided.

§ 106. Now, the only means to bring forth and discharge these reasons to public satisfaction, is an open and free conference, for space of time, or persons, executed by persons advanced by the several parties, to improve what any man can bring forth, to the clearing of any thing in debate, and managed by persons chosen for their discretion, to keep the debate from wandering, till all be said to all points. For,

seeing it must needs appear what are the terms of agreement, when all reasons are spent, it will be lawful for those in whom rests the succession of the Apostles, and all claiming under them, to consent to estate the ecclesiastical power, and the ministry of ecclesiastical offices, upon persons to be agreed upon according to terms agreed: and this consent as effectual to re-unite the Church, as ever anciently schisms were lawfully restored to the Church, by admitting Bishops, presbyters, deacons, and people, to communicate in their own ranks, and making good all acts done in separation, by subsequent consent, not as to God, but as to the Church, which I have shewed afore was many times done^b. As for those which have used this power already, they shall condescend no further by this agreement, but to use that part of it which shall be limited them by the agreement, upon an unquestionable title for the future.

§ 107. But, if our sins be still so powerful as not to suffer a lawful course to take place, let me admonish those infinite numbers of Christian souls that sigh and groan after the unity of the Church, what means God shews them to discharge the conscience of good Christians to Him, while the temporal laws of the state, which ought to actuate it, do suspend their office: which are, in effect, the persons of those in whom the succession of the Apostles is vested, and the clergy claiming under them: and that general law of Christianity—for which those things which we insist upon cannot be quitted—of sticking to all that the Church originally, always, every where, hath professed and used. From them let them seek the communion of the Church, not only in the exercise of such Christian ordinances, as men, cast upon desert coasts, and utterly destitute of ecclesiastical society for the present—for so our distractions have made us—can participate in, but also in such acts of the power of the keys, as pass not the inward court of the conscience^c.

^b Chap. iii. sect. 62.

^c "If you demand what means I can shew you to exercise your religion, withdrawing from the means which these Acts provide I answer, that there are hitherto, every where, of the clergy that adhere to the Church, who will find it their duty to see your

infants christened, your children catechised, the Eucharist communicated to all that shall withdraw from Churches forcibly possessed by them whom you own not for pastors. And if they cannot continually minister to you, so dispersed, the ordinary offices of God's service, you have the service of God

CHAP.
V.

§ 108. Neither let them ever think themselves necessitated to communicate with schism, while the law which is the source of all laws, and the persons which are the seed of all public persons of the Church continue^k. And let them know further, that in adhering to the society of a Church never so much destroyed by force, no secular power, whether lawful or unlawful, shall ever have more rightful title to persecute them, than the Roman emperors had to persecute the Apostles and primitive Christians; part of their profession being, not to defend themselves by force grounded upon the title of Christianity, but to suffer with patience what force shall inflict for it. Which doing, as the purchase is not of this world, so let them not doubt to find the effect of the promises which are to come.

according to the order of the Church, you have the Scriptures to read for part of it, you have store of sermons manifestly allowed by the Church: to read, you have prayers prescribed for all your own necessities and the necessities of the Church. To serve God with these in private, with such as depend upon you, and are of the same judgment with you leaving out what belongs to the priest's office to say—I do, to the best of my judgment, believe an acceptable sacrifice to God; which you cannot offer at the Church in such case. And though I censure not my brethren of the clergy that think fit to comply with the power which we are under, in holding or coming by their benefices—I suppose in respect to their flocks, rather than to their trait—yet if they believe themselves and their flocks to be the members of the Church of England, they must needs believe those flocks, that acknowledge such pastors, to be members of no Church, and therefore acknowledge you, and own your departure, and declare themselves to their own flocks, and instruct them to do the like, when the like case falls out.

And so, the refusing to hear the voice of strangers, will unite us to make a flock under those whom we acknowledge our lawful pastors."—*Thorncliffe's Letter concerning the Present State of Religion amongst us*, pp. 221, 222, added to *The Just Weights and Measures*, 2nd. edition. London, 1680.

^k Anthony a Wood says that Dr. Robert Skinner, Bishop of Oxford, conferred holy orders during the time of the Great Rebellion, and that he was supposed to be the sole Bishop that did so. Bishop Bull was ordained deacon and priest by him, but in one day and under the canonical age; the Bishop dispensing with him through the distress of the times, and also not furnishing him with letters whereby his ordination might become known to his hurt, "because he was apprehensive some ill use might be made of them, if they fell into the hands of those unjust powers which then prevailed, who had made it criminal for a Bishop to confer holy orders;"—*Nelson's Life of Bull*, pp. 22, 23. Oxford, 1827.

A REVIEW
OF THE
FOREGOING DISCOURSE.

CHAPTER I

SINCE the writing of this Discourse, I have understood by relation, and by some pamphlets^a, that there is one opinion on foot among the many of this time, that there is no such thing as a society of the Church, by the ordinance of our Lord, and the institution of His Apostles; that wheresoever we read of the Church in the Scriptures, there we are to understand no more but only a number of men that are Christians, who may or ought to assemble together for the service of God as they find opportunity and means; but that there should be thought to be any condition of communicating in the service of God, which should make all Christians a society called the Church, as excluding those that are not qualified with it, ²this they think to be an imposture that hath made way for Antichrist.

CHAP.
I.

[The doctrine of one Church disallowed by the Puritans.]

§ 2. And though this opinion be so groundless, that very few readers will expect any opposition to be made; yet because my intent was, by this Discourse, to improve the reasons heretofore advanced, and to try the effect and consequence of them in destroying the grounds of the divisions framed among us; and because—if that which I propound be the truth—it will, with a little husbanding, be effectual to convince all manner of errors; it will be requisite here to give notice, that all the reasons which this first chapter produceth to prove the power of the keys, and the punishment of excommunication, the effect thereof, to belong to the Church, are effectual to prove the society of the Church, which this power constitutes, and therefore the effect thereof evidenceth. And truly, though there is an infinite distance between the productions and consequences of this opinion, and that of Erastus: inasmuch as this manifestly tendeth to challenge to all Christians freedom of doing what they please in the exer-

^a See Ellis's *Vindiciæ Catholicae*, in which he denies the being of one Catholic, visible, governing Church. London, 1647.

CHAP. I. — cise of their Christianity, without any account to the state under which they live^b; that of Erastus challenging to the state all power to govern all Christians in their Christianity^c, yet if we consider the ground on which both stand, they will appear to be as the rivers that rise out of Apenninus, which empty themselves, some into the sea of Tuscany, others into the gulf of Venice.

[Relation
of the
Church to
the state.]

§ 3. For I suppose every man's common reason will furnish him so much of the metaphysics, as to make it appear that every thing which hath a being is by that being distinct from other things; so that if there be no difference between the society of the Church, and that of the state when it professes Christianity, but that both make one community, corporation, or commonwealth, as that of the ancient people of God under the law; then is there no society of a Church when the state is Christian, seeing it is agreed upon on all hands that there is one of the state, and this opinion enforces that there is no more but one. True it is that there are two things to say, either that before Constantine the power of excommunication stood only by human right, that is, by custom of the Church, or that by the ordinance of our Lord and His Apostles it was to stand only before Christianity were received by kingdoms and commonwealths, but afterwards the power of governing the Church, hitherto in the body of the Church, to be dis-

^b "A godly minister of this city told me, June 12, 1646, that he, discoursing with a major belonging to the army about the government of the Church, he told him plainly that they were not so much against presbyterial government—though many thought them so—as against the being tied to any government at all; for if the parliament would set up the independent government, and enjoin that upon them, they should be as much against that as against presbyterial government: they held liberty of conscience, that no man should be bound, or tied, to any thing, but every man left free to hold what they pleased. that was the judgment and true genius of that sort of men in the army, called independents, that in all matters of religion no man should be bound, but every one left to follow his own conscience."—Edwards's *Gangræna*, part iii. p. 175, London, 1646.

^c Deus, aiunt, cum oderit omnem arbitrium, et omnia velit ordine decenti et iuxtaquodvis fieri, duo in uno corpore capita ponere monstruosum putavit. Hinc in civitate Christiana non voluit duos esse magistratus distinctos æquali potestate totam civitatem regentes. Quare cum duo sint in Ecclesia gladii, sive potestates, nec ambæ possint esse summæ, sed alteram alteri subesse oporteat, et indignior digniori merito subpiciatur, subiecta est potestas æqualis temporalis, Ecclesiastico tantquam præstabiliori, ut videlicet absconditas omnes vitetur. Proinde unus idemque magistratus, quatenus vel per seipsum, vel per alios res civiles tractat, Politicus; quatenus scholastica disponit ac regit, Scholasticus; quatenus res sacras ordinat et gubernat, Ecclesiasticus, sive sacer est ac dicitur. Erasti Confirm. Thes., lib. iii. cap. i. p. 161. Pseclav. 1589.

solved into the secular power of the state. But whether this
 + or that, in all cases he that taketh away the power of the keys
 in opening, and that of excommunication in shutting up the
 Church, must needs appear to take away the society and com-
 munion of a Church, either because it never was, or because
 it ceaseth when the state becomes Christian.

CHAP.
I.

§ 4. This consideration improves very much the reasons of
 this chapter against Erastus, making his opinion liable to all
 those Scriptures which acknowledge a society of the Church,
 and the sense of all Christians which suppose the same; and
 deserveth here to be represented, because it may be observed,
 that the proceeding of the Discourse did not give leave to
 press it to this effect. For the intent of it being to limit the
 concurrence of secular and ecclesiastical power in Church
 matters, it was necessary to declare in the first place upon
 what ground God hath instituted the society of the Church
 by revelation from above, having before constituted civil
 societies of the same persons whereof the Church consisteth
 by the law of nature and nations, and the operation of His
 ordinary providence. Especially, seeing that Christianity
 addresseth itself to all nations, and therefore intendeth to
 constitute one Church of all civil societies which embrace the
 same. For seeing it is manifest that religion hath always
 been a very general title of many wars and commotions
 against the public peace, and that therefore all states must
 needs be jealous of that religion which asks no leave of the
 state to believe what it believes, but professes an obligation
 of believing, though never so contrary to the laws of the
 state, it appears to have been requisite that there should be
 in Christianity some condition that might clear it from this
 jealousy; especially, because one society of the Church, con-
 sisting of the persons which constitute many states, must
 needs be concluded in point of conscience by a power of the
 Church not derived from that of the state, and so, possibly,
 the subjects of a state be concluded in conscience by strangers
 to that state, as they are members of the Church.

[Grounds
of the
power of
Church
and state
respect-
ively.]

§ 5. This is the difficulty which was to be removed in the
 beginning of this Discourse, that it might appear no ways
 prejudicial to civil societies, that God should institute one
 society of the Church, to consist of all persons of several

[The
power
of the
Church
no pre-
judice to
the state.]

CHAP. ^{1.} states that profess Christianity. And the removing of this difficulty consists in the right understanding of Christ's cross, and the profession of it, which is the substance of Christianity. For if we be called to the cross of Christ by our Christianity, we cannot thereby be called to any advantage,⁶ estate, or possession of this world, which we have not by our quality in the state. And when it is said^d that temporal dominion is not founded in grace, it is as much as if it were said that it is not founded in Christianity, because the great grace of God in giving Christ is the ground of all other grace tending to life everlasting. Now if Christianity import no right, no interest, no advantage of this world, but maintaineth the state of this world in the same condition which it findeth when the world embraces Christianity, because it obligeth all men to yield obedience to sovereign powers—which maintain all men in possession of their rights—for conscience sake, then is the difficulty removed, neither can it be prejudicial to states, that the persons whereof they consist are called by God to a society of the Church, subsisting by the grant and patent of God, and not of any state.

[What constitutes
the society
of the
Church.]

§ 6. If it be thus, the question will be asked, in the next place, how a society of men can subsist in this world, without any privilege or right of this world? and seeing it must be the grant of some privilege from God which the world gives not, that must make the Church a society, community, corporation, or spiritual commonwealth, what this privilege is,⁷ and wherein it consisteth? For to the constitution of this society there goes more than to believe the faith with the heart, which being of itself invisible, cannot be sufficient to constitute the society of the Church, which must be visible: more than to profess Christianity to the world; for so do they, we see, that dispute that there is no such thing as any society of the Church, because they suppose not that Christianity obligeth them to communicate in the public service of God, and the ordinances wherein it consisteth: but this being supposed, together with the condition upon which men are admitted to Christianity, as the condition upon which they communicate in the same, there needs nothing else to make the Church such a society as we speak of.

^d Chap. i. sect. 4.

§ 7. It may perhaps seem strange that this privilege of holding assemblies for the public service of God*, and the obligation which all Christians are under of communicating in the same, should be advanced for the ground upon which all the right of the Church standeth, seeing it is but collected by consequence, and not expressly laid down in the Scriptures, that there is such a precept or privilege. For that this is the ground upon which the society of the Church standeth, and the source from whence all the right thereof issueth, is not matter of faith or salvation, but of theological discourse, by consequence of reason to be drawn out of the Scripture, without which they may be as good Christians, which, without it, cannot acquit themselves of those difficulties which he, that knoweth the ground from whence the rights of the Church by consequence of reason may be deduced, shall be able to resolve.

CHAP.
I.

[The society of the Church founded on the right of holding assemblies.]

§ 8. Here then we have a privilege, because granted by God against all the powers of the world, not as to use any force of this world to defend ourselves in it, for then should the power of the sword depend upon the constitution of the Church; but as to God, to secure Christians in conscience to God, in case they disobey the powers of the world, to whom they are always bound to be subject, when they forbid them to communicate in the service of God at the assemblies of the Church, which God commandeth: but no privilege of this world, which counts it no advantage to suffer for that duty to God, which flesh and blood could spare with ease. And by virtue of this patent or charter-privilege from God, the Church is constituted a visible society and community of all Christians, though to an invisible purpose.

[against all the powers of the world.]

§ 9. It will not be out of the way to remember here a passage of Pliny's Epistles, x. 97^l, by which it may appear how the assemblies of the Church were forbidden by the Romans, when he says that the apostate Christians pleaded for themselves, that they had not frequented the assemblies

[Assemblies of the Church forbidden by the heathen.]

* Chap. i. sect. 5.

† Alii ab indice nominati, esse se Christianos dixerunt, et mox negaverunt. fuisse quidem sed desisse, quidam ante trimum, quidam ante plures annos, non nemo etiam ante viginti quinque Affirmabant autem,

hanc fuisse summam vel culpe suae, vel erroris, quod ipsam facere desisse post edictum meum. quo secundum mandata tua heteras esse veteram.—Plin. Ep. p. 240. Oxon. 1677

CHAP. I. of the Church, since that, according to the instructions of Trajan, he had by his edict interdicted corporations, which he calls *hetærias*, and the laws *collegia*, or colleges, *Digest.* xlvii. 22^s. For seeing on the one side Tertullian, *De Jejuniis*, cap. xiii.^b, argueth upon supposition that the assemblies of Christians were not against the laws when he wrote; on the other side, it appears by the Laws 1 and 3 ff. *de Collegiis et Corporibus*¹, that the emperors, by their instructions to the governors of provinces, and the senate by their decrees, did make such societies unlawful as often as they found cause; it seems that, so often as they pleased, they comprised the Christians within those laws; and that when the Christians were comprised in those laws, their assemblies were thereby interdicted, as they were by Pliny's edict.

[Christians and Jews originally not distinguished.]

§ 10. Josephus truly, *Antiq.* xiv. 17¹, recordeth a decree of Julius Cæsar, by which he declareth that, when he interdicted other societies of that nature, he excepted the assemblies of the Jews; so that, since it appears that for divers years after the death of our Lord, the Christians went for Jews without distinction at Rome, it is probable that at the first they were not inquired into by any law of this kind, because the Jews were not liable to the like. But that when they were inquired into, they held themselves tied to assemble, notwithstanding these laws, appears by Pliny, because it is manifest that those who pleaded for themselves, that they had left the assemblies of the Church, were apostates^k.

^a See note i below.

^b Itaque si et ex hominis edicto, et in unum omnes *ταπεινοφρόνησιν* agitas, quomodo in nobis ipsam quoque unitatem jejunationum et Xerophagiarum et stationum denotatis? nisi forte in senatus consulta et in principum mandata coitionibus opposita delinquimus. Conventus autem illi stationibus prius et jejunationibus operati; dolere cum dolentibus, et ita demum congaudere gaudentibus norunt. Si et ista solennia, quibus tunc præsens patrociniatus est sermo, nos quoque in diversis provinciis fungimur in spiritu invicem representati, lex est sacramenti. — pp. 987, 988. ed. Paim. Rothomag. 1602.

¹ Mandatis principibus præcipitur Præsidibus provinciarum, ne patientur esse [collegia] sodalitia, neve milites collegia in castris habeant. Sed per-

mittitur tenuioribus stipem mensuam conferre: dum tamen semel in mense coeant, ne sub prætextu hujusmodi illicitum collegium coeat. Quod non tantum in urbe, sed et in Italia et in provinciis locum habere divus quoque Severus rescripit, § 1. sed religionis causa coire non prohibentur: dum tamen per hoc non fiat contra senatus consultum, quo illicita collegia arcentur.

² Καὶ γὰρ Γάιος Καίσαρ, ὁ ἡμετέρος στρατηγὸς καὶ ἑπαρχος, ἐν ᾧ διατάγματι καλῶν θιάσους συνάγεσθαι κατὰ πόλιν, μόνους τούτους οὐκ ἐνώλησεν, ὅτε χρήματα συνισφίρειν, ὅτε σύνδειπνα ποιεῖν. Ὅμοιος δὲ κήγῳ τοὺς ἄλλους θιάσους καλῶν, τοῖς μόνους ἐπιτρέψαι κατὰ τὰ πάτρια ἔθνη καὶ νόμιμα συνάγεσθαι τε καὶ ἰσταςθαι. — cap. x. § 8. p. 630. ed. Hudson. Oxon. 1720.

^k See note f above.

§ 11. This privilege of holding assemblies, granted Christianity by Divine right, on purpose to constitute the community of the Church, is supposed in that notable discourse of St. Paul, Eph. iv. 4—16, wherein the Apostle declareth, as I have shewed, p. 208¹, that God hath appointed two sorts of graces in His Church, which may be distinguished by the terms of corporal and spiritual; corporal, in supporting the assemblies thereof by the goods of this world; and spiritual, in edifying the Church to the perfection of Christianity at those assemblies. So that the end of all the graces which God hath given His Church, being the edification of the Church, and the means of that edification the frequentation of the assemblies thereof, and the condition of that means the unity of the Church, it must needs appear that the Apostle 11 supposeth a society of the Church, because he argueth upon the means which God hath provided to maintain the visible assemblies thereof in unity, so that all might be edified at those assemblies to perfection in Christianity.

§ 12. For seeing the unity of ecclesiastical assemblies importeth the communion of all Christians in all the offices of Divine service, it is manifest that he which requireth the unity of ecclesiastical assemblies, supposeth a society of the Church to procure and maintain the same. But it is not this passage of St. Paul alone wherein this privilege is supposed, intimated, or expressed, but wheresoever there is mention in any part of Scriptures of any ordinance of the service of God instituted or exercised at the assemblies of God's faithful people—provided that it may appear otherwise by the Scripture, to be common to the law and the Gospel—there you have the charter or patent of this grant and privilege, and, by consequence, of the society of the Church founded upon it.

§ 13. But though Erastus securely taketh it for granted that Christian states have right to exercise their sovereign power in Church matters, because it was so in the synagogue^m; yet I do not understand how he would convince 12 them that at this time deny this consequence among usⁿ;

CHAP.
I.

[How
St. Paul
speaks of
the ground
of the right
of the
Church.]

[Church
and state
the same
accord-
ing to
Erastus.]

¹ Chap. iv. sect. 47, 48.

^m Non video cur hodie non debeat magistratus Christianus idem facere, quod in republica Judæorum facere a Deo jure est.—Thesis lxxiii. p. 60.

Peslar. 1588.

ⁿ "Observing that very much of Erastus's strength, and much of his followers' confidence, lieth in the Old Testament and Jewish Church, which

CHAP. I. seeing there is so much difference between the law and the Gospel, between the Church and the synagogue, that that which is held in the one cannot be presumed to hold under the other, without a reason common to both. And so far as that reason prevails, and no further, must the power and interest of states in Church matters be understood to prevail. And truly, there is a saying of St. Jerome's, which may justly move a tender spirit to doubt whether this interest of states in Church matters be from God or not; for seeing it is most true, and visible to experience, which he says, *Ecclesiam postquam cepit habere Christianos magistratus, factam esse opibus majorem, virtutibus autem minorem*^o; "That the Church, since it began to have Christian magistrates, is become greater in wealth or power, but less in virtue;" and that it is a presumption in reason, that that which goeth before is the cause of that which followeth upon it, when no other cause appeareth; well may it be doubted^p that the interest of secular powers in Church matters is not from God; from which so great a decay of Christianity proceedeth, which must not be imputed to any thing which God hath appointed. To which agreeth that legend in the life of Pope Sylvester, which saith, that when Constantine had endowed the Church so largely,¹² there was a voice from Heaven heard to say, *Hodie venenum effusum est in Ecclesiam*^q, "To-day is there poison poured out upon the Church."

—as they aver—knew no such distinction as civil government and Church government; civil justice and Church discipline; I have thought good first of all to remove that great stumbling-block, that our way may afterward lie fair and plain before us. I do heartily acknowledge, that what we find to be an ordinance or an approved practice in the Jewish Church, ought to be a rule and pattern to us, such things only excepted which were typical or temporal, that is, for which there were special reasons proper to that infancy of the Church, and not common to us. Now if our opposites could prove that the Jewish Church was nothing but the Jewish state, and that the Jewish Church government was nothing but the Jewish state government, and that the Jews had never any supreme Sanhedrin, but one only, and that civil,

and such as had the temporal coercive power of magistracy—which they will never be able to prove—yet there are divers considerable reasons for which that could be no precedent to us."—Gillespie's *Aaron's Rod*, pp. 1, 2. London, 1646.

^o *Scribere enim disposui. . . . ab adventu Salvatoris usque ad nostram ætatem, id est, ab Apostolis usque ad nostri temporis sæcem, quomodo et per quos Christi Ecclesia nata sit et adulta, persecutionibus creverit, et martyris coronata sit. et postquam ad Christianos principes venerit potentia quidem et divitiis major, sed virtutibus minor facta sit.*—*Vita Malehi Monachi*, coll. 90, 91. tom. iv. ed. Ben.

^p See note u, sect. 17, below.

^q Nam cito post Ascensionem ejus, qui infra annum quadringentesimum ejus ordinationem præcipuam in do-

§ 14. The reason then which here I render, upon which the kings of God's ancient people had that power in matters of religion, which by the Scriptures we know they did exercise, I hope will appear reasonable to them that have perused the fourth chapter, and seen how it is not destructive, but cumulative, to that which by the law, in matters of the law, is given to the consistory^r. And since it accrued to the king not by the law, because not constituted by it, but by the desire of the people, admitted and assented unto by God, by which he became head of a people already in covenant with God, what difference is there between this case, and the case of a whole people, together with the powers of the same, converted to Christianity, but this, that the Israelites were in covenant with God before they were under kings—for though Moses and the judges had regal power, yet it was not by a standing law—Christian nations, under the powers of the world, before they became Christian. Unless it be, further, that the Church is one of all nations, the synagogue of equal extent with the people of Israel, which is not of consequence to this purpose.

§ 15. The Apostle, rendering a reason why he commands secular powers to be prayed for at the assemblies of the Church, 1 Tim. ii. 2—4, assigneth the end of them to be, "That we may lead a quiet life in all godliness and honesty." Which is manifestly said in respect of secular powers that are not Christian: for of them the Church justly expects protection and quietness, paying them prayers, subjection, and duties. But he adds further this reason: "Because this is good and acceptable to God our Saviour, who would have no man to perish, but to come to the knowledge of His truth." If then the will of God be that the sovereign powers of the Gentiles be converted to Christianity^s, is it not His will that they employ themselves to the advancement of it, not only as Christians, but as sovereigns, which cannot be expected from Gentiles? There is reason therefore to ground this interest

CHAP.
I.
[Power of
the Jewish
kings in the
Church.]

[Christian
kings, as
such, to
protect the
Church.]

tando Ecclesiam reversarunt, et per consequens Antichristum in deturpationem sponse sue multipliciter procrearunt. Unde variant chronica, quod in dotatione Ecclesie, vox audita est in aere angelica, tunc temporis sic dicentis, hodie effusum est venenum in

Ecclesiam sanctam Dei.—Wiclif Dial. lib. iv. cap. xviii. fol. 130, 131. A.D. 1325.

^r See sect. 5.

^s See chap. i. sect. 12; and chap. iv. sect. v.

CHAP. I. upon the declared will of God, concerning the calling of the Gentiles; the Apostle having declared that their secular powers are invited to the faith, and the prophecies of the Old Testament having declared that their kings and queens should come to the Church and advance it, Psalm ii. 10—12; lxxii. 10, 11; Es. xlix. 23; lx. 13.

[The interpretation of the Apocalypse.]

§ 16. This reason is far more effectual to me by the prophecies left the Church in the Apocalypse; the main scope and drift whereof I am much persuaded to be nothing else but to foretell the conversion of the Roman empire to Christianity, and the punishment of the heathens that persecuted the same. For if the intent of those prophecies be to shew that it was God's will that the empire should become Christian, and that the reign of the saints upon earth there foretold is nothing else but the advancement of Christianity to the government of the empire, and, by consequence, of other kingdoms into which the empire was to be dissolved, it cannot be doubted that Christian powers attain the same right in matters of religion, which the kings of God's ancient people always had by the making of Christianity the religion of any state. This opinion it was not my purpose to publish at the writing of this Discourse, because it is like to become a mark of contradiction to the most part, being possessed, more or less, of a far other sense. But having considered since how many and horrible scandals are on foot by the consequences of that sense—so that I cannot condemn myself of giving scandal by publishing the best means I can see to take it away—and having met with another reason, necessitating me to declare it for the effectual proceeding of this Discourse, I will put it down in the Review of the last chapter, where that necessity rises, desiring those that seek further satisfaction in this reason, to read it there for that purpose¹.

§ 17. As for the objection that was made² from the decay

¹ Review, chap. v. sect. 29.

² "Yet we are not ignorant that when the ministry came to have agros, domos, locationes, relicula, equos, latifundia, as Chrysost. Hom. 86. in Matth., that then religio peperit divitias, et filia devoravit matrem, 'religion brought forth riches, and the daughter devoured the mother,' and then there was a voice of

angels heard from heaven, *Hodie venenum in Ecclesiam Christi cecidit*. 'This day is poison shed into the Church of Christ.'

"And then it was that Jerome complained *Christi Ecclesia postquam ad Christianos principes venit potentius gaudem et Divitius major, sed virtutibus minor facta est*. Then also was that

of Christianity, after the powers of the world protected it, and enriched the Church, it is a mere mistake of that which is accidental, for the true cause. For the coming in of the world to the Church is one thing, and the power of the state in Church matters is another, though this depend upon that: and it is true that the coming of the world into the Church was the decay of Christianity, but the power of the state in the Church is a prop to sustain it from utter ruin. Many people are many waters, Rev. xvii. 15, but the Gospel is the wine that cometh from the vine in the Gospel, John xv. 1. This wine, then, mixed with much water, that is, the Gospel received by much people, retaineth not the true relish in the works of them that profess it. David saith of himself, Ps. xviii. 44, 45, "A people whom I have not known shall serve me; at the report of me they will obey me; strangers will lie to me." At the report of David's victories, strangers submitted unto him; some of whom, nevertheless, were false-hearted subjects.

§ 18. This is the case of them that profess Christianity, and live not according to it, who seem to have learned Machiavel's principle, to join themselves to that party which they mean to destroy*. As the multitude that came with the Israelites out of Egypt, upon sight of God's miracles, set them on murmuring against God in their straits, Exod. xii. 38; Num. xi. 4. The cold of winter concentrates the heat of the stomach, and fortifies digestion; so the appearance of perse-

CHAP.
I.—
[Necessity
of secular
protec-
tion,]

[especi-
ally when
persecu-
tion has
ceased,]

conjunction found true, that when they had wooden chalices, they had golden priests, but when their chalices were golden, their priests were wooden.

"And though we do not think there is any such impossibility, but that large revenues may be happily managed with an humble sociableness, yet it is very rare to find. History tells us that the superfluous revenues of the Bishops not only made them neglect their ministry, but further ushered in their stately and pompous attendance, which did so elevate their spirits, that they insulted over their brethren both clergy and people, and gave occasion to others to hate and abhor the Christian faith; which Eusebius sets forth fully in the pride of Paulus Samosatenus, who, notwithstanding the meanness and obscurity of his birth, afterwards grew

to that height of insolency and pride in all his carriage, especially in that numerous train that attended him in the streets, and in his stately throne raised after the manner of kings and princes, that *fidem nostram invidiam et odio propter fastum et superbiam cordis illius factu fuerit obnoxia*, 'the Christian faith was exposed to envy and hatred through his pride.'—*Smectymnus*, sect. xvi.

* Ma se sono di qualità che a fargli guerra aperta le forze loro non bastano, debbono con ogni industria cercare di farsegli amici, ed a questo effetto entrare per tutte quelle vie che giudicano esser necessarie, seguendo i piaceri suoi, e pigliando diletto di tutte quelle cose, che veggono quelle diletarsi.—*Discorsi*, sopr. la prima Deca di Tito Livio, Libr. iii. cap. ii. Opere Machiavelli, tom. iii. p. 265. Firenze, 1782.

— cannot fortified the primitive Christians to digest it. But the heat of the air strikes forth natural heat, and disposes to putrefaction: so the peace of the Church dissolveth the best resolutions for Christianity. For as the stomach cannot order and govern that abundance of crude and undigested humours, which the weakness of natural heat breeds, so neither can the discipline of the Church hold those in compass that come not to Christianity with so strong a resolution as to suffer for it. The cause, then, of the corruption of discipline, is the coming of all sorts to Christianity, whether for fashion's sake, or for hope of advantage, which Eusebius* hath observed that it was visible in Constantine's time.

[To the
argument of
the
Church's
discipline.]

§ 19. As for the power of the state in Church matters, it is ordained for a counter-poison to this mischief, to give that force to the discipline of the Church which carnal Christians would not submit to otherwise. The Apostles, in their time, had a power to inflict bodily punishment upon offenders, as St. Peter upon Ananias and Sapphira, St. Paul upon Elymas, which, in excommunication, he calls delivering to Satan, [1 Cor. v. 5.] because by some plague on the body, it appeared that they came within his power by being excommunicate. This power it is which the Apostle calls "the rod," 1 Cor. iv. 21. and of it his meaning is when he says, 2 Cor. x. 6, "that he was ready to punish all disobedience when their obedience should be complete." To me, therefore, it seems more than probable, which hath been conceived of late[†], that God provided this extraordinary gift expressly for those times when the Church was destitute of the protection of the secular powers, as, on the contrary, that against the time that this gift ceased, He provided the protection of secular powers for the maintenance of Christianity.

[Puritan
objection
to the
Church's
power in
secular
affairs.]

§ 20. These things thus debated, it will be worth the considering how, by the appointment of God, it necessarily comes to pass that the power of the Church, founded upon

* Οἱ μὲν γὰρ φορημαὶ βασιλικῆς ἀπελθὲν οὐδὲ τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν ἴσμεν οὐκ εἶναι, τὸν καὶ οὐκ ἀσθενεσμένον Παρ' ἑαυτοῦ, εἰρωμένη τὴν σωτηρίαν πορεύμενος.—De Vita Constantini, lib. iii. cap. lvi. p. 322. ed. Vales.

† Per virginam μεταφορικῶς intelligit

potestatem immittendi aut mortem, ut Ananiam et Sapphiram; aut excelsam, ut Elymam, aut in iras. Ita tunc Deus supplebat id quod magistratus Ecclesie prestare debent, et tunc non prestabant.—Grotii Comm. in 1 Cor. iv. 21. p. 780. Londini, 1679.

ty mean and inconsiderable privilege, as to the world, of CHAP.
 nbling for the public service of God, comes to be of L.
 test consideration in swaying the weightiest affairs of
 stian kingdoms and commonwealths. And in conse-
 ce thereunto, not what discretion, but what justice there
 those vain discourses, which require of the clergy of
 times that meanness, and poverty, and contemptible
 e, and condition of living, which our Lord and His
 ples spent their time in from the beginning. Not con-
 ing that, by the same reason, the people of the Church
 not continue such as now they are, but must return to
 uch as then they were; that the right of the Church
 ot be maintained in effect without a power answerable
 he body that is to be governed by it, nor that power
 tained without a support proportionable. And that
 stianity is not necessarily seen, in having or not having
 or that estate in this world, but in using the power, with
 meekness, and charity, and uprightness; the goods of this
 d, with that temperance, continence, and freedom of
 b, which Christianity requires. Nor is it to be doubted
 the Church was poisoned with those riches which the
 stianity of the empire cast upon it; but not by having
 riches, but by the manners of the people, which, coming
 the Church corrupted with the love of them, must needs,
 onsequence, corrupt the clergy whom they came so near.
 ne, that the reformation of the Church in a Christian
 consists not in stripping the Church either of power or
 nsions, but in providing better laws for the use of them,
 the execution of the same,

For surely it was a right heavenly
 and spoken as an oracle of the
 of governing the Church which
 ey of the primitive Church re-
 th, was heard from heaven in the
 of Constantine the Great, that
 Emperour, that is to say, that the
 d was poisoned with riches. For
 time to pass, that they fell from
 to idleness, from temperance to
 and wantonness, from the mean
 of bishops and ministers to affect,
 paise to unstate and follow the
 licence and majesty of lords and

"This condition, I not only wish not
 to our Bishops, but judge and esteem
 it altogether intolerable, and by no
 means to be suffered, as a means to
 hinder their labour and diligence in
 their office, as a means to make them
 wanton, lascivious and proud, and agreed
 not with that mean estate that ought to
 appear in Bishops, but is most contrary
 both to the ordinance, and also to the
 examples of Christ our Saviour and His
 Apostles." A Full and Plain Decla-
 ration of Eccles. Discipl. p. 63. re-
 printed 1617.

CHAP. I. § 21. You may have observed, that in the premises¹ I have declared the society of the Church to be founded upon a command from God to all Christians of communicating in the public service of God—producing an obligation to God, and therefore to the world a privilege of doing it, though the powers of the world forbid it to be done—and upon a law for the condition under which they are admitted to communicate in it. Of this precept, or of the obligation and privilege depending upon it, I have hitherto made evidence. That which remains to make the proof of my purpose complete, is to shew that there is a law given by God for the condition under which men are admitted to communicate with the Church; for seeing the execution of this law must needs be committed to the Church, that is, to Christians—not supposing for the present the Church to be a society, but only a multitude of Christians, nor disputing what part of the Church, or what persons in the Church, are trusted with the execution thereof in behalf of the Church—upon this trust followeth immediately that common power which constituteth the society of the Church.

§ 22. Which power, because it is founded upon the obligation or the privilege of holding assemblies for the common service of God, therefore the act wherein it is immediately seen is the voiding of any man's right to communicate in the offices of Divine service at the common assemblies of the Church for that purpose. I say it is immediately seen in this act when it is complete: otherwise it is to be conceived that as it is exercised so also it may be said to be seen more immediately in all those acts which tend to excommunication, as degrees or steps to it, which is the utmost that the Church, as the Church, can do, being the taking away of a Christian's life as to the Church, as the greatest works of state justice are the taking away of the natural or civil being of any member of it.

§ 23. Seeing, then, the utmost power of the Church is used in excommunication, it follows that it is evidenced and seen by excommunication; that is to say, that all reasons which shew the Church to be endowed with the power of excommunication, do shew it to be constituted a society, commu-

¹ See chap. i. sect. 7.

22 nity, corporation, or spiritual commonwealth, by the power of doing it. Now the law which is the condition upon which men are admitted to communicate with the Church, is nothing else but the profession of Christianity, upon which the Apostles of our Lord were first enabled to constitute Churches, by baptizing them whom they should win to be disciples according to the commission of our Lord, Matt. xxviii. 19; those only being disciples which undertook Christianity, and therefore were afterwards called Christians, [Acts xi. 26,] being first called disciples, even after their baptism. CHAP. I.

§ 24. Now Christianity consisting not only in believing whatsoever our Lord Christ revealed, but in the acknowledgment of an obligation to do whatsoever He commanded; it follows, that this law of Christianity consists of all precepts, of things to be believed, and things to be done, which our Lord Christ hath declared to His Church. And not in these alone, in regard that our Lord hath commanded Christianity not only to be believed, but also to be professed at the utmost peril of life and estate; therefore I said that the law, which is the condition of communicating with the Church, is the profession of Christianity which intitleth to baptism.

§ 25. This profession, seeing it cannot be made but to
23 Christians that know what Christianity is, and thereby are [The power of the keys.] able to judge of the profession made, how agreeable to Christianity; of the person making the profession, how sincerely, how cordially he does it, it followeth that the power of the Church is committed to them that are trusted to judge of the profession of Christianity, every one according to the interest which he justly pretendeth in that judgment. Therefore is this power called the power of the keys, because it openeth the door to the communion of all ordinances of Divine service in the Church, when it findeth the profession both agreeable to Christianity and to the heart and life of him that makes it, and shuts the same when it findeth things otherwise. Therefore is it called the power of remitting and retaining sins, because God hath promised the free grace of remission of sins to all that make true profession of Christianity; the benefit of which promise, as it is good to him that makes such profession by virtue of his own act as to

CHAP. I. God, so by virtue of the act that admits of the same it is good as to the Church, though it cannot be good as to God, unless it be good also as to the Church, by reason of the command of God, that every Christian be a member of the Church.

[Case of
a person
unjustly
excommuni-
cated.]

§ 26. For if it were morally possible that any man should attain to the knowledge, and submit to the obedience of Christianity in such an estate of life, and such society of this world, wherein it were not morally possible for him to hold communion with the Church, or those who, in behalf of the Church, by the laws of it are enabled to admit him to the communion of the same by baptism, I would make no scruple to think that man in the state of salvation without baptism or the Church. And the same is to be said of all those that cannot be admitted to the communion of the Church without professing or doing something contrary to Christianity, which is the case of all that stand excommunicate upon unjust causes, so that their Christianity obligeth them to communicate with no part of the true Church. For seeing the unity of the Church requires that he that is excommunicate to one part of the Church, be excommunicate to all the Church^a—seeing the unity of the whole cannot be preserved, unless the whole make good each act of the part, which it hath power to do—it follows, that he who is excommunicate for an unjust cause, cannot with his Christianity communicate with any part of the Church, his title to heaven remaining entire^b.

§ 27. But this case ceasing, the remission of sins depends upon the Church, by reason of the profession of Christianity, which, as God requires every Christian to make, so he enables²³

^a See chap. iii. sect. 63.

^b Si excommunicatio iusta causa sit destituta, ipsaque qui hac censura fertur ut nocens, revera sit innocens, excommunicatio hæc a Doctoribus dicitur injusta; nec per eam excommunicatum coram Deo ligari docent. Neque enim ministri Ecclesie potestatem habent coram Deo, seu in oculis iudicis illam, qui non prius proprio decto seipsum ligavit. aut gratia et donis Spiritus Sancti privare, qui in se prius Spiritum Sanctum non extinxit —

Hinc tamen nullatenus consequens

est, injustam censuram semper posse palam contineri ac neglegi, et nullatenus esse timendam. Inprimis enim a subdito eatenus timenda Superioris sententia, ut eam expendat, vereturque dum eam propter suam culpam quam ipse forsitan non satis apprehendit, non mereatur.

Hæc sensu intelligendum quod ex S. Gregorio refertur xi. q. 3. Can. 2. Sententia Pastoris sive iusta sive injusta fuerit, timenda est.—Van. Espen. Par. iii. Tit. xi. cap. xi. §§ 12, 18, 19. tom. ii. pp. 381, 383. Lovan. 1753.

the Church to admit. And this is the argument for the power of excommunication^c, which is drawn from the power of admitting to baptism, evidenced by divers Scriptures, and divers particulars in the primitive practice of the Church, agreeable to the same. And truly, it was enough to point at some particulars, for he that would undertake to produce all that is to be had, in the records of the Church, to depose for this reason and this right of the Church, might easily fill great volumes with nothing else.

§ 28. Nevertheless, I will here add one particular more, because it seems this reason of the right and interest of the Church is evidently seen in it; and it will not require many allegations, seeing it is a known rule of the ancient Church that clinics should not be admitted to the clergy^d, alleged by Cornelius of Rome to Fabius of Antiochia, in Eusebius, *Eccles. Hist.* vi. 43^e, against Novatianus, the father of the Novatians, to shew that he could not be Bishop of Rome in opposition to him, being made presbyter contrary to that rule. What was then the reason of this rule, and what were they that were called clinics? It is very evident that there were very many in the primitive times that believed Christianity, but durst not profess it, because it was no prejudice to believe it; but to profess it, so as to be baptized, and come under the discipline of the Church, might be a matter of life and death in case of persecution. Besides, believing and not professing, that is, not pretending to baptism, they avoided the strictness of ecclesiastical discipline.

§ 29. What should the Church do in the case of these men, when they came to demand their baptism, undertaking the rule of Christianity? Surely, as they could not utterly exclude them from the Church that had never offended, or failed in that which they had undertook to it, so of necessity they must stand at a greater distance to such persons, as having their Christianity more in suspicion than otherwise. Wherefore, in danger of death^e, they were not to refuse them

^c Chap. i. sect. 13—18.

^d Ἐάν ποῶν τι φωτισθῇ. Εἰς πρεσβύτερον ὄγεσθαι οὐ δύναται.—*Conc. Novatiana*. A.D. 311. Can. xii. Labbei, tom. I. col. 1513. ed. Venet.

^e Ὅτι διακινδυνεύοντες ὑπὸ παντὸς τοῦ κλήρου, ἀλλὰ καὶ λαϊκῶν πολλῶν ἐπει

μὴ ἔξω ἦν τὸν ἐπὶ κλήσιν διὰ νόσον περιχυθέντα, ὥσπερ καὶ οὗτος, εἰς κλήρον τινα γενέσθαι.—p. 245. ed. Vales.

^f Gentiles, si in infirmitate desideraverint sibi manum imponi; si fuerit eorum ex aliqua parte vita honesta, placuit, eis manum imponi, et fieri

CHAP.
I.

baptism; but in case they recovered again, it was very reasonable that they which had attained their baptism only in consideration of the danger of death, and must have given better trial of themselves, otherwise, before they were admitted, should therefore stand so far suspected afterwards as not to be admitted to the clergy, which required a greater proficiencie in Christianity than that which qualified a man only for baptism. These, then, are they which were called *clinici*, because they were baptized in bed, as requiring their baptism when they found themselves upon the bed of their sickness, which might be that of their death. And this is the reason of the rule, that they should not be admitted to the clergy: and by this reason the right and interest of the Church is evident, in admitting the profession of Christianity in those that thereby demanded to be admitted to baptism.

[The discipline of penance a ground of the Church's power.]

§ 30. In the next argument*, drawn from the discipline of penance, it may be thought that I make it a difficult task to prove the power of excommunication to belong to the Church, when I premise to that purpose an assumption so hard to believe as this is, that the Church, by the discipline of the Apostles, as well as by the practice and rules of the primitive times, was not bound to re-admit to the communion of the Church those that had fallen from their Christianity by sins most destructive to the same. But it is to be considered, that to the validity of this argument it is only requisite to shew, that those that had fallen were to sue to be admitted to penance in the first place, that, upon satisfaction given of the sincerity of their resolution towards Christianity, they might be re-admitted to the communion of the Church. All which supposeth, that before such satisfaction given, they had forfeited the same.

[Re-admission of the lapsed difficult.]

§ 31. And the argument being effectual upon these terms, must needs convince so much the more, if it can further appear, that in case of the most heinous offences it was in the disposition of the Church to re-admit them to communion or not. Add, then, to the evidence hereof, the example of

Christianos.—Concil. Eliber. A.D. 305.
Can. xxxix. Labbei, tom. i. col. 997.
See also Concil. Paris. vi. A.D. 829.

cap. viii. *Ib.*, tom. ix. col. 715. ed. Venet.

* Chap. i. sectt. 19, 20.

Marcion, father of the Marcionites, in the beginning of his heresy in Epiphanius^b, who, being put out of the Church, and denied penance by his own father, a Bishop of great piety and zeal in Pontus—because, professing continence, he had corrupted a virgin—and afterwards at Rome—because of the rule by which the whole Church subsisteth, to make good the acts of all parts thereof, within the power of those parts, unless voided by superiors—fell hereupon to set up his heresy. And truly, so rigid a position as that of the Novatians, if it be considered aright, could very hardly have found any followers if it had been unheard of in the Church.

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I.

§ 32. But though the Montanists were rejected at Rome, as to the point of receiving adulterers^c, seeing yet the question remained concerning apostates so doubtful as to give Novatianus a party in it, what can be more manifest than that they had the pretence of Apostolical discipline, and the 20 Scriptures, to set off their schism with? A thing still more evident, because that, from the relation of that which passed between Cornelius of Rome and Fabius of Antiochia, in Eusebius, *Eccles. Hist.* vi. 43, it appeareth that the Church of Antiochia remained for a time in suspense, whether to acknowledge Cornelius or Novatianus for the right Bishop. Whereupon the Bishops of the East, writing to Julius of Rome, from a council held at Antiochia, in Sozomenus, *Eccles. Hist.* iii. 8), do reckon it as a motive to persuade him

[Show of reason for the heresy of Montanus and Novatian.]

^a Οὗτοι τὸ γένος Ποιτικὸς ὑπῆρχεν, . . . τὸν δὲ πρῶτον αὐτοῦ βίον παρθενίαν δῆθεν ἔσκει μονάζων γὰρ ὑπῆρχε, καὶ οὕτως Ἐπισκόπου τῆς ἡμετέρας ἁγίας Καθολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας. χρόνου δὲ ἐρωκόντος προσφθίρεται παρθένω τινί, . . . καὶ τὴν φθῆραν ἀπεργασάμενος, ἐξεοῖται τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ὑπὸ τοῦ ἰδίου πατρὸς . . . Πολλὰ δῆθεν ὁ Μαρκίων καθικετεύσας, καὶ αἰτήσας μετάνοιαν, οὐκ ἔλαμψε παρα τοῦ ἰδίου πατρὸς. . . . Πι τοίνυν οὐκ ἔτυχε παρ' αὐτοῦ διὰ τῆς πονηρίας ὧν ἔδωκετο, μὴ φέρων τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν πολλῶν χλεύην, ἀποδιδράσκει τῆς σόλωνος τῆς αὐτῆς, καὶ ἀνεῖσιν εἰς τὴν Ῥωμὴν αὐτὴν . . . Καὶ τοῖς ἑ. πρεσβύτοις παροῦσι, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν μαθητῶν τῶν Ἀποστόλων ὁρμημένους συμβάλλον, σίτες συναχθῆναι, καὶ οὐδεὶς αὐτῷ συγκαχώρηκε. Ζήλω λοιπὸν ἐπαρθείς, ὡς οὐκ ἀπειλήθη τὴν προεδρίαν τε καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, ἐπινοεῖ ταῦτα καὶ

προσφεύγει τῇ τοῦ ἀπατεῶντος Κέρδωνος αἵρεσει. Hieron. xlii. num. i. pp. 302, 303, Union. 1682.

^b Chap. i. sect. 10.

^c Οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀθανάσιον καὶ Παῦλον, ἕκαστος τὸν ἑαυτοῦ κατέληψε θρόνον, καὶ τὰς ἰουλίους ἐπιστολὰς διεπέμψαντο τοῖς ἀνὰ τὴν ἑω Ἐπισκόποις· οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς χαλεπῶς ἤντησαν καὶ συλλεγόντες ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ ἀντίγραφον ἰουλίω. . . . εἰς ἐγκλήματα δὲ προσφέροντες ἰουλίω τὰ καινανῆσαι τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀθανάσιον, ἐχαλεπαίνον διὰ ὁβρισμαίνης αὐτῶν τῆς Συνόδου καὶ τῆς ἀποφάσεως ἀναιρεθείσης. . . . ἀνθίσταμεν δὲ τοῖς διδογμένοις, τὰ νουτία προηγόρευσαν· ἐπεὶ καὶ τοὺς πρὸ αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἑω ἱερέας οὐδὲν ἀντιστεῖν ἰσχυρίζοντο, ἥτινα Νουάτιανος τῆς Ῥωμῶν Ἐκκλησίας ἡγάσθη pp. 507, 508. ed. Vales.

desperate, by refusing to re-admit him to the Church—CHAP. I. [lest great evils should result to unity.] which, perhaps, was the case with St. Paul towards the incestuous person at Corinth, whom St. Chrysostom and Theodoret take to be a person qualified in that Church, as I have shewed in the Apostolical Form of Divine Service, p. 120^k, and so, capable to lead a party after him—or, when the multitude and equality of offenders takes away the benefit of example, and teaches them to pardon themselves by making a Church of themselves otherwise—which, if St. Augustine had not said it^l, we might have gathered to have been the case after the persecution of Decius, under Cornelius and St. Cyprian—without doubt the loss of it is a mischief nothing comparable to that which would follow, by dissolving the unity of the Church; and if so near the source of Christianity much were abated, what shall we think must be abated when so much water is mingled with the wine of the Gospel, by admitting good and bad to the marriage of the Lamb?

- 32 § 36. Neither is it my meaning to determine precisely how far the Church may or must abate; yet thus much I will infer for a consequence, that as always there was a difference between the right of communion with the visible Church, and invisible communion with the Church of the first-born, which is the right and title to life everlasting, as between the profession and performance of Christianity; so, seeing the condition of communion with the Church is still released and enlarged more and more, to retain unity in corrupt Christianity, the condition of communion with God remaining always the same, the visible communion of the Church is always a presumption of invisible Christianity, because always necessary to it, though not sufficient alone: and therefore, though not always a reasonable presumption, because so much difference between the condition of visible and invisible, yet always a legal presumption, effectually qualifying men Christians, as to the society of the Church. And this is the reason of that which I say here p. 77^m, that the estate of the Church is then most happy and most pure, when this legal presumption is most reasonable. [Relaxation of the ancient discipline.]

^k Chap. iv. sect. 42.

^m Chap. ii. sect. 32. See below, chap.

^l See Rel. Assembly, ch. iv. sect. 13. ii. sect. 20.

CHAP.
I.

[Binding
and loos-
ing in the
Church—
diverse
from what
it was in
the syna-
gogue.]

§ 37. It is not only true which I say, p. 30ⁿ, that the power of binding and loosing, which the priests and doctors exercised under the law—that is, of declaring this or that to be bound or loose, that is, unlawful or lawful, by the precepts of the law—cannot be that which our Lord meaneth, Matt. xviii. 18, when He saith, “Whatsoever ye bind on earth,” but, also, that the reason holdeth not under the Gospel, to ground a general commission correspondent to the power in force under the law, upon which it may be thought to be said, “Whatsoever ye bind.” For, the reason of this power under the synagogue, was the matter of positive precepts, not commanded because it was good, but good because it was commanded; which, where it was not determined by the law, was to be supplied by the power of the consistory, established Deut. xvii. 8, 12; the determination whereof being declared by authority derived from thence, made any thing lawful or unlawful before God, by virtue of the general precept by which the authority subsisted. For which reason the consistory is to offer sacrifice for the transgression of private persons, as you see here, p. 158ⁿ, so often as they are led into transgression by the consistory deciding amiss. And this reason holds under the Gospel, in regard of matters of positive right, concerning the society of the Church, not determined by any Divine precept. For, if the Church have determined the matter of them, further than it is determined by Divine right, then is that bound or unlawful which is so determined, unless the authority by which it is determined, declare, that the determination is not to take place.

[Things
the subject
of that
power in
the syna-
gogue,
men in the
Church.]

§ 38. This is the effect of that legislative power which I challenge for the Church, chap. iv. from p. 170, and concerns only those positive precepts, which tend to maintain the society of the Church in unity. But in those things which concern the substance of Christianity, because they are commanded as good—the obligation being more ancient than the constitution of the Church, as grounded upon the nature of the subject, and the eternal will of God—this power hath no place, and therefore cannot be understood to be signified by the terms of binding and loosing, as borrowed from the

ⁿ Chap. i. sect. 31.

ⁿ Chap. iii. sect. 71.

language of the Talmud doctors. But whereas, in the syn- CHAP.
I.
agogue it was things or cases, under the Gospel it is persons, that are said to be bound or loose. For, of every case questionable in point of Christianity, there is no infallible authority given to assure all Christians, that, following it, they shall always please God in all actions. But, as it is possible to judge of the state of all persons toward God, upon supposition of their profession, so, there is authority founded in the Church, of binding and loosing, that is, of remitting and retaining sins, by admitting to, or excluding from, the Church.

§ 39. In fine, this interpretation is inconsequent to the words that went afore, "Let him be unto thee as a heathen and a publican;" if we take them in Erastus's sense^p, that thereby our Lord gives leave to sue such before the secular powers of the Romans, as would not stand to the sentence of their own consistories. For this plainly concerns matter of interest, not matter of office, seeing it would be very impertinent so to understand our Lord, as to command them to be sued in the Gentiles' courts, that would not stand to the sentence of the Jews' consistories, in matters of conscience. But, if we understand binding and loosing, according to this opinion^q, to be, declaring this or that to be lawful or unlawful before God, then doth it not concern matter of interest, but

[Erastus' doctrine.]

^p Quare de excommunicatione hic nihil dixit Christus. Longe ergo aliud significant verba hæc, sit tibi tanquam publicanus, quam hæc, sit tibi tanquam excommunicatus, sensus ergo hujus loci hic est: si Ecclesiam non audiat, poteris, in hac causa, sine offendiculo cujusquam sic cum eo agere, ac si cum ethnico vel publicano negotium tibi esset. Qui cum talibus controversiam habebat, cogebatur apud Romanum magistratum causam suam disceptare, — de ethico constat: de publicanis ex eo patet quod Romanorum jurati essent ministri contra suam gentem: quod a Pharisæis et principibus Judæorum, qui eos pro deploratis et nebulonibus habebant, nihil æqui poterant expectare — quod Christus nulli permittit adversus fratrem Judæum, priusquam eo modo reconciliationem requisierit, qui ab ipso est propositus, et olim fuerat in lege præscriptus — Erast. Thes. alv. pp. 31, 32. Pexelav. 1559.

^q "In this phrase of speech the

Lord doth plainly *Talmudise*, therefore the sense of this phrase cannot be so well opened, as by comparing it to their use and custom.

"Keys signify power and authority: both Papists and Protestants agree thus far, but yet there is a great difference between them about the kind of power. The Pope and his clergy will have the keys in this place, to signify the power of government over men's souls and bodies also; . . . many Protestants . . . to signify the power of excommunication. But these interpretations will not agree to the Talmudical sense." . . .

"This text speaks only of that key of power and authority which our Saviour gave unto His Apostles, to preach what was loose, and what was bound in the kingdom of heaven, here upon earth." An Endeavour after the Reconcilement of that long debated and much lamented Difference between the Godly Presbyterians and Independents, p. 30. London, 1648. See chap. i. sect. 3. note n.

CHAP. I. matter of conscience or office. Besides, this interpretation is impertinent to that which follows: "Again, I say unto you, if two of you agree upon earth about any thing, to ask it, it shall be done for them, by My Father which is in heaven. For, where two or three are assembled in My name, there am I in the midst of them."

[Contrary to the practice of the Church under the Apostles.] § 40. Whereas, the interpretation which here is advanced, of binding and loosing the persons of them that are admitted to, or excluded from, the communion of the Church, agreeth with that which went afore: "Let him be to thee as a heathen and a publican;" and no less with that which followeth, tending to declare the means of loosing such as should be so bound, to wit, the prayers of the Church, as hath been declared¹. As for the conceit of Erastus², that this precept of our Lord should concern only the Jews that lived under the Romans, and not be intended for an order to be observed in all ages of the Church, it is so unreasonable, that I find no cause to spend words in destroying it; only, be it remembered, that it is contrary to the order instituted by our Lord and His Apostles, that the differences of Christians should be carried out of the Church, to be pleaded and heard in the courts of the Gentiles, according to that which was practised afore in the synagogue, as hath been said³. So that this sense of Erastus, as you see by that which follows, is contrary to the practice of the Church under the Apostles.

[The power of the Church de jure in foro Constantine.] § 41. As for the reason touched p. 43⁴, that the practice of the Church before Constantine is the best evidence to shew

¹ Chap. i. sect. 32. Prim. Govern., chap. xi. sect. 3.

² Propositum Christi non fuit in hoc capite novam gubernationem, aut exercendæ excommunicationis formam instituere, sed discipulos erudire, quomodo in depellendis privatis injuriis offensionem caverent.

..... Ergo genuinus hujus loci et capitis sensus talis est: Cum frater, hoc est, Judæus, injuriam tibi facit, solus cum tibi reconciliare studeto. Si solus nihil profeceris, duobus aut tribus aliis assumptis idem tentato. Si ne sic quidem to liberare ab injuria poteris, Synedrio, id est, tui populi aut tue religionis magistratui indicato. Quod si hanc etiam audire nolit, sic adversus eum extra cujusquam offen-

sionem agere poteris, quomodo adversus publicanum aut Gentilem injuriam tibi inferentem—qui ad aliud quam Romanorum tribunal se pertrahi non patritur—ageres.—Thes. xli. pp. 25, 26.

Et haecenus quidem, ut opinor, facile convenit omnibus, nempe Christum de Ecclesia locutum, quæ in rerum natam, seu in Judæa, tunc extaret. Porro Christum hoc in loco per Ecclesiam, non multitudinem vel turbam, sed Judaicum Senatam,—*συνέδριον*, *γεροντικον*, *συνάγωγην*—intelligere nos voluisse, argumenta sunt valida.—Thes. xlviii. p. 34. Pesclav. 1589.

³ Chap. i. sect. 33, 34. Rel. Assembl., chap. iv. sect. 16.

⁴ Chap. i. sect. 44.

the proper power and right of it, it is here opportune to resume the distinction made afore, and upon it to frame a general argument against both. Which shall be this. Either
 37 there was a society of the Church by right, as we know there was in point of fact, before Constantine, or there is no such thing to be grounded upon the Scriptures in point of right, but was only an usurpation and imposture of the primitive clergy of the Church. This latter assertion is that which hath been refuted by the premises, proving first^a a privilege, or a precept, of communicating in the service of God, given to the community of Christians; secondly[†], a condition under which they were admitted to communicate and to be Christians, and continued in the same estate.

CHAP.
 I.

§ 42. But, if there were a society of the Church before Constantine, constituted by Divine right, then could not the same have been dissolved, but by the same power that constituted it from the beginning; neither can it be known to be dissolved but by the same evidence by which it appears to have been constituted, that is, unless it can be made to appear by the Scriptures that God ordained it to subsist, only till the Roman empire and other states and kingdoms received Christianity, then to be dissolved into the power of those states being become Christian, which I am confident no man will undertake to shew out of the Scriptures.

[and no
 to be re-
 solved
 into the
 power of
 the state.]

§ 43. If it be said that it subsisted till Constantine, not by
 38 Divine right, but according to Divine right—that is to say, by the power given the Church by God, of ordering those things which were not determined by any Divine precept, and yet became determinable—the case is the same, and the reason is where it was: for, if the Church by the power given it by God immediately, be enabled to make itself a society for the better maintenance and propagation of Christianity, and have executed that power by enabling every part of the Church to maintain itself in the unity of the whole, by the same power, in order to, and dependence upon, the whole, then are all Christians bound by a Divine precept of obeying the governors of the Church, before they can be bound to obey the secular powers in Church matters. The one power being constituted by the immediate revelation and appointment of

[but to be
 regarded
 before it.]

^a See chap. i. sect. 7.

[†] See chap. i. sect. 19. 28

CHAP. I. God in matters concerning the society of the Church; other, constituted indeed by the providence of God executed by man, but enforced by the law of Christianity, to be obeyed in all things not excepted by the same, whereof this is one.

[The power of the Church admitted by the Empire.]

§ 44. And, if the consent of the Christian world can be at any moment, in a matter wherein the clergy are parties concerned, as they must needs be, but must challenge their right at their utmost hazard, it is not possible to give a more pregnant instance for the right of excommunication in the Church than the troubles of Athanasius of Alexandria, and Alexander of Constantinople*, for refusing to admit Arius to communicate with the Church—being cast out by the council of Nice, the act whereof they could not void—the good emperor being seduced to think it necessary for the quiet of the Church.

§ 45. And not only by this particular, but by all the proceedings of the first Christian emperors in the affairs of the Church—who had great advantage in discerning the true interest of the state and the Church, not only by the advice of those Bishops which had received it fresher from the source, but by sensible knowledge of the whole right which they found the Church in possession of, when they came to the members of it—it is manifest that they never sought to bring to effect that which they were persuaded to be necessary for the establishment of Christianity—whether truly or falsely, as well as for the quiet of their estates and people, by the immediate act of their own sovereign power, but by the act of those that were then held able to conclude the Church; employing their secular power in consequence to the same, to enforce such acts—though not always valid to oblige the Church—by temporal penalties on them that refused, and enemies to the public peace.

[Correspondence between the functions of the Church and those of the state.]

§ 46. Seeing then that the Church is a society, common corporation, or spiritual commonwealth, subsisting by the immediate revelation and appointment of God, without dependence upon those Christian states wherein it is harboured, and the right by which it subsisteth, and the matter wherein it communiceth, but depending upon them for the force which is necessarily requisite to maintain the whole people of Christian states, in the communion of their respect

* See chap. i. sect. 43.

• See chap. iv. sect. 78.

Churches, and by them of the whole, it followeth of necessity that it is endowed with rights correspondent to those wherein the sovereignty of states consisteth. The power of the sword is the principal of those rights into which the rest are resolved, when they are enforced to have recourse unto it, for the execution of that which becomes requisite to make them available. And the Church hath the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God, which is used two manner of ways, as the sword is, either to subdue strangers, or to cut off malefactors.

§ 47. Let no man imagine that any private person is enabled to propagate the Gospel, and constitute new Churches of persons newly converted to Christianity, without competent commission from the Church. To bring men to be Christians, indeed, is that which not only any of the clergy, but any Christian may do, and is to do, when he finds himself able to act towards it, without disadvantage to Christianity. It is that which the Ecclesiastical Histories inform us, that Frumentius and Adesius^b did in India, and the captive maid in Iberia^c, as well as those of the dispersion of Jerusalem in

CHAP.
I.

[None but
Bishops
can found
Churches.]

^b Pueruli reperti sub arbore barbarorum miseratione servati, ducuntur ad regem. Horum ille alterum, id est, Adesium sibi pincernam fecit, Frumentio vero . . . rationes suas scripulae commisit. At vero moriens rex . . . adolescentibus autem quid vellent, agendi dedit liberam facultatem. . . .

Idque dum agerent, et regni gubernacula Frumentius haberet in manibus, Deo mentem ejus et animos instigante, requirere sollicitius cepit, si qui inter negotiatores Romanos Christiani essent, et ipsa potestatem maximam dare, ac monere ut conventicula per loca singula facerent, ad quæ Romano ritu orationis causa confluerent. Sed et ipse multo magis eadem facere, et ita ceteros ecclesiarum, favore et beneficiis invitare, præstare quicquid opportunum fuisset, loca asilicis, aliaque necessaria præbere, et omnimodo gestire, ut Christianorum libi cœmen exargeret. . . . Expletis omnibus et ex fide traditis . . . ad orbem tamen nostrum revertuntur. Et Adesio testante Tyrum, . . . Frumentius Alexandriano pergit, dicens æquum non esse opus occultare Dominum. Igitur rem omnem, ut gesta est, exposuit Episcopo, ac movet ut provident virum aliquem dignum, quem congregatis jam pluribus Christianis et Ec-

clesiis constructis in barbarico solo, Episcopum mittat. Tum vero Athanasius—nam is nuper sacerdotum suscepit—attentius et propensius Frumentii dicta gesta que considerans, in concilio Sacerdotum ait; Et quem alium invenimus virum talem, in quo sit Spiritus Dei in ipso sicut in te qui hæc ita possit implere? Et tradito ei Sacerdotio, redire eum cum Domini gratia, unde venerat, jubet. Quique cum Episcopus perrexisset ad Indiam, tanta ei data esse a Deo virtutum gratia dicitur, ut signa per eum Apostolica fierent, et infinitus numerus barbarorum converteretur ad fidem. Ex quo in Indiæ partibus, et populi Christianorum et Ecclesiarum factæ sunt, et Sacerdotum cepit.—Huslin. Hist. Eccles., lib. i. cap. ix. pp. 202, 203. Paris. 1580.

^c Per idem tempus etiam Iberorum gens, quæ sub axe Pontico jacet, verbi Dei fœdera, et fidem futuri suscepit regni. Sed hujus tanti boni præstiti causam mulier quædam captiva, quæ apud eos reperta, cum fidelem et sobriam satis se predicam duceret vitam, totisque diebus ac noctibus observationes Deo pervigiles exhiberet, in admiratione esse ipsa rei novitas Barbara cepit, et quid hoc sibi vult, curiosius

CHAP. Phœnice and Cyprus, and at Antiochia; Acts xi. 19. 20. ¹ the authority by which they became a Church, they were week where it was before, at Alexandria and Constantine as well as those at Jerusalem; Acts xi. 22. Because, in the Church the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God deposited, and trusted with the Church, for the propagation as well as the maintenance of it; and though all Christians must needs understand themselves to be under an habit of trust, or a commission dormant, to persuade all that they are to the Christianity which they have themselves; yet the express commission of the Church imports further, the exertion of that power which the society thereof already useth towards them that by virtue of the said commission shall be brought to be Christians: at least it may import so much, if we suppose it granted to such purpose.

[The sword of the Spirit, or sword.]

§ 48. The sword of the Spirit is used within the Church to the punishment of malefactors, upon two sorts of causes. If any man forfeit his Christianity, either by denying the faith upon profession whereof he was admitted to Christianity, or by living contrary to the same, the same sword of the Spirit which pronounces him cut off from God, cuts him off from the Church. And, in regard that it is part of Christianity to believe that God hath ordained a Church, the consequence whereof is, to oblige all Christians to maintain themselves in the unity of the same, which cannot be done by those that refuse to be concluded by it, in all things not contrary to God's law; the same sword of the Spirit that subdues all men to be Christians, upon condition to live members of the Church, cuts them off from the communion of the Church that will not live within compass of the unity of it.

[The jurisdiction of the Church is all voluntary, not so that of the state.]

§ 49. The power of the sword being supposed in the Church jurisdiction follows, which consists not so much in judging, as in executing the sentence. Not that there is any such thing as jurisdiction—such as the civil laws of the Romans, and

perquirebant. Illa, ut res erat, simpliciter Christiani se Deum hoc non colere fatebatur. Postea vero quam Ecclesia magnifice constructa est, et populus fidem Dei majore ardore diligebant, captivæ montes ad Imperatorem Constantinum totius gentis legato mittitur res gesta exponitur, sacerdotibus

mittere oratur, qui ceptum erga Dei manus replent. Quibus ille cum omni gaudio et honore transmissus multo amplius ex hoc letatus est, quam si iniquitas Romano imperio gentes et regna ignota junxisset.—*Ib.* pp. 201.

other people understand, which proceeds by constraint of outward force—in the Church^d; but because the Church, being constituted of such as desire to continue Christians, upon supposition of this will to continue a Christian, he may be said to be constrained to hear the Church, that cannot communicate with the Church, unless he do so as it requires.

§ 50. Upon the same ground subsists the right of ordinations, answerable to that part of sovereignty in states, which consists in creation of magistrates and officers—for it is without doubt, beside the intent of the Roman laws, to call the sovereign a magistrate, magistrates being generally ministers of the sovereign—which creates a particular power over the clergy by the jurisdiction of the Church. For, in regard that—as it hath been said on divers occasions in this Discourse^e—the clergy is promoted upon supposition of some degree of proficience in Christianity, over and above that, upon supposition whereof, men are admitted to be only Christians, it followeth not that those, who by their conversation render themselves unworthy of that degree which they hold in the clergy, do by the same means render themselves unworthy of the communion of the Church. Therefore, the punishment of a clergyman may be competent, by only voiding his degree, when another Christian cannot be competently punished but by putting him from the Church^f. Whereby it appears, that the power of ordaining, as well as censuring persons ordained, is grounded upon the power of the keys, as giving or taking away, not the communion of the Church, but a degree and quality above it, which supposeth it.

§ 51. Again, upon the constitution of the society of the Church follows the power of making canons, constitutions and ordinances, obliging the respective body thereof, correspondent to the legislative power of kingdoms and commonwealths, wherein the justice of them most appears, though the strength

CHAP.
L

[Correspondence of ordinations with appointing of magistrates.]

[Correspondence of canons with the secular laws.]

^d See Rel. Assembl. chap. iv. sect. 17.

^e See chap. ii. sect. 31; chap. iii. sect. 15. Review, chap. i. sect. 29.

^f So we find in the Apostolical canons. If one of the clergy fasted on Sunday he was to be deposed. If a layman did so, he was to be excommunicated.—Can. lxxv.

If one of the clergy neglected the fast of Lent, he was to be deposed, a layman was to be excommunicated.—Can. lxxviii.

If one of the clergy had commerce with Jews, he was to be deposed, a layman was to be excommunicated.—Can. lxxix. Labbei, tom. i. col. 40. ed. Venet.

CHAP. of them is more seen in the power of the sword, which g
 1. all laws force. And so it is no more inconvenience to
 these canons the laws of the Church, than it is to call
 power of excommunication the spiritual sword of the Church.
 Neither is it any more for the Church to have this power
 than that which states ordinarily allow the meanest corporations
 which they privilege, to wit, to give laws to their
 bodies, for the maintenance and execution of the laws ordi-
 nally given them by those who are enabled to institute them.
 In fine, in correspondence to the exchequer of a state, in
 title that God hath given His Church to the oblations of
 faithful, their first-fruits and tithes; the right whereof
 hath endowed the Church with, leaving the seizure to
 voluntary tender of those whom He calleth to be voluntary
 Christians.

[Jurisdic-
 tion and
 order.]

§ 52. And thus, and by this correspondence with a state,
 the parts of ecclesiastical power are more clearly and more
 intelligibly distinguished, in my opinion, than by the ordi-
 nary terms of jurisdiction and order. For first, these terms
 being introduced by the canonists and school-doctors, seem
 to presuppose a coactive jurisdiction in the Church, upon the
 constitution and original title of the Church, such as the
 Church of Rome challenges, and the decretal epistles of the
 Popes presuppose^b; whereby they challenge to themselves the
 power by Divine right, which, by the sufferance of princes
 and states, they did exercise—entangling the schools of
 Divines with as inextricable difficulties, to make it good
 Christian states with commotions, to shake off the consequences
 thereof—merely for neglect of the principle here
 presupposed; that Christianity importeth no right of property
 in the world, and therefore, that the coactive power of the state
 remains where it was before it.

[not dis-
 tinct but
 subordi-
 nate.]

§ 53. Secondly, it seemeth that the power of order and
 jurisdiction are not contradistinct, but subordinate, the power
 of order being the production and consequence of the power
 of jurisdiction, if it be rightly understood; for by the same
 reason which proveth here, p. 119¹, that the power of con-

^a See Prim. Govern., chap. viii. sect. 5. note c; Relig. Assemb., chap. iv. sectt. 14, 15.

^b Vid. Extrav. Com. i. §. 1.

¹ Chap. iii. sect. 35.

crating the Eucharist belongeth to presbyters, upon the power of the keys, and that all benedictions with imposition of hands, whether in confirmation, ordination, penance, marriage, or whatsoever else, are marks of that power which alloweth those acts, which are blessed, to be done in the Church, as you have it here, p. 23^k, by the same reason it follows, that the ministry of all ordinances of God deposited with the Church, is a mark of that superiority which those that minister the same have in the Church.

§ 54. And therefore, if the power of order be in respect of Christ's own body, as ordinarily they describe it, it proceeds from the power over His mystical body, which is that of jurisdiction as they make it^l. Or if, as others will have it^m, the power of order consists in the ministry of such Divine ordinances as are the means to procure and increase God's grace in the persons to whom they are ministered, the same reason takes place, because they are not to be ministered but by them whom the Church trusteth to do it, to that true intent which it teacheth. Wherefore, it seemeth that the term of jurisdiction ought to express the common source of all ecclesiastical power, which it doth not, because that, as jurisdiction is but a part of sovereignty in a state, so the power from which the metaphorical jurisdiction of the Church

CHAP.
I.

The power of jurisdiction above that of order.

^k Chap. i. sect. 26.

^l Potestas Ecclesiastica secernitur prima sui divisione in potestatem ordinis et potestatem jurisdictionis. Rursus potestas ordinis duplicem habet respectum. Unus est super corpus Christi mysticum verum quo ad consecrationem ejus. Alter est super corpus Christi mysticum, seu membra ejus.

Dicamus igitur quod potestas ordinis primo modo considerata, est potestas Ecclesiastica respiciens principaliter et essentialiter consecrationem Corporis Christi veri, qua, scilicet, potest haberi cum consecrare Corpus et Sanguinem Christi v. state verborum Sacramentalium.—Gerson. de Potest. Eccl., Consideratio ii. col. 112. Paris. 1606.

Potestas Ecclesiastica jurisdictionis in foro interiori, qua non est propriè coercitiva, sed magis spontanea, quo ad subijcentes se eidem est potestas Ecclesiastica super Corpus Christi mysticum illuminando et perficiendo ipsum per doctrinam et Sacramentorum mini-

strationem et purgando per Baptismi et poenitentiae Sacramenta. Advertendum est itaque quod haec potestas jurisdictionis quæ radicaliter fundatur in potestate ordinis sacerdotalis et Episcopalis, dum in sua generalitate consideratur, respicit multipliciter Corpus Christi mysticum, quod est fidelium Ecclesia, quos fideles oportet secundum tres actus hierarchicos regere, qui sunt, secundum Dionysium, purgare, illuminare, et perficere.—Ib., Consideratio v. col. 117, 118.

^m Ordinis enim potestatem voco ego illam, qua licet opere externo in Ecclesia exerceatur, ad solum tamen internum spirituale effectum per se, et directe tota dirigitur, et sic potestas ordinis erit omnia potestas, qua simul cum sacro ordine confertur, sacrum autem ordinem solum ego voco Episcopalem et presbyteralem, cujus est sacramenta preparare, et ministrare, et clavibus Ecclesie uti.—Spalatensis, de Rep. Eccles., lib. v. cap. xii § 4. p. 165. Londin. 1620.

Chapter 1. *Power*—which I conceive cannot be better expressed
 by calling it the power of the keys, as the Gospel hath
 —produced other branches of ecclesiastical power current
 to other parts of sovereignty in a state, as here
 have seen.

CHAPTER II.

*Power of
 the keys
 in the
 Church*

HAVING thus determined whereupon the power of the
 is founded, and wherein it consisteth, it remained to put
 and declare what persons it is trusted with; for seeing
 persons of whom Christian states consist, are the same
 whom the Churches, or parts of the whole Church that
 contained in those states, consist, if there be no provision
 God's law tying the right of managing this power, and
 productions and branches thereof, to some qualities con-
 sequent to the constitution of the Church, it will neces-
 sarily fall as an encroach to the state, and we shall be tied to give
 power to confer those qualities by which it is managed,
 all this will be truly said to no purpose.

*Power of
 the keys
 in the
 Church*

§ 2. Here, in the first place, I must insist upon a
 the truth whereof the presbyteries and congregations
 equally divided between them, and left it entire to
 Church. For those of the congregations^a, finding that
 design of the presbyteries had ordered a presbytery for
 government of every congregation that assembles together
 for the common service of God, had reason to infer that
 those presbyteries ought to be endowed with the power of
 the keys, as to their own bodies. To which, assuming
 another demand, that the chief power in every congrega-
 tion was that of the people, it followeth, that all congregations
 are independent and absolute, not to be concluded by
 Church, or synod representative of Churches, above them-
 selves.

*(And of the
 Presbyteries
 in the
 Church)*

§ 3. On the other side, the Presbyterians, finding that
 unity can be preserved without dependence, and desiring
 to preserve unity among themselves, though not with
 Church, have designed the power of the keys as to the

^a See chap. 1. sect. 2. note n

of excommunication, to rest in representatives of the presbyteries of congregations, which, nevertheless, they call by the same name of presbyteries, or classes, the same being subject to synods of presbyteries, and those to national assemblies. Whereas, there is never any mention, in all the Scriptures, of any presbytery, or company, college, or bench of presbyters, as likewise there is no mention of any Church, but in a city^o; no mention of more Churches than one in the greatest city, and the most populous for number of Christians, that is mentioned in all the Scriptures; though no common reason can question but there were more congregations, considering that it cannot be thought that all the Christians, contained in the greatest and most Christian of all those cities, could assemble together at once for the common service of God.

§ 4. Upon these premises it is necessary to infer, that the Apostles' order was that which we see was the rule of their practice, that the several bodies of those that should be converted to Christianity, within several cities and the territories thereof, should constitute several Churches, to be governed by the several presbyteries thereof, constituted and regulated as shall be declared in the consequences. Which being established, it will not be difficult to infer that the power of the keys, and the consequences thereof, are deposited in the said Churches, that is, trusted with them that are endowed with the power of governing those Churches. To which if you add this, that the Churches of particular cities were to depend upon the Churches of mother cities, upon which particular cities depended for the civil government; you have a reason and rule of the whole frame of Church government designed by the Apostles, as general as could be given to a society that was to consist of several nations and sovereignties without limits, but not more general than the original constitution of the whole Church, derived from their design, will evidence to be agreeable to those impressions and marks of it, which are here produced out of the Scripturesⁿ.

§ 5. This position is liable to an objection from those which the ancient canons of the Greek councils call *chor-episcopi*, which we may translate country-Bishops, because the word *χώρα* properly signifieth the country, in opposition

[Churches
and cities
originally
converti-
ble terms.]

[Or the
chor-epi-
scopi.]

ⁿ Chap. ii. sect. 3.

^o See chap. ii. sect. 3, 4.

CHAP. II. to, or in difference from, the city. For if Churches constituted in cities have their several presbyteries—the heads whereof being Bishops, are, by consequence, governors and chief of their respective Churches—how are Bishops constituted in the country, that is, in any of the chief villages under any city? For by this means, either we have a Church in a village, or a Bishop without a Church, and so the practice of the Church not to be reconciled with that which make the design of the Apostles, if either be true.

{There were
subordi-
nate to the
Bishop of
the mother
city,} § 6. The answer to this, in general, must come from which you have here afterwards, p. 629, that the rule is generally expressed in these terms, as any rule can be general to those cases that may fall out so diverse. For the general intent and reason of it is, to preserve the unity of the whole Church by the subordination and dependence of the parts thereof, to and from other parts, and so the whole. If a particular provision prove necessary, some time and place to attain this end, it is not to be thought that the general rule holds not therefore. For the particular here in hand one thing I conceive may be questionable in point of fact and matter of historical truth, concerning these councils of Bishops, which the canons quoted, p. 146^r, speak of.

[evidenced
by the
council of
Antio-
chia,] § 7. For in the beginning of the tenth canon of Antioch it is said that they received *χειροθεσίαν Ἐπισκόπων*, the ordination of Bishops; in the end of it, it is provided that they be ordained by the Bishop of the city to whom they be subject. The first clause seems to intimate that they have the same ordination with other Bishops, which is by the synod of the province, or those that represent the same; besides that, we find, by the subscriptions of the council, that they were called to councils as if they received their trust immediately from the synods of their provinces. In the second clause it seems they receive their authority immediately from the Bishop of the province, whereupon they are called *vicarii Episcoporum*, the Bishops' deputies, as you see in the place aforementioned*. What my judgment is in this point you may have seen before, p. 146, neither do I have cause to repent me of it. For howsoever they were ordained

* Chap. ii. sect. 18.

† Chap. iii. sect. 60.

* Chap. iii. sect. 61.

and from whomsoever they received their trust, it is manifest by the canons of Ancyra and Laodicea there quoted¹, that they received it upon such terms as to be subordinate to the Bishop of the city, which otherwise Bishops were not, but immediately to the synod of the province, and the Bishop of the mother city. CHAP.
II.

§ 8. Neither is it contrary to the ground of that general rule which I maintain, that it should be within the power of the Church contained in any province—that is to say, the synod of the same—to ordain that—in regard some village under some city of that province grew considerable for the extent of it, and the multitude of Christian souls contained in it—therefore it should have a Bishop beside the Bishop of the city. Always provided, that the dependence of Churches might be preserved, wherein the unity of the whole consisted. But it is manifest that this dependence might be maintained two several ways, supposing a Bishop to be constituted in a village: first, ordaining him to be subordinate to the Bishop of the city: which is the case of those whom we speak of, whose power is tied up, as you have seen, by the said canons of Ancyra and Laodicea. But should they be left free from all dependence on the city Bishop, then were they absolute Bishops, and their Churches, though in villages, and therefore less, yet for their respective power and right, the same with other Churches constituted in cities; which seems to be the case of the Churches of Africa, where Bishops were so plentiful, that every good village must needs be the seat of an episcopal Church. Neither doth this destroy the rule which I maintain², that cities and Churches were originally convertible, but argues, that villages, in some countries, had that privilege, which, in others, was proper to cities. [and of
Ancyra
and Lao-
dicea.]

§ 9. To that which is said, p. 53³, of the difference between prophecies, and between Apostles and prophets, I add this consideration, that the Apostles of our Lord were necessarily prophets, because of the promise of the Holy Ghost to lead them into all truth, to remember them of our Lord's doctrine, and to make them understand the Scriptures⁴, all [Differ-
ence be-
tween
Apostles
and pro-
phets.]

¹ Chap. iii. sectt. 54, 55.

² Chap. ii. sect. 3.

³ Chap. ii. sect. 9.

⁴ St. John xiv. 26; xvi. 13.

CHAP.
II.

which are contained in the thing signified by this word prophecy, though the original thereof import only foretelling things to come, as it is manifest by St. Paul, 1 Cor. xiv. But all prophets are not necessarily Apostles, that is, sent by God to declare their commission to His people, or to charge them with those things which God revealed to themselves.

[The prophets under the Old Testament.]

§ 10. I grant that the prophets under the Old Testament were such by reason of that law by which God appointeth them to be obeyed, and therefore giveth a rule how to discern between true and false prophets, Deut. xviii. 18. And hereupon it is that their writings are the word of God, and that prophecy is said to have failed after those whose writings we have. Not that we are bound to disbelieve Josephus, when he relates of John Hyrcanus⁷, the prince of the nation, and others, that they foresaw things to come—to say nothing of Simeon and Anna, the Blessed Virgin and Zachary, because the light which they had may be taken for the dawning of that day that was to come under the Gospel—but because they were not sent with means to make evidence of their commission, and so to charge the people of God. As at the present, though God may grant revelations, yet no obligation upon the Church follows, because no commission can be made to appear.

[How they differed from those under the New.]

§ 11. Whereby we may measure the difference between the prophets of the Old Testament and the prophets which we read of in the Churches of the New. Those, having commissions to the people in covenant with God, containing His pleasure in the interpretation, limitation, dispensation, of the same, were above God's positive law, inasmuch as God, by them, might abate it sometime and somewhere, as by Elias in Mount Carmel⁸. These, we do not find that they had to do beyond the Churches whereof they were, to evidence the presence of God in the Church by His graces, to inform them of things to come, to instruct their own Churches, but

⁷ Τρκανός δὲ, τριῶν τῶν μεγίστων δόξιος ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ κριθεὶς, ἀρχὴ τοῦ ἔθνους, καὶ τῆς ἀρχιερατικῆς τιμῆς, καὶ προφητείας· συνῆν γὰρ αὐτῷ τὸ Θεῖον καὶ τὴν τῶν μελλόντων πρόγνωσιν παρέχεν αὐτῷ τε εἰδέναι, καὶ προ-

λέγειν ὅπως, ὅστε καὶ περὶ τῶν δύο τῶν πρεσβυτέρων αὐτοῦ παλᾶν, ὅτι μὴ αὖσι τῶν πραγμάτων κυρίοι, προσέτε· Joseph, Antiq. Jud., lib. xiii. cap. x. § 7. p. 588. ed. Hudson, Oxon. 1720

⁸ See chap. iv. sect. 16.

always supposing the constitution of the Church, and the laws whereby they were settled by the Apostles. CHAP. II.

§ 12. And therefore if the prophets of the Old Testament were under the consistory to be judged by them, as I have said here, p. 104^a, much more were the prophets of the New Testament subject to the Apostles, when, by like reason, they were to be subject to the government of their own Churches, seeing there is no appearance of any privilege for them against the common obligation of obedience to the same. Whereupon the Montanists^b, who made a schism upon presumption of some instructions they had from their supposed prophets, were not only abused in point of fact, to take them for prophets which were not, but were guilty of schism in point of right, because God had given no power to those whom He granted those graces to under the Gospel, against the ordinary government of His Church. [Prophets were subject to the Apostles.]

§ 13. I will add here, to that which you find of the state of the Jews at Alexandria, p. 56^c, a remarkable passage of an edict of Claudius in favour of the Jews, recorded by Josephus, *Antiq.* xix. 4^d, where, having said that he had understood that the Roman governors, from the taking in of Alexandria, had always maintained the Jews in their rights, he adds, καὶ τελευτήσαντος τοῦ Ἰουδαίων ἐθνάρχου τὸν Σεβαστὸν μὴ κεκωλυμέναι ἐθνάρχας γίνεσθαι, βουλόμενον ὑποτετάχθαι ἐκείτους ἐμμένοντας τοῖς ἰδίους ἔθεσι, καὶ μὴ παραβαίνειν ἀναγκαζομένους τὴν πατριὸν θρησκείαν, “And that, when the prince of the Jews’ nation was dead, Augustus did not forbid them to make princes, but would have all subject to him, continuing in their own customs, and not constrained to transgress the religion of their fathers.” Which, if we compare with the words of Philo, *adversus Flaccum*^e, where he affirms that the consistory of the Jews at Alexandria was established or confirmed by Augustus, it will appear that the Jews had the same government in Egypt as in Palestine and Babylonia, to wit, by a head of their nation and a consistory. [Government of the Jews.]

^a Chap. iii. sect. 19.

^b Euseb. *Eccles. Hist.* lib. v. cap. xvi. pp. 179—183. ed. Vales.

^c Chap. ii. sect. 13.

^d Cap. v. § 2. p. 865. ed. Hudson. Oxon. 1720.

^e Cited below in sect. 16.

CHAP.
II[Heads
of the
captivity.]

§ 14. Zorobabel was their prince when they first returned from the captivity: but, as the little Chronicle of the Jews relates, he afterwards left Judæa and returned into Babylon, where his posterity continued heads of the captives—as they are called by Josephus *αἰχμαλωτάρχαι*, by the Jews *רִבְּרִי*—for many generations. In Judæa, setting aside Nehemiah, and the governors which he mentions, v. 14, 15, because it seems they had not their power from the nation, but from the right which they had within themselves, by being allowed to live by their own laws, but by an immediate commission from the sovereign, as the name *הַנָּסִי* there signifying being Babylonish, as we see by Dan. iii. 2, and as the commission of Nehemiah imports, by which he is enabled to make war against his fellow-governors, which afterward was usual under the Persian empire—Josephus affirms that the government was in the hands of the high-priests, from their return out of captivity till the time of Mattathias's death, *Antiq.* xi. 4th; and that after him, till the destruction of Jerusalem, it was no otherwise, the Scriptures of the New Testament are sufficient to inform us.

[Duration
of the con-
sistories.]

§ 15. As for the consistories under these heads of the nation, we find much mention of them in the Jews' writings at Babylonia: and at Jerusalem—from the constitution made under Esdras, by the commission granted him from the king, Ezra vii. 26—we have the continuance and subsistence of them, in the Gospels and Josephus. Now, about the time of Herod the Great, the little Chronicle of the Jews relates that Hillel, of the posterity of Zorobabel and David, returned down from Babylonia to Jerusalem, and became of great esteem in the knowledge of the law, that, by the Tradition of the doctors, he and his posterity, in succession, are reckoned heads of the consistory; which, how it can stand with the relation of the Scriptures, before the destruction of the temple, I do not so well understand. But, when afterwards, by the kindness of king Agrippa to his nation, and his love to the law, as it seems most probable, they took up their residence

[†] Seder Olam Zuta, p. 35. Lugduni, 1599. Appended to the Chronographia of Genebrardus.

^κ Οἱ γὰρ ἀρχιερεῖς προσεσθήκεισαν τῶν

πραγμάτων, ἕως οὗ τοῦτ' Ἀσά συνέβη βασιλεῦν ἐκγόρους.—
180. ed. Hudson. Oxon. 1720.

at Tiberias^a, it seems there is not much doubt to be made, that, from thenceforth, those of this stock continued patriarchs, and the consistory there under them till the times of Epiphanius, and the emperors^b, whose laws you have in both codes, *Tit. de Judæis et Cælicolis*, and in fine, so long as their privileges lasted in Palestine.

§ 16. In like manner therefore in Egypt, where Philo^c in the same discourse reckons that there lived a million of Jews in his time, and at Alexandria, we have from the same Philo intelligence of the consistory, from Josephus, of the head of the nation, whom he calls *ἐθνάρχης*, and is, without doubt, the same that the emperor Adrian^d, in his epistle to Servianus, recorded by Vopiscus in the life of Saturninus, calls Patriarcha. The words of Philo *πρὸς Φλάκκον*^m are these: *τῆς γὰρ ἡμετέρας γερονσίας, ἣν ὁ σωτὴρ καὶ εὐεργέτης Σεβαστὸς ἐπιμελησομένην τῶν Ἰουδαϊκῶν εἴλετο, μετὰ τὴν τοῦ γενάρχου τελευτὴν διὰ τῶν πρὸς Μάγνον Μάξιμον ἐντολῶν, μέλλοντα πάλιν ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου καὶ τῆς χώρας ἐπιτροπεύειν, ὀκτῶ καὶ τριάκοντα συλλαβὼν τοὺς εὐρεθέντας ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις*, "For, having apprehended thirty-eight, even all that were found in their houses, of our senate, which our saviour and benefactor Augustus chose to take charge of the Jews' affairs, by his instructions to Magnus Maximus, when he went to govern the country the second time." Here are thirty-eight of seventy named, whereof the consistory consisted: here is the very order of Augustus named, which Claudius's edict, alleged by Josephusⁿ, pointeth at; in fine, he that is called in Claudius's edict *ἐθνάρχης*, in Adrian's epistle, Patriarcha, is here called *γενάρχης*, whose power seems to have been correspondent to that of the *αἰχμαλωτάρχης* in Babylonia, of the high-priest at Jerusalem, and of the patriarch at Tiberias.

^a See Rel. Assembl. chap. iii. sect. 16.

^b See chap. ii. sect. 13.

^c Τὶ οὖν ὁ τῆς χώρας ἐπίτροπος, ἐπιστάμενος ὅτι καὶ ἡ πόλις οὐκ ὀκνητοῖς ἔχει διττοῦς, ἡμῶς τε καὶ τούτους, καὶ πᾶσα Αἰγύπτος, καὶ ὅτι οἱ ἀποδέουσι μισθὸν ἑκάστῳ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν καὶ τὴν χώραν Ἰουδαῖοι κατασκευάζοντες ἀπὸ τοῦ πρὸς Αἰγύπτου καταβαθμοῦ μέχρι τῶν ὁρίων Αἰθιοπίας.—Advers. Flaccum, p. 971. Paris. 1640.

^d Illi qui Serapin colunt, Christiani

sunt, et devoti sunt Serapi, qui se Christi Episcopos dicunt. Nemo illic Archisynagogus Judæorum, nemo Samaritanus, nemo Christianorum presbyter, non mathematicus, non aruspex, non aliptes. Ipse ille Patriarcha quum Aegyptum venerit, ab aliis Serapidem adorat, ab aliis cogitur Christianum.—Hist. Rom. Script. vi. tom. ii. pp. 719—723. Lugd. Batav. 1671.

^m Advers. Flaccum, p. 975. Paris 1640.

ⁿ Sect. 13.

CHAP.
II.[Reason
of the emi-
nence of
Constanti-
nople.]

§ 17. There is in the Ecclesiastical Histories^a, a consideration very proper to evidence the reason why Constantinople was afterwards the second in rank after Rome, which is here touched, p. 59^p. And it is that of the power of Eusebius, and of Nicomedia, the city of his Bishopric. For, because during the time of Diocletian, Nicomedia was, as it were, the seat of the empire, he having made it his main residence, with an intent to have it so continue; thereupon, saith the history, Eusebius growing to great eminence in the Church, undertook the support of Arius against Alexander of Alexandria. If, therefore, the Bishop of Nicomedia had attained such authority in the Church by the ambulatory residence of the empire there, since the time of Diocletian, well might the pre-eminence settle at Constantinople, when Constantine had fixed the seat of the empire there, and that by the virtue of the rule given by the Apostles, though the effect thereof come after the act of Constantine.

§ 18. To that which I have said from p. 62^a, of the greater difference that is to be found in the execution of the Apostles' rule, that Churches should be planted in cities, or in the greatest residences in several countries, that is to be added which Sozomenus, *Eccles. Hist.* vi. 21ⁱ, hath recorded concerning that province which he calls Scythia, the Romans, Mæsia Inferior; in which, at the time of the emperor Valens, there was but one Bishop of the mother city Tomi, the place of Ovid's banishment; for, this is the same case with that which is related by Eutychius, of Egypt, before Demetrius was Bishop of Alexandria, that there were no more Bishops in it beside that one, the same which Godignus relates of the Abassines, that there is, to this day, but one Bishop in all that dominion, as you have it here, p. 64^a.

§ 19. To all the reasons here produced for the dependence

^a "Επειδὴ δὲ Εὐσεβίος ὁ νῦν ἐν τῇ Νικομηδείᾳ, νομίσας ἐπ' αὐτῷ κείσθαι τὰ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, ὅτι καταλείψας τὴν Βηρυτὸν καὶ ἐποφθαλμίσας τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ Νικομηδείαν, οὐκ ἐνεδίκηται κατ' αὐτοῦ, πρῶτατα καὶ τούτων τῶν ἀποστατῶν. —Erist. Alexandr. Ep. Alexandrin. apud Soerut. *Eccles. Hist.*, lib. i. cap. vi. p. 10. ed. Vales.

^p Chap. ii. sect. 15.

^a Chap. ii. sect. 18.

ⁱ Ἀμέλει τοι καὶ Ἀκύθας λόγος διὰ

ταύτην αἰτίαν ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς μένειν κί-
στως τοῦτο δὲ τὸ ἔθνος, πολλὰς μὲν ἔχει
καὶ πόλεις καὶ κώμας, καὶ φρούρια.
Μητρόπολις δὲ ἐστὶ Τόμις, πόλις μεγάλη
καὶ εὐδαίμων, παρόλιος . . . εἰσέτι δὲ
καὶ νῦν ἔθος παλαιὸν ἐνθάδε κρατεῖ, τοῦ
παντὸς ἔθνους ἵνα τὰς Ἐκκλησίας ἐπι-
σκοπεῖν κατὰ δὴ τὸν παρόντα καιρὸν,
ἐπετρόκεινε τούτων Βρεττανίων καὶ Οὐδέ-
λης ὁ βασιλεὺς ἦκεν εἰς Τόμιν. —p. 66^a.
ed. Vales.

^a Chap. ii. sect. 19.

of Churches, add the consideration of the unity of the Church, how it was commanded by God in point of right, and how provided and maintained, in point of fact, by the Church. For, if the Church be a visible society, commanded to live in unity, then is the unity thereof commanded to be visible; that is, it is commanded that Christians preserve unity with

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II.

[Depend-
ence of
Churches
subser-
vient to
unity.]

62 all Christians, not only in faith and love, inwardly, in the mind, but also in the outward communion of all those ordinances, wherein God hath appointed His service, under the Gospel, to consist. And this is manifest by the words of St. Paul to the Ephesians, exhorting them to continue in unity, because they have "One Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all," Eph. iv. 5, 6. For if these motives and reasons were proper to the Church of the Ephesians, then might it very well be thought that Christians are obliged thereby only to live in unity with those of the same Church; but, since they are common to all Christians of all Churches never so remote, it followeth that the precept of upholding the unity of the Church obligeth all Christians visibly to communicate with all Christians. By which reason the same may be proved, by all or most of those Scriptures which recommend, or which only mention the unity of the Church.

§ 20. But it is most peremptorily proved, by that which hath been produced in the first chapter¹, to shew the condition upon which all men are to be admitted to the communion of the Church, which is, the profession of Christianity. For, seeing that is one and the same, in all parts and climates of the world, as introduced by the same power, and derived from
63 the same fountain, it follows, that no Church hath any further to inquire about any man's right of communicating with the Church, but whether his profession be allowed by his own Church, and whether that hold communion with the whole. And truly, because it is the same condition which entitles all men to the communion of the Church all over the world, that is, to profess the substance of Christianity, therefore all Churches are to procure that there be nothing to hinder this communion, when that condition is performed, and every person of those Churches, in their several qualities, that nothing else be demanded.

[Condition
of commu-
nicating.]

¹ Sect. 14-19.

CHAP. II. § 21. But, when some Churches, or some parts of one the same Church, demand for the condition of communion with others, something more than was appointed for the condition of it from the beginning, separation and schism follow the cause whereof is commonly doubtful, because it appears not how far several Churches, or parts of the same, yield to the acts of others, which would conclude them if they should yield, when it appears not how the matter agrees with that condition of communion with the Church that was delivered from the beginning. But, both sides charge the blame on the contrary party, they that they are both agreed that the blame must lie on one, and therefore, that the unity of the Church is such as has been said, because schism in the Church, no more than in civil society, can be just on both sides.

[*Letters Formatae.*]

§ 22. Now, it is very manifest, that, in the primitive Church, this unity was actuated by intercourse of letters. Church to Church, begun first, and established by the Apostles themselves*, whose writings are almost all epistles, by their epistles, as the matter of Christianity is more and more declared, so the intercourse and correspondence of the Church is preserved, inasmuch as it is manifest that epistles require nothing of the Churches to which, but the same which they require of the Churches from which they write, so that there must needs be correspondence between all that acknowledge the Apostles holding correspondence. The same course was continued, not only by the epistles of the primitive Bishops, which are a great part of their writings still remaining, but a great deal more by the intercourse of their *formatae*†, or letters of mark, which every Christian, travelling into a strange country taking with him from his Church, found, not only the communion of the Church to him wheresoever he came, but also that assistance in all affairs which Christians are to expect from the charity of Christians. And of this kind the epistle to the Romans may be accounted, because of the recommendation of Phoebe, as of a deaconess in the Church of Cenchrea, near Corinth.

[*With use.*]

* St. Paul mentions one kind of the *στολαί*, 2 Cor. iii. 1.

† *Letters Formatae, συστατικά ἐπιστολά*

* See chap. iii. sect. 65.

ings of the primitive Church, whereof we have some memor- CHAP. II.
able instances here afore related. When, by the result of a council, such or such Bishops are removed from their Churches, it is ordinarily signified to other Churches by the letters of the council, with this warning, that none of them from thenceforth write to the persons so sentenced, nor receive letters from them as Bishops. Marcion, being put out of his father's Church of Pontus, is refused to be admitted to communion at Rome, lest the unity of the Church should be dissolved^r, if the act of a Church so far distant should not be made good by that of Rome, being an act in the power of that Church to do. Therefore, upon the doing of the act, it was to be signified, that it might be known what was to be done.

§ 24. The excommunication of Andronicus is, by Synesius's eight-and-fiftieth epistle, signified to the Churches with this protestation, that if any Church admitted him, without giving satisfaction to theirs, it would thereby cause schism, and dissolve the unity of the Church^s. Infinite more might be produced to this purpose; for hereupon it is, that all Bishops are, many times, in the primitive records of the Church, accounted to have a charge of the whole Church^t, because of their interest to give advice, and thereby to concur in the settling of all affairs of other Churches, that might conduce to the quiet or unquietness of the whole: which, as it was solemnly done by the assemblies of synods, so it was every day done by this intercourse, which, in time of persecution, supplied the use of them to better effect than they were found to produce in time of peace.

§ 25. And this seems to me a peremptory argument against the presbyteries, because this intercourse was a matter of daily [Necessity of capital bodies.]

^r Ταῦτο οὖν φανερώς αὐτοῖς ἔλεγε· τί μὴ ἠθέλησατε με ἀποδεξασθαι, τὰν δὲ ἀγγέλλων· ὅτι οὐ δύναμαι ἀνευ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τοῦ τμήνου πατρὸς σου ταῦτο ποιῆσαι. Μία γὰρ ἐστὶν ἡ πίστις, καὶ μία ὁμολογία, καὶ οὐ δύναμεθα ἐναντιωθῆναι τῷ κατὰ συλλειτουργῶν, ποτὶ δὲ σφ. Ζηλοῦντας λοιπὸν καὶ εἰς μέγαν ἀριθμὸν θυμὸν καὶ ὑπερφανίαν, τὸ σχίσμα ἐργάζεσθαι, ὃ τωσούτοις, ἰαυτῶ τὴν αἵρεσιν προσσησάμενοι, καὶ εἰπών, ἵπαι, ἐγὼ σχίσαν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ὑμῶν, καὶ βαλὼν σχίσμα ἐν πᾶσι, ἐστὶν αἰῶνα. Epphan. Haer. xlii. contr. Marcion., num. ii.

p. 303. Colon. 1682. See Review, chap. i. sect. 21.

^s Chap. iii. sect. 65.

^t St Paul had "the care of all the Churches." 2 Cor. xi. 23.

Episcopatus unus est, cuius a singulis in solidum pars tenetur.—S. Cyrilian, de Unitat. Eccles., p. 108. Oxon. 1658.

Quoniam unus est omnibus nobis, qui?—quod est episcopatus officio . . . spectat pastoratus.—S. Aug. contra duas Epistolas Pelagianorum, col. 412. tom. x. ed. Ben.

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II

necessity, whereas, by the design of the presbyteries, there is no standing body to which the Church can have recourse for assistance, in the ordinary occasions thereof which concern other parts, but the presbyteries of congregations, which themselves condemn as incapable to deal in such matters, when they give them not power to excommunicate^b. Therefore, it is of consequence, that in the greatest residences of the world, those bodies of Churches should be always standing, to which the Church might have daily resort, either to receive or communicate advice, judgment, sentence, and^c whatsoever was to pass for the maintenance of unity in the exercise of Christianity, so that, what there should be received, might, by consequence, be presumed to be received by all Christians contained under the same, not having any pretence to oppose such a consent as they were prejudiced with. And thus, upon the proof of the institution of Churches in cities, it follows that the power of the keys, and all the productions and branches of the same, as to their respective bodies, in concurrence with other Churches of like rank, and dependence on those of higher, is, by consequence, deposited with the same.

[Correspondence between the Church and the synagogue.]

§ 26. To conceive aright of the correspondence between the constitution of the Church and the synagogue, which it is manifest our Lord Himself pointed at in choosing twelve Apostles, and seventy disciples, as it is touched here p. 72^c, we are to deduce it from the veiling of the Gospel within the law, and the discovering of the New Testament, by taking away the veil of the Old. By reason whereof, the Church is the spiritual Israel, as the synagogue was Israel according to the flesh, no otherwise than the Gospel is the law spiritually

^b "A single congregation is a Church, but so as it is a part also and a member of a presbyterial Church, and because of nearness of communion with consociated Churches under one presbytery; It can neither have complete power of casting out one of its own members, because that member hath so strict a visible union of membership also with consociated Churches, nor can it exercise that intrinsical power that it hath as a remote part of Christ's catholic body, but the case for ordinary and constant power of jurisdiction is not so in a presbyterial, in a

provincial, in a national, in the Catholic visible body. And therefore it followeth not that they are not complete bodies, and entire Churches for all ordinary and constant jurisdiction, and the reason is clear, because synods or synodical Churches above a presbytery to me are not ordinary; not constant courts, but extraordinary, and *pro re nata* occasional, having their rise from some occurrence of Providence, as is most clear by Scripture."—Rutherford's *Due Right of Presbyteries*, p. 306. London 1644.

^c Chap. ii, sect. 28.

understood; a thing so manifest by all the passages of the
 68 Old Testament produced, expounded, and applied, not only
 by the Apostles, but by our Lord Himself in the New, that
 he shall, of necessity, do great wrong to Christianity, that
 shall take in hand to maintain it against Judaism, without
 drawing this ground into consequence.

§ 27. Now it is manifest that the people of Israel, being
 made a free people by the act of God bringing them out of
 Egypt, and entitling them to the land of promise upon the
 covenant of the law, had Moses not only for their prophet
 and chief-priest—for by him Aaron and his successors are put
 in possession of the priesthood, and the tabernacle itself, and
 all the pertinences thereof made and consecrated—but also
 for their king, their lawgiver, their judge, and commander-in-
 chief of their forces under God, if not rather God by Moses.
 For, after the decease of Moses, we see that either God, by
 some extraordinary immediate signification of His will and
 pleasure, stirred up some man to be in His stead for the time,
 or, if there were none such, then He took upon Him to rule
 their proceedings Himself, inasmuch as by answering their
 demands by Urim and Thummim, He directed them what to
 do, and what courses to follow in the public affairs that con-
 cerned the state of that people. Whereupon, when they re-
 69 quired Samuel to make them a king, He declareth, [1 Sam.
 viii. 7.] that it was not Samuel, but Himself whom they had
 rejected, because they had rejected him whom God had
 immediately given them in His own stead, so that by his
 natural death the power returned to God, as at the be-
 ginning.

§ 28. Under Moses, the twelve heads of the tribes, repre-
 sentatives of the twelve patriarchs, commanded the militia of
 their respective tribes, divided into thousands, hundreds,
 fifties, and tens; which division, by divers passages of the
 Scriptures, appears to have continued to after ages, without
 doubt, for no other reason but because the lot of every tribe
 was divided amongst them according to the same. And the
 chief of these divisions are they whom Moses, upon Jethro's
 advice, assumed to himself, to judge the causes of less moment,
 referring the greater to him, who, over and above that charge,
 was to go between the people and God in all things which

CHAP. II. He should please immediately to determine, as you may by the text of Exodus xviii. 16, 19, 20. This office is which he assumed afterwards of seventy elders of Israel to give him in; which, by the law, so often quoted, of Deut. xvi. are afterwards made a standing court, resident at the place of the tabernacle, to judge the last result of all causes concerning the law, and to determine all matter of right not determined by the letter of the same. So that, by consequence, the judgment of inferior causes arising upon the laws given by God, resorteth unto the inferior consistories of several cities constituted by the law of Deut. xvi. 18, though partly in the hands of those captains, before the laws were altogether provided or put in force, which dependeth now on the possession of the land of promise.

[Elders, and elders of Israel.]

§ 29. This is the reason that those of the high consistory are called the elders of Israel, but those of other consistories are barely elders, or the elders of such or such a city, as II Kings xxi. 2, 3, "Let thy elders go forth," and, "let the elders of the next city take thy elders," that is, the elders of Jerusalem; so those of the great consistory are ordinarily called in the Gospel, as also the "scribes of the people;" and "thy scribes" is used there for those of the high consistory, whereas the bare name of scribes extended far further to other manner of persons. As also the bare name of rulers, and that of "rulers of the people of Israel," are to be understood with the same difference.

[The Jewish government a type of that of the Church.]

§ 30. Now, wherein consists the correspondence between the order of the Church and this of the synagogue? The order of the Church, without doubt, is our Lord Christ alone, who hath absolute power over it, and because He is in heaven His militia is also heavenly, even Michael and his angels, who fight for the Church against the devil and his angels, as the twelve standards of Israel, are camped without the tabernacle which is the Church, containing all Christians. But the twelve Apostles and seventy disciples must needs be understood to hold correspondence with the twelve heads of the tribes and seventy elders. And the whole reason and ground of this correspondence to consist in the whole power of governing the spiritual Israel of God, which is His Church, to remain in their hands, as the rulers and as the counsellors.

thereof, while it was altogether in one body, from thence to be propagated into the like, when it came to be divided into several bodies by the founding of several Churches, as you have seen^d that it was among the Jews in Palestine, Egypt, and Babylonia.

§ 31. Wherefore, as there can no question be made, that the Jews, by virtue of God's law, created themselves that government which they established in their dispersions, by sufferance of their sovereigns, according to the form designed by the law, by a consistory in the mother-cities of their dispersions, with inferior consistories where the number of Jews was so great as to require a form of government; no more can it be doubted, that when Churches were founded in the greatest residences, concurring with Churches founded in the like and depending on those of the mother-cities for the maintenance of unity in the whole, all this, though executed by human discretion, was done by virtue of the rule designed by the Apostles. And as all Israel had no power to add or take from the law, yet was to be concluded in that which the law had not determined, by the consistory, so, all the Church, having no power to make any thing of Divine right that was not so from the beginning, hath power to determine what the Church shall either do or acknowledge, for the preservation of unity in itself, in all matters not determined by Divine right.

§ 32. As for the priest's office, from which most men desire to derive the pre-eminences of the clergy, although it were manifestly peculiar to Israel after the flesh, and to cease with the same, seeing the Church hath no other sacrifice but that one of Christ upon the cross, not repeated, but represented continually by the prayers of the Church at the celebration of the Eucharist, as the reason which must make all those prayers effectual by the peculiar covenant of Christianity, it follows, that those that are entrusted with the government and maintenance of Christianity, are, by consequence, entrusted with the offering of this sacrifice and of these prayers of the Church unto God, by the same reason, for the which, I said afore^e, that the consecration of the Eucharist floweth from the power of the keys; so that, whether they be called

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II.

[even in
their dis-
persions.]

[or the
priest-
hood.]

^d Sect. 14 chap. ii. sect. 13.

^e Chap. iii. sect. 35.

CHAP. II. — elders or priests, they have both denominations from quality of presbyters.

[Puritan
refine-
ments.]

§ 33. Seeing, then, that the Apostles are, by their commission, the twelve patriarchs of the spiritual Israel of which is His Church, and so, the chief governors of the same, let not the Presbyterians imagine that they can degrade to the rank of their buckram elders, or shew us what parallels, mentioned in the Scriptures, the Apostles acted as presbyters, and what as elders—as, that they concurred in council at Jerusalem in the common quality of elders, unless they can produce other Scriptures of other Apostles superior to these that appoint it: all these recording the Apostles as chief governors of the whole Church, as founders of their original commission, and lawgivers to it, in what our Lord had not determined afore. And though their proceedings are throughout a pattern of meekness and condescension to all ranks in the Church, using their power with humility which our Lord had commanded to His chief apostles, to give satisfaction to all of the reasonableness of their proceedings—because there was then just presumption that others would use the like reverence to them, in receiving satisfaction, as they in tendering it—yet, by St. Paul to the Corinthians, we see how far it reached when any pretence opposed itself against it.

[The com-
mission of
St Bar-
nabas.]

§ 34. Suppose now, for the purpose, that Barnabas was one of the seventy, as Epiphanius^c affirms, shall we endure to be affirmed^b, that, when he is sent by the Church at Jerusa-

^a "That the Apostles in that famous Synod, Acts xv. did not go on by the assistance of an immediately inspired Spirit, and by Apostolic authority, but only as elders, and the doctors and teachers assisted with an ordinary spirit, to me is evident from the course of the context." Rutherford's Due Right of Presbyteries, p. 355. London, 1644.

^b Ἀπέστειλε δὲ καὶ ἄλλους ἐβδωμηκονταδύο κηρύττειν, ἐξ ὧν ἦσαν οἱ ἑπτὰ, οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν χηρῶν τεταγμένοι, μετὰ τούτων δὲ τοὺς ἑπτὰ καὶ Ματθαίον τὸν πρὸ αὐτῶν, Μαρκόν, Λουκάν, Ἰουστον, Βαρνάβαν, καὶ Ἀπελλῆν, Ποίφον, Νίγηρα, καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς τῶν ἐβδωμηκονταδύο.—S. Epiphanius. Hæres. xl. num. 4. contr. Herodiani p. 59. Colon 1682.

^c "That the Church hath power in

Christ to choose and call into the ministry among them such as are fit,

"Because the Apostles did so to establish the primitive Churches, that their elections, as in all other weighty affairs belonging to the whole body of the Church, they still were done by the Church's knowledge and consent. See for elections, Acts i. for hearing and deciding of public ecclesiastical controversies, Acts xi. general letters written thereabout, xv. for sending of some for further instruction or building up others in the faith, Acts xi. 22. . . . In all which cases and the like manner of proceeding is the more to be regarded, because in those times there were then beside the elders, the apostles also themselves, who, if any

to Antiochia, Acts xi. 22, he is sent, by the appointment of certain of the people, who had a commission from our Lord, before they were Christians, even for the founding of that Church, wherein, they who are thought to send them, received Christianity? Surely, the commission of our Lord, Matt. xxviii. 19, extendeth to the seventy, as well as to the twelve, though in dependence on them, as the twelve princes of Israel. And therefore, as it is manifest that Barnabas was sent to Antiochia, because those that had made Christians at Antiochia had not power to found a Church there, by ordering their assemblies, which Barnabas is said there to have done; so is it manifest that he could not receive this power from the people of the Church at Jerusalem—which may better challenge it than any lay elders, whose title must come from the people, as I have shewed chap. iii. and will shew, by God's help, by and by, more at large—but that he must be understood to be sent by the Church, because by the twelve, and by the seventy, with the consent and concurrence of the clergy and people.

§ 35. And sent so to order a new plantation of the spiritual Israel, that, notwithstanding, one of those that sent him, taking the charge afterwards into his own hands, might become patriarch of that tribe which should be planted in and under that city: as also, Barnabas himself to become the head of another plantation in Cyprus; or Paul—who by virtue of the power received by Barnabas at Jerusalem, was by him assumed to his assistance—being afterwards acknowledged to be called by God into the rank of the twelve, to become a patriarch of those plantations which received Christianity by his means: and thus, it is no inconvenience—which some of the fathers¹ have incurred by affirming—that the twelve have

might have excluded the people from such causes, if it had been lawful: especially also seeing the Apostles had the elders of the Churches then present and consenting with them." An Apology of such True Christians, as are called Brownists, p. 47. A.D. 1604.

¹ Episcopi vero Domini Apostolorum, presbyteri quoque 72 discipulorum locum tenent.—Anaclet. Ep. iii. cap. i. Labbet, tom. i. col. 529. ed. Vetus.

Nec dubium quin de Apostolis sermo

sit: de quorum fontibus derivatæ aquæ, totius mundi siccitatem rigant. Juxta has aquas 70 creverunt palme quos et ipsos secundi ordinis intelligamus preceptores. Luca Evangelista testante 12 fuisse Apostolos et 70 discipulos minoris gradus, quos et binos ante se Dominus præmittēbat.—S. Hieron. Ep. Critic. ad Fabiol., tom. ii. col. 590. ed. Hen.

Episcopos locum Apostolorum, chor-
episcopos autem exemplum et formam
tenere 70 discipulorum, et Liber Acto-
rum Apostolorum, et canonica aucto-

CHAP. II. the rank of Bishops, and the seventy of presbyters, if we refer them to the whole Church, not to any particular Church, but only by correspondence: for so were the twelve patriarchs to the people of Israel, as the seventy were presbyters and elders to the same, as I said of the consistory: every part of the Church planted in and under any city, having, nevertheless, according to one and the same form, a ruler of a Bishop, and a council of presbyters. And yet is it nothing inconvenient, in another regard, that the council of Neocæsarea, can. xiii.¹, compares country-Bishops to the seventy, the city-Bishops being by correspondence consequently compared to the twelve: because, on the one side, those country-Bishops were to be subordinate to the Bishops of their cities, as the seventy were to the twelve: on the other side, the seventy, being answerable to the seventy elders of Israel, must needs be understood to be of a higher quality than common presbyters.

CHAPTER III.

[The name of Bishop once given to the presbyters,]

THAT it is no new reason that here is rendered, p. 91, why the name of *Episcopus*, under the Apostles, was common to those that are since distinctly called Bishops and presbyters, may appear by a passage in Amalarius, *de Ecclesiasticis Officiis*¹—quoted out of the supposed St. Ambrose upon the epistles—produced by Salmasius, *In Apparatu*²: *Beatis vero Apostolis decedentibus, illi, qui post illos ordinati sunt ut præessent Ecclesiis, illis primis æquari non poterant, neque miraculorum testimonium par illis habere, sed et in multis aliis inferiores illis esse videbantur: grave existimaverunt Apostolorum sibi vindicare nuncupationem. Diviserunt ergo nomina ipsa, et ab iisdem presbyteris presbyterii nomen reliquerunt. Alii vero Episcopi sunt nuncupati, hique et ordinationis præditi potestate, ita ut*

rita aperte demonstrant.—Concil. Paris. vi. A.D. 829. cap. xxvii. Labbei, tom. ix. col. 729. ed. Venet.

¹ Οἱ δὲ Χερσέσκωροι, εἰσι μὲν εἰς τὸ πρῶτον τῶν ἑβδομήκοντα.—Concil. Neocæsar. A.D. 314. can. xiv. Labbei, tom. i. col. 1513. In the Latin editions it is the latter part of the thir-

teenth canon.

² Lib. ii. cap. 13. *de presbyteris*, apud Hittorp. de Divin. Cath. Eccles. Offic. p. 386. Paris. 1624.

³ Salmas. de Primatu Papæ, Appar. p. 40; and again in p. 123. Lugd. Bat. 1646.

plenissime iidem præpositos se Ecclesiarum esse cognoscerent. CHAP.
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This is manifestly the very reason that I insist upon; for, saith he, because "the blessed Apostles deceasing, those that were ordained to be over Churches after them, could not be equalled to those first, nor attain to the like grace of miracles, but appeared to be beneath them in many other things, it seemed too much for them to challenge to themselves the name of Apostles. Hereupon they divided the names, and left them the name of presbyters, and the others were called Bishops; and they endowed with the power of ordaining, that they might know themselves to be set over the Churches in the fullest right."

§ 2. I marvel what pleasure Salmasius had to allege this passage; which, if it be admitted, is enough, alone, to overthrow all that he hath said in this point. For first, he supposeth, as the received doctrine of the Church, that Bishops, [but yet they were distinct degrees.]
78 in their several Churches, succeeded the Apostles: secondly, he answers all St. Hierome's reasons, to prove that Bishops and presbyters are all one, because they are called by the same name in the Scriptures, by giving another reason, even that which you have here: lastly, he saith that Bishops are set over their Churches *plenissime*, in the fullest right; and that therefore ordination was reserved to them, which is to say, that in all things they have a special interest, but especially ordination is their peculiar. And with this reason agrees Theodoret^a, when he says that at such time as the name of Bishops was common to presbyters, those who were called Bishops afterwards were called Apostles; extending the name of Apostles to others beside the Apostles of Christ. This is, then, a sufficient reason why the name of Bishops should be afterwards appropriated to that rank, wherein they succeed the Apostles and evangelists in their respective Churches—because they could not be called by the name which their predecessors had borne—though formerly common both to Bishops and presbyters.

§ 3. And this is the meaning of those words of St. Augustine—which seemed difficult in the council of Trent^o, because [St. Augustine explained.]

^a Cited in Rel. Assembl., chap. iv. sect. 37. note a.

^b Fu ben anco allegato il celebre

luogo di S. Girolamo, et l'autorità di Sant' Agostino in confernatione di questo, li quali vogliono il Vescovato

CHAP. III. the opinion, which derived all the power of Bishops from the Pope, was so strong there—*Quaquam enim secundum honorum vocabula quæ jam Ecclesiæ usus obtinuit, Episcopatus presbyterio major sit, tamen in multis rebus Augustinus Hieronymo minor est*^p. Let not the humility of St. Augustine be drawn into consequence, and the property of his words shall enforce no more than I say. He knew well enough how stiffly St. Hierome had argued, that a Bishop and a priest is all one in the terms of Divine right, because the name of *Episcopus* is attributed to presbyters by the Apostles. Is it to be presumed that St. Augustine acknowledges this to be his own opinion, because it is plain he intends not to cross St. Hierome in it, having other differences with him afore? On the contrary, it hath been shewed^q by other passages of his writings, that his opinion was otherwise.

[A simple priest may have more authority in the Church than a Bishop.]

§ 4. To use, therefore, that civility which his meekness prompted him to condescend to St. Hierome with, he granteth his premises, neither refusing nor admitting the consequence, saying, "Though according to the titles of honour which now have prevailed in the Church, a Bishop be greater than a presbyter, notwithstanding, in many things Hierome the priest is greater than Augustine the Bishop." Whereby, naming "the titles of honour which now have prevailed in the Church," he insinuates the reason, for which I here maintain that they were thus distinguished afterwards, and therefore supposes the ground of it: otherwise he might as easily have granted St. Hierome's consequence, and pleased him more. And yet I conceive that when he says a priest may be greater than a Bishop, it may very well be admitted, not only as a condescension of humility, but as an expression of truth, not only in respect of learning, or other personal considerations, but of authority in the Church, by reason of the dependence of Churches here premised.

esser ben antichissimo, ma pero Ecclesiastica institutione. Ma a questi Michel di Medina opponeva, che la Chiesa catholica, come S. Epifanio testifica, condannò per heretico Aerio, per haver detto che il vescovato non è maggior del presbiterato: nella qual heresia non è maraviglia, se Girolamo, Agostino, et qualche altro de' Padri è

incorso, per che la cosa non era ben chiara per tutto. Fù con non poco scandalo udita l'audacia del dire, che Girolamo et Agostino, sentissero heresia:—Soave, Hist. del Conc. Trident., libr. vii. p. 375. Londres. 1619.

^p Ep. lxxxii. ad Hieron. § 33, tom. ii. col. 202. ed. Ben.

^q See Prim. Govern., chap. vii. sect. 5.

§ 5. The state and government of Churches is very properly compared by Origen, *Contra Celsum*, iii.¹, to the state of Greek commonalties, the Bishop bearing the place of the magistrate, and the bench of presbyters of the senate, as I have hitherto compared them to the Jews' consistories; and as Pope Pius⁴, in his epistle to Justus of Vienne, calls the presbytery of the Church at Rome, *Pauperem senatum Christi in urbe Roma*, "The poor senate of Christ in the city of Rome." In this estate and condition the eminence of the Bishop above the presbyters is visible, though not by the humility of Pope Pius, who, perhaps, comprises both Bishop and presbyters in the same quality of a senate; yet, by the comparison of Origen, the eminence of the magistrate above his council, in all commonalties, being so visible as it is.

CHAP.
III.
[Govern-
ment of the
Church
like that of
the Greek
states.]

§ 6. But when congregations come to be distinguished as well as Churches, and a greater flock assigned to some presbyters than to Bishops in other parts of the Church, and those presbyters to do all offices to their flock which those Bishops did, saving that they depended on the city-Church, whereas those Bishops depended only on the Church of the mother-city—and therefore had power to make ordinations within their own Churches, which presbyters never could do—what hinders in this case, I say not, St. Augustine—for I suppose he names himself but for an instance, being indeed Bishop of an eminent city—to be less than St. Hierome, but some Bishop to be less than some priest, even for his lawful authority in the Church?

[How a
priest can
have more
authority
than a
Bishop.]

§ 7. A consideration of great consequence to the right constitution of councils, especially the most general, and for which there is not wanting a valuable reason, intimated in the proceedings of divers of the ancient councils of the Church, that is, that the Church cannot be reasonably con-

[Rationale
of coun-
cils.]

* Οὕτω δὲ καὶ Βουλὴν Ἐκκλησίας Θεοῦ, Βουλῇ τῇ καθ' ἑκάστην πόλιν συνεστῆσαν, εὐρωίᾳ ἂν τίνας μὲν, τῆς Ἐκκλησίας βουλευταὶ ἄγιοι, εἰσιν, οἱ τὴν ἐστίαν ἂν τῇ παντὶ πόλει τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἂν ἐκείνη πολιτεύσασθαι. Οἱ δὲ πανταχοῦ βουλευταὶ οὐδὲν ἄξιον τῆς ἐκ κατατάξεως ὑπεροχῆς, ἣν ὑπερέχειν δο-
σοῦσι τῶν πολιτῶν, φέρουσιν ἂν τοῖς λαοῦν ἡθέσιν. Οὕτω δὲ καὶ ὄρχοντα Ἐκκλησίας ἑκάστης πόλεως ἄρχοντες τῶν ἂν τῇ πόλει συγκατεῖναι ἴσα κατα-

νοήσῃς, ὅτι καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν σφόδρα ἀποτυ-
χανομένων βουλευτῶν καὶ ἀρχόντων Ἐκκλησίας Θεοῦ, καὶ βαθμύτερον παρὰ τοὺς εὐπονοῦντας βιοῦντας οὐδὲν ἡττοῦν ἔστιν εἶναι ἢ ἐπὶ παν ὑπεροχὴν τὸν ἂν τῇ ἐπὶ τὰς ἀρετὰς προκοπῇ. παρὰ τὰ ἥδη τῶν ἂν ταῖς πόλεσι βουλευτῶν καὶ ἀρχόντων.—§ 30. pp. 486, 487. tom. i. ed. Ben.

* Salutat te senatus pauper Christi apud Romanam constitutus.—Ep. iv. Labbei, tom. i. col. 581. ed. Venet.

CHAP. III. cluded by number of present votes, as the council of Trent imposes upon us, but by the consideration of Christian nations, and provinces of the Church, represented in those councils. For as we see that in the ancient councils a few Bishops were many times admitted to act in behalf of their provinces, as having commission to conclude them, in which case they must needs be considerable, according to the provinces for which they stood, so in all things which may concern the whole, not only every man's rank of Bishop, presbyter, or deacon, is to be considered, but also the eminence of the Church in which he bears the same. So that, by this reason, nothing hinders a presbyter of some chief Church to be of more consideration to the whole than a Bishop of some mean Church, such as we spoke of in Africa¹. And therefore it would be inconsequent that the determinations of synods should pass indifferently by the votes of Bishops, unless we suppose that consideration is had of the chief Churches; and this consideration answered in the eminence of that respect which the Bishops of those chief Churches enjoy, in swaying the determinations of those synods to which they concur.

[Of St. Hierome's complaint against Bishops.]

§ 8. And this consideration might, perhaps, have served to take off part of St. Hierome's displeasure against Bishops grounded upon the power which their deacons had, by their means, above presbyters, which he, in regard of the great difference between the two degrees in general, thinks to be so great an inconvenience, *Epist. lxxxv. ad Evangelum*². For though it is most true, in regard of the presbyters and deacons of the same Church, that it was a disorder that deacons, in regard of their nearness to the Bishops, should take upon them above presbyters; yet if we compare the deacon of a chief Church with the presbyter of a small country parish, no man can say that he is of less consideration to the whole Church, in regard of his rank, unless he mean to make Stephen or Philip, Titus or Timothy—or any of those that

¹ Chap. ii. sect. 19.

² Diaconos paucitas honorabiles, presbyteros turba contentibiles facit. Ceterum etiam in Ecclesia Romæ, presbyteri sedent, et stant diaconi. licet paulatim increbrescentibus vitiis, inter presbyteros absente Episcopo

sedere diaconum viderim, et in domesticis conviviiis benedictiones presbyteris dare. Discant qui hoc faciunt, non se recte facere, et audiant Apostolos, non est dignum, ut relinquentes verbum Dei, ministremus mensis.—S. Hieron. Opp. tom. iv. col. 803. ed. Ben.

waited on the Apostles in person, and were properly their CHAP. deacons, as I have said*, in assisting them to preach the Gospel where they came—to be meaner persons in the Church than one of those presbyters which Paul and Barnabas, Titus or Timothy, ordained in the Churches of those cities where they came. III.

§ 9. To that which I say, p. 92⁷, to prove that the word angel, in the epistle to the seven Churches, Rev. ii. and iii., being an obvious and proper metaphor to signify a Bishop or presbyter, cannot, therefore, be used to signify a college of presbyters, the word being no collective, nor any construction enforcing it to be used for a collective, in all that epistle; I add here the comparison of two passages, by which it may be gathered for what reason, and in what consideration, the Spirit speaketh to the body of those Churches, in the epistle directed to the angels of them, and, by consequence, who those angels are. [Meaning of the word angel.]

§ 10. The first is that of St. Paul to Titus, iii. 10: "A man that is an heretic after the first and second admonition, avoid." For is it St. Paul's purpose to command that only Titus avoid those whom he should declare heretics? Surely that would be to no great effect, unless we understand that, by virtue of this precept, both Titus is enabled to charge the Churches under him to avoid them, and they thereupon obliged to do it. The other is the epistle under the name of Ignatius[†] to Polycarpus, wherein, after such advice as he thought fit for Polycarpus, without turning his speech from him to another person, he proceeds to exhort his people with such instructions as he found to be most requisite.

§ 11. Which seems to be the reason why many count that epistle counterfeit, and none of Ignatius's own[‡]: though, for my part, I confess I am not yet persuaded to think so, not only because of the character both of the matter and language of it, which seemeth to me to carry the stamp of Apostolical

* Chap. ii. sect. 31.

† Chap. iii. sect. 8.

‡ The fifth section of that epistle begins thus: Τὰς κακοτεχνίας φύγε, addressed to St. Polycarp. The next section is addressed to the people under him, beginning thus: Τῶ Ἐπισκόπῳ προσάγετε, ἰσα καὶ ὁ Θεὸς ὑμῶν.

—Ed. Cotelier., p. 96.

* In hac tota fere epistola desidero γρηγοριον Ignatium. Quid enim? Ignatius oblitus est, se ad Episcopum scribere, cum dicit, *Episcopo attendite, ut ei Deus vobis.*—Sculter. Medull. Theol. Patrum, p. 412. Ambergæ, 1613.

CHAP. III. upon it, as the rest of Ignatius's; but also particularly, because of the example of this epistle of St. John to the seven Churches, wherein it is plain he involves both pastor and flock in the same praises, reproofs, advices, and exhortations; the reasons being the same in both, because both sent to be read to the people in the Church, as the epistle to the Colossians and the Laodiceans, Coloss. iv. 16; and as the epistle of Clemens to the Corinthians, Eusebius³ says, was wont to be read in that Church in his time. Now if the instructions concerning the people be addressed to Titus and Polycarp, is it not because of some eminence of authority in them, by which they might be brought into effect among their people? How much more that which is addressed unto the angels of seven Churches, being a style apt to signify a person of eminent authority over others, but never used to signify a body of persons, much less with parallel authority among themselves?

[The vision of St. John represented the Church.]

§ 12. It is commonly conceived that the souls under the Altar, which we read of, Apoc. vi. 9, were seen by St. John lying under the Altar of burnt-sacrifices, at the foot whereof the rest of the blood that was not sprinkled on the Altar was poured out; and the blood being the life or soul of living creatures in the language of the Scriptures, that therefore the souls of those that were slain for the profession of Christianity, are seen by St. John under the Altar. Against this⁴ apprehension, I allege, p. 95^c, that it is not the Altar of burnt-sacrifices, but the Altar of incense—within the tabernacle, but without the veil—which is represented in these visions, correspondent to the primitive fashion of Churches, where the communion-table—called also the Altar, because of the sacrifice of the cross represented upon it—stood in the midst of that compass which the seats of the Bishop and priests did enclose. For though in the temple the people prayed without the sanctuary, the priest, whose office it was, at the same time offering incense with their prayers yet in the church, where all the people are within the sanctuary, as priests, the

³ Ταύτου δὲ οὗ τοῦ Κλήμεντος δημο-
λογουμένη μία ἐπιστολὴ φέρεται, μεγά-
λητε καὶ θαυμασία. . . . Ταύτην δὲ
καὶ ἐν πλείοταῖς Ἐκκλησίαις ἐπὶ τοῦ
κοινοῦ βιβλιοποιουμένην πάλαι τε καὶ

καθ' ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἔχοντες. — Eccles.
Hist., lib. iii. cap. xvi. p. 38, ed. Vales.
See also lib. iv. cap. xxiii. p. 145.

⁴ Chap. iii. sect. 10.

twenty-four presbyters are described with golden vials full of incense, which is the people's prayers, Apoc. v. 8, as David saith, [Psalm cxli. 2,] "Let my prayer be set forth in Thy presence as the incense;" and besides, the angel puts incense upon his censer, to the prayers of the saints, Apoc. viii. 3; therefore his fire is from the Altar of incense, within the tabernacle, though without the veil.

§ 13. Besides, it is not imaginable how the souls of those that were slain could appear to St. John in vision of prophecy, lying under the Altar of burnt-sacrifices, where the blood of sacrifices was poured out, and that in such a multitude as we know there was of the primitive martyrs: especially, seeing the circumstances of the text enforce that they are the same souls which first cry for vengeance, and have long white robes given them because they are not presently satisfied, Apoc. vi. 9—11; and which are afterwards described standing and praising God in the white robes that were given them afore, Apoc. vii. 9. And therefore when they are said to be seen, *ὑποκάτω τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου*, the meaning is not that they were seen lying under the Altar of burnt-sacrifices, but standing in the lower part of the sanctuary, beneath the Altar of incense. Unless we take *θυσιαστήριον* here for the sanctuary, as I shew that it is taken in the Apocalypsc, p. 115^d, and then *ὑποκάτω τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου* is for *ἐν τῷ ὑποκάτω* or *ἐν τοῖς ὑποκάτω τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου*.

§ 14. The name of ministers, when it answers the Greek *διάκονος* in the Scriptures, if it be put absolutely, without any addition, signifies the rank and office of those that are ever since called deacons in the Church; but many times it is put with the additions here mentioned, p. 99^c, of ministers of the word, ministers of the Gospel, of the New Testament, of the Church, which serve as circumlocutions and descriptions of the office of Apostles to the whole Church, or their deputies and commissioners, the evangelists, as when St. Paul writes to the Colossians, i. 23—26, that he was made a "minister of the Gospel," or, "of the Church, according to the dispensation of God which is given me towards you, to fulfil the word of God," that is, "the mystery that hath been hidden from generations and ages, and now is manifested to His saints."

CHAP.
III.

[Different
meanings
of the word
deacon.]

* Chap. iii. sect. 31.

* Chap. iii. sect. 15.

§ 14. It is very manifest that he calls himself a minister of Christ, or of the Church, in regard to publishing the Gospel, and leading the Church, when he calls out to the presbyters of churches, what he does and does a respect to their particular duties. And this notion of the word is almost always to be gathered by the text and consequence of those passages where it is found. Therefore the word *diaconos*, when it is understood per. i. Tim. ii. 2. stands in relation to Bishop and presbyters, denoting that, in the notion of "waiting upon them," whereas when it is put with the addition here specified, it stands in relation to God, making as much difference between ministers of the word, and barely ministers, as between executing the immediate commands of God as *diaconos* do, and carrying the commands of Bishops, in regard to whom denominated *diaconos*, they are called barely and without any addition, *diaconos*, or ministers in that place. And as the seven at Jerusalem were first constituted to wait upon the Apostles, by doing that service which they did themselves at the first for the Church: whereupon, it was afterwards a custom in the Church that there should be seven deacons in every Church, as there were at Jerusalem, *Council. Niceense. Can. xii.*^a

§ 15. And therefore the author of the Questions of the Old and New Testament, in St. Augustine's Works, *Quest. ci.*^b having observed that the Apostles call presbyters their fellow-presbyters, *adeth, Nuncipid et ministros condiaconos suos dicit Episcopus? Non utique, quia multo inferiores sunt. Et turpe est iudicem dicere primicerium;* "Would the Bishop call deacons his fellow-deacons? Surely no, for they are much inferior. And it is absurd to call a prothonotary a judge." Where he makes the same difference between presbyters and deacons, as between judges and ministers of courts, and that according to the original custom of the synagogue, as well as of the Church, as by and bye it shall appear^b.

^a Διάκονοι ἐν τῷ ἀρχιεπισκοπῇ εἶναι κατὰ τὸν κανόνα. καὶ πᾶσι ἀρχιεπισκοπῇ εἰς τὴν πόλιν πεσθῆσαν δε ἀπὸ τῆς βίβλου τῶν ἀρχιεπισκοπῶν. A.D. 314 can. xv in the Greek. *Lauchol. tom. i. col. 1613. ed. Venet.*

^b Quod est enim Episcopus, nisi summus presbyter, hoc est, summus

sacerdos. Denique non aliter quam compresbyteros hic vocat et consecradores suos. Nunquid et ministros &c. as in the text.—St. August. *Opp. tom. iii. App. col. 93. ed. Ben.*

^c See sect. 23 below.

§ 17. Notwithstanding, the office of Bishops is called a CHAP. III. ministry very anciently, by Pope Pius¹, in his epistle to Justus of Vienne, as also the office both of Bishops, presbyters, and deacons, *Concil. Eliber. can. xix.^k*, but in another [The epi- scopate a ministry.] notion, in opposition to the coactive power of the world, as proceeding originally, not by constraint, but by consent; and so they are called *λειτουργοί*, and their office *λειτουργία* in Greek, because their office is for the behoof of the people, and in their stead; but they cannot therefore be called ministers of the people, as deacons are ministers of Bishops and presbyters, because then they should be ruled by the people, and execute that which they prescribe—as the Apostles being ministers of God in preaching the Gospel, are bound to execute His commission, and nothing else—which the clergy of Christian Churches may not do.

§ 18. That it may be beyond any power upon earth, to [Bishops cannot be abolished.] abolish the order of Bishops out of the Church of England, without abolishing the Church also, as is said here, p. 129^l, I prove, chap. v. to wit, that no secular power can take away ecclesiastical power from them that lawfully have it, according to the institution of the Apostles, though not by virtue of it.

§ 19. To shew that in the judgment and practice of the primitive Church all power of baptizing was derived from the Bishop, as is said here, p. 136^m, we have but to remember the custom of the Church, mentioned in so many canons, of [Bishops only baptize.] sending the chrism to all parish Churches, from the mother-Church, once a-yearⁿ. By which ceremony it appeared that the Bishop trusted his authority of admitting to the Church

¹ Tu vero apud senatoriam urbem Viennensem ejus loco a tractibus constitutus et colloquio Episcoporum vestitus, vide ut ministerium quod accepisti, in Domino impleas Presbyteri et diaconi non ut majorem, sed ut ministerium Christi te observent, plebs universa sanctitate tua protegatur. Ep. iv. Labbei, tom. i. col. 581. ed. Venet.

^k Episcopi presbyteri et diacones, si in ministerio positi, detecti fuerint quod sint maritati, placuit et propter scandalum, et propter profanum crimen, nec in fine eos communionem accipere debere.—Labbei, tom. i. col. 994.

^l Chap. iii. sect. 44.

^m Chap. iii. sect. 52.

ⁿ Quamvis pene ubique custodiatur, ut absque Episcopo chrisma nemo conficiat, tamen quia in aliquibus locis vel provinciis, presbyteri dicuntur chrisma conficere, placuit ex hac die nullum alium nisi Episcopum chrisma facere et per diocesim destinare; ita ut ad singulis Ecclesiis ad Episcopum ante diem Paschæ diaconi destinantur aut subdiaconi; ut confectum chrisma ab Episcopo destinatum ad diem Paschæ possit occurrere.—Concil. Tolet. i. A. D. 400 can. xi. Labbei, tom. ii. col. 1474. ed. Venet.

CHAP. III. by baptism with the respective pastors of the same. And therefore it is not unreasonably judged that this custom of chrisming was many times instead of confirmation to those Churches that used it. Besides, in that from the beginning, no ecclesiastical office was to be ministered by any but the Bishop in his presence, the dependence of all ecclesiastical authority, whereby the same are ministered, upon the Bishop, is evidenced to us.

[Laymen
ought
preach.]

§ 20. Thus, in the passage of Eusebius concerning Origen's preaching before he was of the clergy, mentioned p. 106^o, it is further to be observed, that the instances there alleged seem to shew that the primitive Bishops did many times admit those that were of no degree in the clergy to preach in their own presence. Which, that it was a further privilege than only to preach, may appear by that which is related out of the life of St. Augustine, in *The Primitive Government of Churches*, p. 113^p; that he was employed by the Bishop, his predecessor, to preach to the people in his presence and stead, because he had seen it so practised in the east, though in those parts it were not done. In like manner it is manifest, by many records of the Church, that none might baptize, celebrate the Eucharist, or reconcile the penitent, in the Bishop's presence, but himself; for of confirmation and ordaining I need say nothing^a.

§ 21. The fourth reason against the vulgar reading of the thirteenth canon of the council at Ancyra, p. 141^a, will be more clearly understood by setting down the effect of the fifty-sixth canon of Laodicea^b, which, coming after that of Ancyra, and taking order that for the future there should be no country-Bishops made any more, provides further, that those which were already constituted should do nothing without the consent of the Bishop, as likewise the presbyters to do nothing without the same. Which, being the provision which the latter canon establisheth, leaveth it very probable

^a Chap. iii. sect. 22.

^b Chap. x. sect. 2.

^c See *Prim. Govern.*, chap. x. sect. 3.

^d Chap. ii. sect. 55.

^e "Οτι, οὐ δεῖ ἐν ταῖς κώμαις, καὶ ἐν ταῖς χώραις καθίστασθαι Ἐπισκόπους, ἀλλὰ περιούτους. Τοὺς μὲντοι ἡδη

προκατασταθέντας μηδὲν πράττειν ἄνευ γνώμης τοῦ Ἐπισκόπου τοῦ ἐν τῇ παλαιᾷ ἑκκλησίᾳ, καὶ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους ἀνεὶ ἐκείνου πράττειν ἄνευ τῆς γνώμης τοῦ Ἐπισκόπου.—Labbei, tom. i. col. 1540. In the Greek it is the fifty-seventh.

that the other, going afore, and intending to take order in the same particulars, should consist of two clauses corresponding to the same. CHAP.
III.

§ 22. That there were other Churches and Bishops in Egypt, beside that of Alexandria, before the time of Demetrius, beside that which hath been said, pp. 142, 143¹, stands more probable by the emperor Adrian's epistle, related by Vopiscus in the life of Saturninus²: *Illi qui Serapim colunt Christiani sunt, et devoti sunt Serapi, qui se Christi Episcopos dicunt. Nemo illic Archisynagogus Judæorum, nemo Samaritanus, nemo Christianorum presbyter, non mathematicus, non aruspex, non aliptes.* Here he names Bishops at Alexandria; to wit, such as resorted thither from other cities of Egypt. And though a man would be so contentious as to stand in it, that the name *Episcopus* might then be common to Bishops and presbyters both, yet when he speaks of *presbyter Christianorum* in the very next words, he cannot reasonably be thought to speak of presbyters in those that went afore. And when Tertullian saith that Valentine, the father of the Valentinians, expected to have been made a Bishop for his wit and eloquence, and, because he failed of it, applied his mind to make a sect apart, whereof himself might be the head, *Adversus Valentinianos*, cap. iv.³, unless we suppose more Bishops than one in Egypt at that time, we tie ourselves to say that he would have been Bishop of Alexandria: which, had it been so, Tertullian probably would have expressed for the eminence of the place.

§ 23. The correspondence between the office of deacons in the synagogue and the Church, mentioned p. 156⁴, may thus appear: "Judges and officers shalt thou appoint thee in all thy gates:" that is, in all thy cities, saith the law, Deut. xvi. 18, joining together judges and officers in divers other places, Num. xi. 16; Deut. i. 15, 16. These officers the Greek translateth *γραμματεῖς*, and sometimes *γραμματοεισαγρυεῖς*, [Deacons
in the sy-
nagogue
and in the
Church.]

¹ Chap. iii. sect. 57, 58.

² See Review, chap. ii. sect. 16.

³ Speraverat Episcopatum Valentinus, quia et ingenio poterat et eloquio. Sed alium ex martyri prerogativa loci potitum indignatus, de Ecclesia authentice regule abruptus—ut solent

animi pro prioratu exalti, presumptione ultionis accendi, ad expugnandam conversam veritatem, et ejusdem veteris opinionis semini actu colubinoso delinnavit.—p. 412. ed. Pam. Rothomag. 1662.

⁴ Chap. iii. sect. 70

CHAP. III. the vulgar Latin *doctores*^a, for what reason I do not see any man hath declared. By the Talmud doctors they are called חכמי הכנסת, which seems to import *apparitors* *synagoga*, which Maimoni describes to be young men, that had attained the years and knowledge of doctors: and the punishment of scourging, he saith, was executed by these. It importeth also an old saying of their Talmud doctors, the reason why Samuel's sons would not ride circuit as their father did, was, because they would inflame the fees of the *חכמים*, that is, their ministers, or apparitors, and scribes or clerks. And Buxtorf, in the word חכמים, reports another of their sayings, that, at the time of the destruction of Jerusalem, the Jews were inclined to the learning of apparitors, and apparitors to that of clerks. So then, they were next under the scribes, men, or doctors, but above scribes or clerks, by this account, but, seeing there was no more difference between them and scribes, no marvel if sometimes it be not considered. Maimoni, in the title of Learning the Law, sheweth that the Jews had schoolmasters appointed to teach young children to read; of the condition of whom he writeth there at cap. ii.^b; these are they whom the vulgar Latin meaneth *doctores*, as appears by the supposed St. Ambrose, 1 Cor. xii. 28^b, who would have those whom St. Paul calls doctors, to be the very same. And therefore the Seventy mean the very same that the seventy meant by γραμματισαγωγείς.

§ 24. The Jews say that they were of the tribe of Simeon, and that, so, the prophecy of Jacob was fulfilled: "I will scatter them in Jacob, and scatter them in Israel." The Law being dispersed throughout all the tribes, to take tithes a

^a "Οτι οἱ τοῖς εἰσι πρεσβύτεροι τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ γραμματεῖς αὐτῶν. Num. xi. 16.

Καὶ γραμματισαγωγείς τοῖς κριταῖς ὄντων. Deut. i. 15.

Κριταὶ καὶ γραμματισαγωγείς καταστήσεις σεαυτῷ. Deut. xvi. 18.

In these places the Vulgate reads, Quod senes populi sint ac magistri, Num., Qui docerent vos, Deut. i., and Judices et magistros constitues tibi, Deut. xvi., but in Deut. xxi. 10, where the Seventy read γραμματισαγωγείς, the Vulgate has, Majores natu et doc-

tores; and likewise in Deut. xx. Congregate ad me omnes majores per tribus vestras atque doctores, also the Seventy read γραμματισαγωγείς.

^b De Doctrina Legis, p. Claverius Oxon. 1705.

^c Illos dicit doctores qui in litteris et lectionibus retinendis imbuant more synagoga: quod dicitur illorum ad nos transitum S. Ambros., Opp. tom. ii. App. ed. Ben.

harn-door, and the Simeonites, to teach to write and read. CHAP. III.
 St. Hieronym. *Quæst. Hebraic. in Genesim*^c; Jarchi in *Gen.* xlix. 7^d. And indeed, the name by which the Scripture calleth them, שטררים, though the original of it be not found in the Scriptures—as how should any language be all found in so small a volume?—yet, in the Jews' writings, and also in the Syriac Testament, the word from whence it is derived signifieth contracts, as Coloss. ii. 14. So that, by their name, they must be such as write contracts, that is, clerks or notaries. Therefore, if the judges and doctors of the Jews' consistories are correspondent to the presbyters of Christian Churches, which by many arguments hath been declared, then the apparitors and notaries of the same must, by consequence, be answerable to our deacons. And so Epiphanius, in the Heresy of the Ebionites^e, maketh the Bishops, presbyters, and deacons of the Christians to be the same, that, among the Jews, were called ἀρχισυνάγωγοι, πρεσβύτεροι, καὶ ἀζανίται, that is, rulers of synagogues, presbyters and deacons; for, as the deacons were wont to minister a great part of the service in the Church, so still, the service in the synagogue is performed by him whom, still, they call מוֹנֵם הַסֵּד, or minister of the synagogue.

§ 25. To this third chapter I must add two considerations: [Of lay
 the one is of the scope of that little piece, of The Right of elders.]
 the People in the Church, which the learned Blondell hath lately added to Grotius's book, *De Imperio Summarum Potestatum Circa Sacra*^f. Which is, in brief, to derive the right and title of lay elders from the people, and from that interest which, by the Scriptures, it appears that they had from the beginning, under the Apostles, in Church matters. Whereby he hath given us cause to cry aloud, victory; as, quitting the reason and ground upon which the bringing of lay elders into the Church was first defended, and is hitherto maintained

^c Levi enim hereditatem propriam non accepit, sed in omnibus scriptis paucos unces ad habitandum habuit. De Simeon vero, in Heb. descriptum est, quod et ipse proprium funiculum non fuerit consequutus, sed de tribu Juda quiddam acceperit.—S. Hieron., Opp. tom. ii. col. 546. ed. Ben.

^d Non erant tibi pauperes scribæ et infantium doctores, nisi ex tribu Simeo-

nis, ut sunt dispersi; tribum autem Levi fecit Jacobus circumire per atena ad colligendas oblationes et decimas: hanc ejus dispersionem Jacobus dedit et tribui Levi, per modum honoris.—R. Salomon. Jarchi comment. Latine versus a Joh. Fr. Breithaupt., tom. i. pp. 374. 375. Gothæ: 1710.

^e See chap. iii. sect. 7.

^f See chap. iii. sect. 73.

CHAP. III among us, to wit, that only text of 1 Tim. v. 17: "Elders that rule well be counted worthy of double: especially those that labour in the word and doctrine: this Scripture being abandoned, the rest that are put are so far from concluding, that they cannot stand by themselves."

[They are abandoned by Blondell.]

§ 26. Now that this text cannot be effectual to its purpose, he argueth there^c upon the same reason which I have advanced p. 123^a, to wit, because the same, that is, maintenance, is thereby allowed to those that labour in the word and doctrine, and those that do not: which it must needs appear, to him that knows a great deal of the antiquity of the Church than Blondell does, that the elders, whose maintenance is provided for by the Church, are not to be distinguished from the laymen. Now to comply with him that hath so ingenuously owned the fact, I do avow that he hath reason to believe there being so great difference between the state of the Church, since whole nations profess Christianity, and which was under the Apostles, and the confusion of the Church, which is now so endless and unavoidable, that must needs arise in all matters, by acquainting all the people with the proceedings, and expecting their satisfaction and consent in

^a Hoc unum—extra disciplinæ cautionem—in istis novitatibus redolere jure videtur, quod sine antiquorum exemplo et necessitate nulla, Paulina verba 1 Tim. v. 17, 18, ad Seniores ptebatur, enim Episcopus et diaconis, ad Ecclesiasticum clavum sedentes nominaliter trahere placeat: Cum enim id ipsum quod 1 Cor. ix docuerit, 1 Tim. v. 17 tractaverit, eisdem utrobique locis, nempe Dent. xxv. 4, &c. et Matt. x. 10 doctrinam suam confirmavit: confirmatione illa vocem *trahi* de quocumque honore intelligi nec posse nec debere sed ad si pondus honoris deignationem constituturum esse extiterit, de his solum privilegiatis, quibus tunc cum antiquis de ministerio a fidelibus assignatum erat: adeoque de solum pontificibus verba 1 Tim. v. 17 in necessitate locuti, quia ex ad seniores ptebatur quibus tunc nunquam Ecclesia stipendia daretur: excludenda potest de ceteris de Apostolicis ministeriis aliter videtur esse. Nam quibus ex 1 Tim. v. 17 tempore seniores ptebatur non solum, qui docebant, et secundarios, qui

eum docebant disciplinam et mores regant, erui posse est, ne quis secundariis non ignoro.—Blondell, de J. in Regim. Eccles., pp. 79—1648.

^b Chap. iii. sect. 39.

^c Cum Apostolice et hodie ecclesie condiciones longe divergent, hinc cum extraordinariis dotes, quibus illa abundavit ut dignationis ac juris munus fuisse dicimus, nec ex necessitate arduum nihil nisi convocare multitudine Apostolorum, nostram quæ comparationem non inequa dei jure potest, præpositis suis semper eisdem omnibus consultant—convocant. Adde tunc merito in dubium posse an quicquamque Ecclesie fratres et Apostolicis consensu legantur, ad istum consensum aut nec possit fraternitati juri assenti, et forte eorum convocatio vel Marius deturrit.

—it cannot be contrary to God's law to delegate the interest CHAP.
III.
of the people to some of the discreetest and most pious of them, chosen by them, to concur in their right. For in this quality do those elders of the people, of which Justellus writeth, act in ecclesiastical matters, as you may see by that which I have said in the Apostolical Form of Divine Service, p. 96^k, and in all other the particulars which he allegeth.

§ 27. And if this be it which the Presbyterians demand in behalf of their lay elders, let them first accord themselves with those of the congregations concerning the due interest of the people in Church matters; and my opinion shall be, that the Church may safely join issue with them, not to yield a double number of votes to lay elders, in the proceeding of all Church matters, as the ordinance for establishing the presbyteries appoints^l—which is to make the clergy truly ministers, not of God, but of the people—but to grant them a right of intercession in behalf of the people,—when the proceeding may be argued to be contrary to God's law—grounded upon the practice recorded in the Scriptures, and continued under the primitive Church, by which the people were satisfied, even of the proceedings of the Apostles themselves in Church matters. For by this right and interest, the acts of the Church shall not be done by any vote of the people; but the rule of Christianity, and the constitution of the Church according to God's law, shall be preserved, which are the inheritance of Christian people.

§ 28. The second is concerning the different interests of clergy and people, in judging the causes of Christians before any state professed Christianity, supposing that which hath been proved in the first chapter, that our Lord and His Apostles ordain that they go not forth of the Church to be judged in heathen courts, upon pain of excommunication to them that carry them forth. For St. Paul seems to appoint

[Of the constitution of the Christian courts.]

^k Chap. iv. sect. 19.

^l "That in all such classical elder-ships, whether in the province of London, or in any of the counties of the kingdom, there shall be out of every congregational eldership, two elders or more, not exceeding the number of four, and one minister, sent to every classis.

"That in the classical meeting of all classes, that which shall be done by

the major part present, shall be esteemed as the act of the whole classical number, and that no act done by any classis shall be valid and good, unless it be done by the number of twelve present, whereof four at least to be ministers, and eight at the least ruling elders, or the major part of them."—Seabrell, p. 169. London, 1658.

CHAP. III. that the least esteemed of the Church be constituted judges in those causes, 1 Cor. vi. 4, and therefore, not Bishops, nor presbyters, nor deacons, which must needs be of most esteem in the society of the Church, but the simplest of the people. Which, though it must needs be said by way of concession, or supposition, that is, that they should rather appoint such men than carry their causes to secular courts—otherwise it were too gross an inconvenience, to imagine that the Apostle commandeth them to appoint the simplest to be their judges—yet, seeing the truth of his words requires that the supposition be possible, so that it might in some case come to effect, it seems that his injunction comes to this, that, in case the chief of the Church, the clergy, were so employed, that they could not attend to judge their controversies within themselves, they should make judges out of the people. Which seemeth not suitable to the rest of the interests of the clergy hitherto challenged.

§ 29. This difficulty is to be answered, by distinguishing, as the Roman laws distinguish, between jurisdiction and judging, though in far less matters. For jurisdiction is sometimes described in the Roman laws^m to be the power of appointing a judge, because it was never intended that the magistrate, which was endowed with jurisdiction, should judge all in person, but should give execution and force to the sentences of such judges as himself should appoint. So that the advice of the Apostle supposeth indeed, that some of the people might be appointed to judge the causes of Christians, within the Church, but leaves the jurisdiction in those hands by whom they should be appointed judges. Which, though it be attributed to the Church indistinctly by the Apostle, yet seeing, by our Lord's appointment, the sentence was to be executed by excommunication, therefore of necessity, the appointing of judges must proceed upon the same difference of interests as it hath been shewed that excommunication doth.

[The clergy were judges in those courts.]

§ 30. And though St. Paul suppose that there might be cause to have recourse to laymen, for the sentencing of differences in the Church,—as indeed the life of St. Peterⁿ, in the

^m Jurisdictio est etiam iudicis dandi licentia. = ff. ii. 1, *de jurisdictione*, 3.

ⁿ Ille Petrus beatum Clementem Episcopum consecravit, cui et Cathe-

pontifical book, relateth that he did ordain, or appoint certain persons to attend upon this business, that himself might be free for more spiritual employment, which seemeth to be meant of laymen constituted judges—yet, by the Apostolical Constitutions, we find that it was usually done by the clergy, ii. 47°. And Polycarpus, in his epistle to the Philippians, exhorting the presbyters not to be ἀπόστολοι ἐν κρίσει¹, rigid in judgment, must needs be thought to have respect to this office. And, beside many more instances that might be produced, of good antiquity in the Church, it is manifest that this is the beginning of Bishops' audiences.

CHAP.
III.

CHAPTER IV.

THAT which is said, p. 1669, that Christian states have as good right to dispose of matters of Christianity, as any state that is not Christian hath to dispose of matters of that religion which it professeth, proceedeth upon that ground of interest in matters of religion which is common to all states, to wit, that the disposing of matters of religion is a part of that right wherein sovereignty consists, inasmuch as it concerneth all civil societies, to provide, that under pretence of religion, nothing prejudicial to the public peace thereof may be done. And truly, those religions that come not from God, may very well contain things prejudicial to civil society, inasmuch as those unclean spirits, which are the authors of counterfeit religions, do also take delight in confounding the good order of human affairs. Notwithstanding, in regard the obligation which we have to civil society, is more felt, and better understood, than that which we have to the service of God; therefore, those that are seduced from true religion, are nevertheless, by the light of nature, enabled to maintain civil society, against any thing which, under pretence of religion, may prove prejudicial to the same.

[Why
Christian
powers
have in-
fluence in
Church
matters.]

drum vel Ecclesiam omnem disponendam committit, dicens, Sicut mihi gubernandi tradita est a Domino meo Jesu Christo potestas ligandi solvendi-que, ita et ego tibi committo, ut ordines dispositores diversarum causarum per quos actus non ecclesiastici prodigen-

tur, et tu minime curis sæculi deditus repenaris, sed solummodo orationi et prædicationi ad populum vacare stude.

—Labbe, tom. 3, col. 63, ed. Venet.

¹ See chap. iii. sect. 48.

² Chap. vi. p. 146, ed. Coteler.

³ Chap. iv. sect. 3.

CHAP.
IV.

§ 2. This is then the common ground of the interest states in matters of religion, which Christianity both particularly and expressly establisheth. Particularly, inasmuch as they that assure themselves to have received their religion from the true God, must needs rest assured, that He, the author of civil society, doth not require to be worshipped with any judgment or disposition of mind prejudicial to his own ordinance; which reason, because it taketh place in Judaism, I have therefore, as I found occasion, endeavoured to declare, how that [it] containeth nothing prejudicial to the law of nations; and expressly, inasmuch as the Gospel addresseth itself to all nations, with this provision, that it be innovated in the civil state of any, upon pretence of religion; but, that all, out of conscience to God, submit to the laws of that estate wherein they come to be Christians, so far as they are not subject to change, by some course of human right.

[No advantages of this world belong to the profession of Christianity.]

§ 3. For when St. Paul, 1 Cor. vii. 22, commands us to serve God, in that condition, of circumcision or uncircumcision, single life or wedlock, bondage or freedom, wherein they are called to be Christians; his meaning is not that a slave may not become free with his Christianity; but that he must not think himself free by his Christianity. Upon this ground, common to all states, it is verified that Christian states have as much right in Christianity, as states that are not Christian have, in that religion which they profess. Another ground there is peculiar to Christian states, the virtue of the will of God declared to be this, that Christianity be received and maintained by the sovereign powers of the world, Gentiles, to whom God appointed the Gospel to be preached. Of which afterwards.

[The discipline of the Church to be aided by the secular power.]

§ 4. That when the world is come into the Church, and when states profess Christianity, it is not to be expected that persons of great quality in the state submit to the power of the Church, unless the coactive power of the state enforce it. As it is said p. 168^{*}, depends upon that which I said before, that the profession of religion is common to all nations, and that he deserves not the benefit of civil society that renounces it. For if the profession of religion in general

* Chap. iv. sect. 5.

requisite for all them that will enjoy civil society with any civil nation, then is the communion of that religion, which the state, wherein a man lives, professes, a temporal privilege to all that enjoy it; inasmuch as thereby they are reputed to have that communion with God which the rest of that state must needs be reputed to have, because the religion of the state must needs be reputed to be true. And this reputation being so necessary in civil society, that no man, esteeming it as he ought, can lightly abandon it, it follows of necessity, that many will be willing to profess Christianity, when the state professes it, that would not be willing to submit unto the power of the Church—by which they may be deprived of the privilege of communion in it, unless they perform, as well as profess it, in the judgment of those whom that power is trusted with—if the coactive power of the state did not enforce it.

§ 5. That which is said p. 169*, that sovereignty is called by the Romans *imperium*, or empire, is chiefly meant of the title of *imperator*, given Augustus and his successors, and the reason which, I conceive, it imports. For, when the people was sovereign, generals of armies received commonly from their armies the title of *Imperatores*, upon any remarkable exploit of war done upon their enemies. But they received afore of the people, that which they called *imperium* or empire—to wit, the power of the sword—by a peculiar act, beside those by which they were either made magistrates, or set over their provinces. Wherefore, the title of *Imperator*—given [Cæsar and] Augustus in another sense and notion than other generals had it from their armies, or than magistrates received their commands as generals from the people, saith Dion, lib. xliii.¹ [lii.]—seemeth to extend as far as the

CHAP.
— IV. —

[Of sove-
reign
power.]

¹ Chap. iv. sect. 6.

¹ Τό, τε τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ὄνομα, οὐ κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐστὶ μόνον, ὥσπερ ἄλλοι τε καὶ ἑτέροις ἐκ πολλῶν ἐκ τῶν παλαιοῦν ἐπεκλήθησαν, οὐδ' ὥς οἱ τινὲς αὐτοτελὴ ἡγεμονίαν, ἢ καὶ ἄλλην τινὰ ἐξουσίαν λαμβάνει, ἀνομιάζοντο ἀλλὰ καθὰ τὰς τοῦτοδε τὰ καὶ νῦν ταῖς τὸ κράτος ἐχούσι, διδόμενον, ἐκείνῳ πᾶσι πρώτῳ τε καὶ πρώτῳ ὥσπερ τι κύριον προσέθεσαν. — lib. lxxx. p. 245.

Καὶ τῆς τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἐπέκλησιν ἐπέθετο. Λέγω δὲ οὐ τὴν ἐπὶ ταῖς νίκαις

κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον διδομένην τισίν, — ἐκείνην γὰρ πολλῶν μὲν καὶ πρότερον, πολλῶν δὲ καὶ ὑστερον ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἔργων ἔλαβεν, ὥστε καὶ ἐς ἐκείνην ὄνομα αὐτοκράτορος σχεῖν ἀλλὰ τὴν ἑτέραν τὴν τὸ κράτος διασημαίνουσαν, ὥσπερ τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ τῷ Καίσαρι καὶ τοῖς πασι τοῖς ἐγγράφοις ἐψηφιστο — lib. lii. pp. 193, 194. HANX. 1616. In the first edition the name of Augustus only was in the text, but the reference to Dion was made to the account of Julius Cæsar, in the forty-third book.

CHAP. IV. property of the word reacheth, to all acts of sovereignty which a commanding power can enforce.

[Laws of
Christian
states
must not
be dis-
puted
to the
Church.]

§ 6. All laws being nothing else but commands of that will which hath power to determine what shall be done, in those things which those laws do limit and determine: all magistracies, offices, and jurisdictions, nothing else but commands of that will, which hath power to entrust whom it chooseth with the execution of laws, or with power of commanding in such things wherein it hath determined nothing afore. All these branches, then, and productions of sovereign power, are in force, and may be exercised by Christian states, as well upon ecclesiastical matters and persons interested by the Church, as others. But, not to defeat nor void that ministerial power which the Church having received immediately from God, enjoyeth thereby, a right answerable to all the branches of sovereign power, in matters proper to the Church, as you have seen it declared, p. 32^a.

[The
Church
hath power
to make
laws.]

§ 7. The evidence of a legislative power in the Church is said, p. 175^a, to be as express in God's book as it can be in any book inspired by God: not as if it were not possible that God should declare by inspiration, more clearly, that this power belongeth to the Church, than now it is declared in the Scriptures—for then could there be no dispute about it—but, that it is as express as it can be in these Scriptures, supposing them to be inspired by God. For, seeing those of the congregations think that they have a sufficient answer to all that is brought for a legislative power in the Church, out of the Scriptures, by saying that the Scriptures are given from above, and therefore the matters therein declared, being immediately commanded by God, are no ground of the like power for the Church: it was necessary to remonstrate unto them, that, if this answer were good, not only there were no such power *de facto* declared, but also no such power could be declared by such Scriptures; and therefore that we are to look about us, and to consider by what circumstances of things expressed in such Scriptures, it may appear to common reason, that the Church practised it not without authority and warrant from the Scriptures.

§ 8. If the prophets of the Old Testament had this power

^a Chap. i. sect. 32, 33.

^b Chap. iv. sect. 13.

by the law, that if they dispensed with any positive precept of it⁷, that precept was to cease for the time—which is not any dream of the Jews' doctors, but an opinion received from their predecessors, without which, they involve themselves in most inextricable difficulties, that either deny, or give any other reason of the toleration of high places, before the temple was built, and after that, of the sacrificing of Elias in Carmel, as also of the forbearance of circumcision in the wilderness—it is no marvel if the reproof of Ahab by Elias, 1 Kings xxi. 19, of his son by Eliseus, 2 Kings vi. 32, of Herod by our Lord and St. John Baptist, are imputed to the peculiar right of prophets in God's people, p. 179¹.

CHAP.
IV.
[Autho-
rity of
prophets
in the
Old Tes-
tament.]

§ 9. For, seeing that the law was the condition of the temporal happiness of that people, whereof those princes were sovereign; and, seeing the prophets were stirred up by God to reduce and preserve the law in force and practice, as well as to point out the true intent and meaning of it, which the Gospel was fully to declare; it is very reasonable and consequent, that their office should take place as well in regard of the prince as of the people. Especially, seeing it was sufficiently understood, that the people, by acknowledging them prophets, were not tied to defend them by force against the public power vested in the prince, in case it were abused to destroy them or bring their doctrine to no effect; as it is manifest by the sufferings of the prophets in the Old Testament; but to reform themselves according to their doctrine, in their own particulars, and to expect the reformation of the people from those that had the power of it.

[and their
function.]

§ 10. And therefore it is extremely inconsequent, that, by their example, in the time of Christianity, preachers should make the personal actions or public government of their lawful sovereigns the subject of their sermons, seeing that all parts of Christianity may be thoroughly taught the people, and every person of the people as fully understand how grievous every sin is, as if they be stirred to malign and detest their superiors, by being told of their sins. How much more, when the actions in their whole kinds are not sins, but may be involved with such circumstances as make them consistent with Christianity? Besides, seeing it is not every

[They
were not
exam-
ples for
Christian
preachers
in all
things.]

⁷ See Review, chap. ii. sect. 11.

¹ Chap. iv. sect. 17.

CHAP. preacher that is to regulate the proceedings of
 — IV. — such sins of public persons as appear to destru
 to run before the public censure of the Church
 what it ought to do, is not the zeal of a Christ
 scandal as leaves the person that does it li
 censure.

[Will-
 worship.]

§ 11. The sin of will-worship, which I as
 188*, is as far distant from that voluntary d
 under the Gospel, which answers to the volu
 of the law, in my meaning, as it is in deed,
 had voluntary sacrifices, or free-will offerings, ti
 by it, but to be offered according to it—the prie
 sisted in the frank disposition of him that offer
 so can it not be doubted that the sacrifices
 their prayers and their alms, all the works of fi
 goodness, together with fasting, and single li
 nence, and whatsoever else gives men more r
 vantages to abound in the same, may be offer
 of our free-will, not being under any law requ
 hands. Only the difference is this, that wheres
 of the law are things neither good nor bad, b
 tendered to God, either in obedience to the lav
 to the same; all sacrifice which we can tender
 the Gospel, must needs consist in the spiritual w
 not in the means whereby it is advanced, that i
 fully or cordially performed.

[in a good
 sense,]

§ 12. Now though the spiritual worship of
 commanded, yet, seeing it is not commanded to
 exercised always, it is much in the disposition
 what times, what places, what manner, what
 circumstances they will determine to themselv
 always determined by God's law—for the ten
 sacrifice of Christians, which being so determ
 as truly a voluntary sacrifice or free-will offering
 the law, and so much more excellent, as the lav
 lent than the Gospel. If this may be received t
 name of will-worship, I am so far from countin
 a sin, that I acknowledge that to be the height
 from whence it proceedeth.

§ 13. But I conceive the word is not improperly used to signify that which the Jews are reprov'd for by our Lord, after the prophet Isaiah, [xxix. 13.] because they worshipped God according to doctrines taught by traditions of men. Not because they practis'd the law according to the determinations of the great consistory, which, as I have many ways shew'd, they had express power by the law to make; and therefore our Lord also commands them to obey, Matt. xxiii. 2; but because they thought there was a great deal of holiness in practising the precepts of the law precisely as their elders had determined, which, setting aside the obedience of God's ordinance, was nothing in God's esteem, in comparison of that justice, and mercy, and piety, wherein the service of God then, as always, consisted. We cannot but observe that this sin is taxed by the prophets oftentimes, as well in the practice of those precepts which are expressed in the Scripture of Moses' law, as by our Lord and the prophet Isaiah, in the practice of those which were introduced by human authority, Psalm xl. 6; l. 8; Is. i. 11; Jer. vii. 21; and therefore consisteth not in observing things introduced by men, but in tendering to God, for the service of God, that which was not necessarily joined with the inward holiness of the heart, which God is to be served with.

§ 14. This sin of the Jews, I conceive, is found correspondently in other professions, not only of Gentiles and Muhametans which cannot worship God without it, but also of Christians professing true Christianity, when they worship not God according to it; but, not because they acknowledge human constitutions, which, by God's ordinance, cannot be avoided, but because they may vainly please themselves, in imagining that they please God in observing them, without that disposition of the heart which God is to be served with. And this sin of the Jews, as Eusebius^b calls [it] *ἐθεισθηρσκειαν Ἰουδαϊκην*, so Epiphanius^c also, in some of the ancient

CHAP.
IV.
[in a bad
sense.]

^b Οὐδαῖως, ἀλλὰ Χαββάτου ἡμέρας ἡσιτήρηται ἢ, ἢ τινος ἄλλης Ἰουδαϊκῆς ἐθεισθηρσκειας φυλακῇ: — Thuan. str. Eran. lib. i. cap. vi. p. 16. Paris. 1628.

^c Σχίζουσι δὲ μέτην οὗτοι, καὶ βλαπτουσι τὴν ἁγίαν θεοῦ Ἐκκλησίαν διὰ τὸ δευκαθησάμεναι ἐκείσονται τῇ τοῦ

θεοῦ φιλανθρωπίας. — Πατερ. lib. i. cap. Aristotelius, num. i. p. 526. ed. Colan. 1662.

^e Ἐλέγοιτο δὲ Φαρισαῖοι, διατὸ ἀφωρισμένους εἶναι αἰτοῦν ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων, διὰ τὴν ἐθεισθηρσκειαν παρ' αἰτοῖς νομισμένην. — Contr. Pharis., num. i. p. 31. ed. Colan. 1662.

p. 57¹ of this Review. Whereby it will rather appear that he was governor of that province by the like commission as other governors of provinces were constituted by, in the Babylonian, and after it in the Persian empire, than by any right belonging to him among his own people, such as the posterity of Zorobabel had to be governors of the Jews that remained in Babylonia, when they were privileged to live according to their own laws, by their sovereign. But, whether this or that, as to the point here in hand, both are to the same purpose.

§ 18. I must not pass over this place without taking into consideration the reasons upon which, and the consequences to which Erastus's opinion seems to be advanced, in the late sharp work *De Cive*², where it is determined that the interpretation of the Scriptures—for which, I may as well say, the power of giving laws to the Church, seeing the greatest difficulty lies in determining controversies of faith—the constitution of pastors, the power of binding and loosing, belongs to every Christian state, to be exercised by the ministry of pastors of the Church: for, if this may take place, then is all that hath been said to no purpose.

§ 19. And truly, I must embrace and applaud one position³, upon which all this proceeds, that the Church, to which any right, or power of acting according to any right, is attributed in the Scriptures, must needs be a society that may be assembled, and therefore stands obliged to assemble: but that hereupon alone it should be inferred, and taken for granted, that therefore a Christian state, and a Christian Church, are both the same thing, distinguished by two several causes and considerations, when both consist of the same persons, I have all the reason in the world to stand

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IV.

[Hobbes' opinions.]

[The Church and state one and the same according to Hobbes.]

¹ Chap. iii. sect. 14, 15.

² Restat ergo in omni Ecclesia Christiana, hoc est, in omni civitate Christiana, Scripturæ Sacre interpretatio, hoc est, jus controversiarum omnis determinandi licentia et derivetur ab auctoritate illius hominis, vel actus, potius quem est summum imperium civitatis.—cap. xvi. § 27. p. 161.

³ Ita, qua dicta jam sunt, necessaria connexione adheret, civitatem Christianarum hominum, et Ecclesiam Christianam, prout eandem rem esse duo-

bus nominibus propter duas causas appellatam. Nam materia civitatis et Ecclesie eadem est, nimirum fidem homines Christiani. Forma autem que consistit in legitima potestate eos convocandi, et, ut quoque est, constat etiam singulos eorum obligari eo venire, quo a civitate convocantur. Que vero civitas vocatur, quatenus constat ex hominibus, eadem quatenus constat ex Christianis, Ecclesia nominatur.—Hobbes, de Cive, cap. xvii. § ii. p. 152. Amstelodam. 1668.

CHAP. astonished. For it is not the persons, which are supposed
 IV. here to be the same, that any question can be made of:
 neither can the Church and the state be said to be the same
 thing, because they are all the same. 114

[How they
 differ.]

§ 20. For we speak not here of the nature of the persons,
 their souls or bodies, or any thing that either of both is
 endowed with; but we speak here of the quality of a state,
 or a Church, affecting all those persons together, upon some
 voluntary act of God, or of themselves, or both, without
 making any change in the nature of any person so qualified,
 only supposing the person, whose act it is, able to do the act
 upon which they are qualified to be a state or a Church; and
 by doing it to oblige or privilege the persons on whom it
 passes. Which kind of things are oftentimes, by philoso-
 phers, divines and lawyers, called, to very good purpose,
 "moral things:" such are all manner of rights, in all manner
 of societies whatsoever; being nothing else but abilities of
 doing something, which are not in other men not endowed
 with the same.

[The
 Church
 super-
 natural.]

§ 21. So likewise, seeing that all the objects of any faculty,
 natural or moral, any habit of virtue or vice—or that which
 is neither, but consists in skill or knowledge, or any perfec-
 tion of nature, for which a man is neither good nor bad—
 may be denominated and qualified by the faculties or habits
 that are exercised upon them, by the same reason as colour
 is said to be seen, or as that is said to be right and just,
 which is done according to justice; therefore, by the same
 common reason, if there be such a thing as holiness in the
 souls of men, which disposes them to reverence God, by
 tendering Him that service which may express it, then are
 the means, and the circumstances, the times, the places, and
 the persons by which this reverence is publicly tendered to
 God, capable to be denominated holy; by a moral quality,
 derived from that holiness which dwells in the souls of Chris-
 tians, and not only capably, but actually so qualified in point
 of right, supposing that which hath been proved, p. 212^m.
 that the practice of God's people, evidenced by the Scrip-
 tures, proves the reverence of the same to be effectual and
 necessary for the maintenance of that reverence of God, in

^m Chap. iv. sect. 52.

those acts of His service wherein the holiness of Christians consisteth. CHAP.
IV.

§ 22. This, though it belong not to my present purpose, I have set down upon this occasion, out of a desire further to declare the nature of that holiness, for which times, places, and persons, as also all other means which God is served by, are said to be holy; and for what reason, I call it, p. 217ⁿ, sometimes moral, sometimes ecclesiastical holiness, sometimes also relative, as others many times do call it. For seeing it is grounded upon the relation which is between all faculties, moral or natural, between all habits of virtue and vice, or whatever else, and the objects which they are exercised about, it is manifest how properly it is called relative.

§ 23. Again, seeing it hath been declared that those qualifications and denominations which arise upon some act of God or man, having power to oblige either others or themselves, are therefore called moral, in opposition to such as make a change in the nature of men's souls and bodies, when they become endowed therewith, because these moral qualities accrue without any change in the nature of them to whom they accrue; therefore that holiness, which belongs to things incapable of that holiness which dwells in the souls of Christians, is properly called moral holiness, as grounded upon the will of God, appearing to have appointed the reverence of them, to maintain that reverence of Him wherein holiness consisteth. And as for this reason, in general, it is called moral holiness, so it is also called ecclesiastical, for the same reason expressed in particular, as depending upon that will of God by which Christianity and the Church, and the service of God therein, subsisteth.

§ 24. To return then to my purpose, which gave me occasion to declare this here; seeing that, when the question is made, whether the Church and the state, consisting of the same persons, be the same thing or not^o, there can be no question understood of the nature, that is, the souls and bodies of the persons, which are supposed to be the same, but of the moral being of a state, whether the same give it the quality of a Church or not; and seeing the being of such things depends upon the act by which they are constituted,

[Reply to
Hobbes.]

ⁿ Chap. iv. sect. 57.

^o See notes 1, above, and c, below.

the people embracing the same. Which holds not in Christianity addressing itself to all nations, and therefore preserving states in the condition which it finds, and yet founding a society of the Church upon the privilege and charter of assembling for the service of God, and the power which is requisite to preserve the unity of all that assemble in
 121 the condition upon which they communicate in the service of God.

§ 27. Which society, as it was visibly distinct from all states, for all the time between our Lord and Constantine; so is it acknowledged, by this author, to have subsisted even under the Apostles, when he alleges their writings to prove those rights which they attribute to the Church, to belong to those states which are Christian*: which, for my part, I very much marvel how he could think fit to do, knowing that such acts as the Apostles attribute to the Church, are so far from being the acts of the state under which the Church then was, that they were prohibited by it so often as the assemblies of Christians were forbidden, as you have seen[†] that many times they were.

§ 28. By that which hath been said, it may appear what reason ecclesiastical writers[‡] had to make a difference between the names of the synagogue and the Church, appropriating the former to the Jews, and this to the Christians; which I, for my part, so far as custom will give leave, desire to observe; though for the original signification, I see the name of *Ecclesia* was at the first most properly attributed to the whole body of God's people assembled together in the wilderness; as, for example, at the giving of the law. For in all the divers significations in which it is used, speaking of
 122 Christianity, there is one and the same consideration of assembling together to be seen, though upon several reasons, and to several purposes from the synagogue.

§ 29. The whole company of those that shall meet and assemble together in the world to come, is called sometimes the Church, and so is the whole company of the visible

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IV.

[The
Church
always
visible.]

[Syna-
gogue and
Church.]

[Meaning
of the word
Church.]

* Hobbes describes excommunication as a penalty inflicted by the Apostle, 1 Cor. v., and then concludes thus, *Neminem igitur excommunicat Ecclesia, nisi quem excommunicat*

autoritate principis.—De Cive, cap. xvi. § 26 pp. 158, 159.

† Review, chap. i. sect. 9.

‡ See Prim. Govern., chap. xl. sect. 7.

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Church upon earth; because, though they cannot meet bodily to communicate in the service of God, yet they ought to meet with that judgment and disposition of mind, that they may both communicate bodily in this world when occasion is, and actually meet together in the world to come. So is the company of Christians, contained in either barely one city or the head city of a province or nation, called the Church of that city, province, or nation, because they so meet severally, that any of them may assemble with any, because under the same conditions. But when one congregation is called a Church, as sometimes it is in the Scriptures, it is for the same manner of assembling, as the whole people of Israel was assembled in the wilderness.

[Difference between Scripture and its Interpretations.]

§ 30. These things generally premised, it will not be difficult to defeat the productions of this assumption in the particulars specified. And first, according to that which is here determined, p. 192^{*}, I admit that the power of interpreting the Scriptures is nothing else but the power of determining controversies of faith[†]; though it is not, as by consequence to be admitted that those interpretations which come from this power are as much the word of God as that which is interpreted by the same, or infallible, or that we are bound to stand to them as much as to the Scriptures themselves[‡]. For "the word of God," if we will understand it properly, is

^{*} Chap. iv. sect. 29.

[†] Restat ut interpres, canonicus debeat esse aliquis, cujus munus legitimum sit, ortas controversias, verbum Dei in ipsis iudiciis explicando, terminare; et cujus propterea auctoritati standum non minus sit, quam eorum, qui Scripturam ipsam pro canone fidei primi nobis commendaverunt, idemque sit interpres Scripturæ, et doctrinarum omnium iudex supremus.—Hobbes, de Cive, cap. xvii. § 18. p. 150.

Ostensum est supra Articulo 18, auctoritatem interpretandi Scripturas sacras non consistere in eo, quod interpres possit impune sententiam, quam inde elicit, aliis vel scripto vel viva voce exponere et explicare, sed in eo, quod non sit aliis contra sententiam ejus faciendi aut docendi jus: ita ut interpretatio, de qua agimus, idem sit quod potestas—in omnibus controversiis per Scripturam sacram determi-

nandis—definiendi.—*Ib.*, § 27. p. 150.

[‡] Et quidem verbi Dei, non vox, et littera doctrinæ Christianæ canon est, sed sententia vera et genuina, non enim regitur animus per Scripturas nisi intellectas. Scripturis igitur, ut fiant canon interprete opus est. Sequitur autem hinc duorum alterum, aut verbum interpretis esse verbum Dei, aut canonem doctrinæ Christianæ non esse verbum Dei. Horum posterius falsum esse necesse est. Doctrinæ enim, quæ nulla ratione humana, sed per revelationem Divinam tantum scri potest, regula esse non potest nisi Divina. Quem enim fatemur scire non posse, an doctrina aliqua vera sit necne, ejus sententiam in eadem doctrina per regulam habere impossibile est. Præ igitur verum est: verbum interpretis Scripturarum, esse verbum Dei.—*Ib.*, § 17. pp. 149. 150. The conclusion to which Hobbes comes in note y above.

that only, and all that which God giveth in commission to be declared and enjoined His people, and therefore this author very skilfully observeth* that "the word of God," in the New Testament, is as much as the Gospel, which God gave in charge to our Lord Christ, and He to His Apostles, to be published to the world, with a charge from God to embrace it. For so also the law was "the word of God" to Moses; and all the revelations granted the patriarchs and prophets were "the word of God" to them, because by them God declared how He would conduct His people.

§ 31. Whereas, after the prophets of the Old Testament, though we find that there were prophets that spoke by inspiration, not only by Josephus^b, speaking of those times of God's people whereof there is no mention in the Scriptures, but also by that which is said in the New Testament, of Simeon and Anna, Zachary and the Blessed Virgin, and of the prophets of Churches: yet we do not find it said that "the word of the Lord" came to any of them, because they received nothing in charge from God to His people. Wherefore, that which the Church hath received from those persons that spoke not only by inspiration and revelation, but also by commission from God, the evidence of which commission containeth all the motives to Christianity, must not be compared with any thing which it may receive in charge any other way, though it be such as may produce an obligation to receive and observe it, of a nature answerable to the ground and intent of it, which I have declared in the place afore quoted^c. Neither is it to be said^d that God faileth His

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IV.

[Difference between the prophets under the law and under the Gospel.]

* In Novo Testamento frequentissime verbum Dei significat doctrinam Evangelicam, sive verbum de Deo, sive verbum de regno Dei per Christum. Ut ubi dicitur Christus predicasse Evangelium regni, Matth. iv. 23. Ubi Apostoli dicuntur predicare verbum Dei, Act. xiii. 46. Ubi verbum Dei appellatur verbum vite, Act. v. 20. Verbum Evangelii, Act. xv. 7. Verbum fidei, Rom. x. 8. Verbum veritatis, addita interpretatione, id est Evangelium salutis, Eph. i. 13. Et ubi appellatur verbum Apostolorum. Dicit enim Sanctus Paulus: Si quis non obedit verbo nostro, 2 Thess. iii. 14. Quæ loca intelligi aliter non possunt, quam de doctrina Evangelica.—

Hobbes, de Cive, cap. xvii. § 15. p. 149.

^b See Review, chap. ii. sect. 10. note d.

^c Chap. iv. sect. 29.

^d Nam cum ad salutem æternam obligemur ad doctrinam supernaturalem, et quam propterea intelligere est impossibile, ita desistit, ut falli possimus in his cæcis, repugnat acquiescere. Infallibilitatem hanc promittit Servator noster—in his rebus quæ ad salutem sunt necessariæ—Apostolis usque ad diem iudicii, hoc est Apostolis et pastoribus, ab Apostolica successione per impositionem consecrandis.—*Ib.*, § 28. p. 162. See the next note for the rest of this passage.

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Church, in any thing due to it, upon those promises whereby it subsisteth, if He have not provided it of such a power to be received as infallible; unless we will say that God hath tied Himself to preserve it free from the temptation and trial of heresies and schisms, which He hath sufficiently declared that He never intended to do.

[Infallibility, according to Hobbes, resides in the state.]

§ 32. Now that, having determined an infallible power to be requisite for the determining of matters of faith, by interpretation of the Scriptures, this author, in consequence to his assumptions which I have spoke of, should challenge it to belong to all Christian states*, I cannot choose but marvel: seeing that, as the Scriptures come by revelation and inspiration from God, so whatsoever shall pretend to like authority, must needs proceed from the same: which, if the Church, that is, all that act upon the interest and title thereof, derived from the immediate appointment of God, do, by their proceedings, disclaim, as I have declared, much more is it to be presumed that all states, notwithstanding the profession of Christianity, must needs stand obliged to do. For all states content themselves with the procuring of civil justice, for which they are instituted; not tying themselves to question whether that which is done be agreeable to the will of God, which the Gospel declareth, either for the thing that is done—which the Gospel many times determineth more strictly than the laws of civil states do—or for the sincerity of intention which it is to be done with. Wherefore, if Christianity come to be limited by the determinations of civil powers, then must the truth of the Gospel, and the spiritual righteousness which it requireth, be measured by those reasons which the public peace, and civil justice which preserveth the same, may suggest.

[Contraries to be determined by the priesthood.]

§ 33. Whereas it hath been declared† that it is not the bare profession of Christianity that entitleth any man to any degree of superiority in the Church, but that promotion to all degrees of the clergy, doth, by the original institution and

* Obligatur ergo quatenus Christianus, is qui habet civitatis imperium, Scripturas sacras, ubi quæstio est de mysteriis fidei, per Ecclesiasticos rite ordinatos interpretari, et sic in civitatibus Christianis iudicium et spiritualium et temporalium pertinet ad auctoritatem

civilem. Et is homo vel cæterus qui summum habet imperium, caput est et civitatis et Ecclesiæ, una enim res est Ecclesia et civitas Christiana. - Hobbes, de Cive, cap. xvii. § 23. p. 160.

† Review, chap. i. sect. 50.

appointment thereof, presuppose some degree of proficiencie in the understanding and practice of Christianity, rendering them both able and willing to regulate all controversies of Christianity, not according to interest of state, but according to the will of Christ, and that spiritual righteousness which He advanceth. And though it is many times seen that secular persons are more learned and pious in Christianity than others of the clergy, yet, I suppose, no man of common sense will presume it so soon of him that is not enabled, nor obliged, to it by his profession, as of him that is. And when the question is, what is agreeable to the appointment of God in such matters as these, I suppose it is no presumption that God hath instituted any thing because it is possible—for in moral matters what is absolutely and universally impossible?—but because it is most conducive to the intent purposed. And that to the purposed end of maintaining the truth of the Gospel, and that spiritual righteousness which it advanceth, it is more conducive that those things which concern it be determined by those that are enabled by their profession to spend their time in searching the truth, and engaged by the same to advance the spiritual righteousness of Christ, than barely Christians as secular powers.

§ 34. As for the reason of this resolution, because, if the power of determining matters of faith might be in any person not subject to the state which the determination must oblige, all that are to be obliged by it must become thereby subjects to the power that maketh it: as, supposing the temporal power of the Pope, it is insoluble, so, supposing what hath been premised, it ceaseth. For seeing nothing prejudicial to the public peace, or to the powers of the world that maintain the same, can be within the power of the Church to deter-

[The power of the Church not prejudicial to several and independent states.]

Quorum autem arbitrio, quæ doctrinae et quæ actiones necessariae sunt ad salutem, statuntur, eorum arbitrio expectant homines felicitatem vel perditionem æternam, his igitur in omnibus rebus obsequuntur. Quod cum ita sit, manifestissimum est, cives qui se obligari credunt, circa eas doctrinas, quæ ad salutem necessariae sunt, auctoritati externæ acquiescere, non constituisse civitatem per se, sed esse externi illius subditos. Neque ergo, etsi

princeps aliquis summus tantum auctoritatis ahi cuicunque scripto concederet, ita tamen ut imperium civile retinuisse intelligeretur, scriptum tale validum erit, nec quicquam transferet, quod ad retinendum et bene administrandum imperium, sit necessarium. Considerandum est quam absurdum sit civitatem vel summum imperantem conscientias civium regendas committere hosti. Hobbes, de Cive, cap. xvii. § 27. pp. 160, 161

and by his subjection to the state to suffer for it, when it is contrary to the judgment thereof, is so far from being an inconvenience, that it is the necessary consequence of bearing Christ's cross. CHAP. IV.

§ 36. The same reason takes place in that which is said^k, that the election of pastors belongs to the state, and the consecration to pastors. For I have often shewed in the premises^l, that imposition of hands is a sign of consent to the constituting of those who receive the same, implying a power of dissenting, for the use whereof they are to render account if it be used amiss. And truly that Paul and Barnabas should be called Apostles^m, Acts xiv. 4, 14, in regard of their sending by the Holy Ghost, Acts xiii. 4, I count it not strange; for the extent of the word, and the use thereof, will bear it; though it is manifest that otherwise Barnabas had commission from the Church at Jerusalem, Acts xi. 22; that is, from the Apostles: "Paul, an Apostle, not from men, nor by men, but by Jesus Christ, and God the Father that raised Him from the dead," Gal. i. 1, though acknowledged first—as to the commission which he received with Barnabas, Acts xiii. 2—by the Church of Antiochia, but afterwards in the right of the twelve Apostles by themselves at Jerusalem, Gal. ii. 9. But I count it strange, that, to prove the power of the state in choosing pastors, it should be allegedⁿ that this dictate of the Holy Ghost, by which Paul and Barnabas were set apart to the work for which they were designed, Acts xiii. 2, was to be acknowledged for the dictate of the Holy Ghost by the Church of Antiochia.

§ 37. I have shewed^o, that, under the Old Testament, the consistory were to judge of prophets, and to obey them being [but in the Church]

^k Constat itaque ex consuetudine Ecclesie sub Apostolis, Ecclesiasticorum omnium ordinationem quidem, sive consecrationem, que fit per orationem et manuum impositionem, ad Apostolos et doctores spectasse, electionem vero ordinandorum ad Ecclesiam. —Hobbes, de Cive, cap. xvii. § 24. p. 155.

^l Chap. i. sect. 26.

^m Posse additi duo alii Apostoli Paulus et Barnabas. . . . Quod fuerint ambo Apostoli, constat ex decimo quarto Actorum vers. 14. Quod Apostolatium ex eo receperunt, quod iussu

Spiritus Sancti a prophetis doctoribusque Ecclesie Antiochenae segregati fuerint ad opus Dei, ostendit ipse S. Paulus qui distinctionis causa vocat se Apostolum segregatum in Evangelium Dei, Rom. i. 1. —Hobbes, de Cive, cap. xvii. § 24. p. 153.

ⁿ Sed si queratur ulterius, qua auctoritate factum sit, ut pro jussu Spiritus Sancti receptum sit, quod prophetae et doctores illi profectum a Spiritu Sancto esse dixerint, respondendum necessario est auctoritate Ecclesie Antiochenae. —*Ib.*, pp. 153, 154.

^o Chap. iii. sect. 19.

CHAP. 17. received, which power was sufficiently abused among them. I do believe also that there was means given the Church to be resolved in the same: that the precept of the Apostle, 1 Cor. xii. 3: 1 John iv. 1, tendeth to that effect; that the grace of discerning spirits, 1 Cor. xii. 9, was to such a purpose. I remember the words of St. Ambrose[†] upon the beginning of St. Luke, speaking of the Old Testament: *Erat autem p^{ro}p^{ri}et^{as} grati^e discernere spiritus, ut cognosceret quos referre deberet ad suorum prophetarum: quos autem quasi bonus numerarius intraheret*: "Now," saith he, "it was a grace that the people had to discern spirits, so as to know whom to reckon among the prophets, whom, like a good banker, to refuse." And I have found in a written copy[‡], containing expostitions of divers Greek words of the Old and New Testament, this gloss: διακρίνειν πνευματων διαγνωσις των τ^ων αληθιν^{ων} και ψευδ^{ων} προφητε^{ων} αυτων; that is, "discerning of spirits," spoken of 1 Cor. xii. 9, "is the distinguishing between those that prophesied truly and falsely;" and this I believe to be St. Paul's meaning, because of the correspondence of that which St. Ambrose relateth of the synagogue.

§ 38. I must, therefore, needs believe that the Church was provided by God of means to be resolved who spoke by the Holy Ghost, who only pretended so to do: but that Christian states should have power to elect pastors because Christian Churches were able to judge whom the Holy Ghost had elected, whom not, is a consequence which I understand not. For as it was then one thing to elect, another to discern whom the Holy Ghost had elected, so a Christian state is now far another thing than the Church of Antiochia was at that time.

[Hobbes' argument from the Jewish polity.]

§ 39. Neither is it any thing available to this purpose, which this author laboureth to prove, that the sovereign power, together with the power of interpreting the word of God, were both in the high-priests of the Jews, and afterwards in the kings of God's people, after that they were established*. For, by the particulars here declared from

[†] S. Ambros. Opp. Omn., tom. 1. col. 1265. rel. Ben.

[‡] The Editor is not able to verify this reference.

[§] See note d above.

* Siquidem igitur ius regni spectetur, simul erat summum interpretum civile et verbum Dei interpretandi auctoritas in sacerdote, si cum factam consideres, simul erant in prophetis qui

p. 225, it will appear that it was no otherwise in the kings of CHAP.
132 God's people than it is now in Christian princes and states— IV.

excepting that the law was given to one people, the Gospel sent to all nations—to wit, as for the power of enforcing God's law in the way of fact: whereas the power of determining the law of God in the way of right, was as much estated upon the consistories of that people by God's law, as the power of giving rules to the Church is now upon the synods of the same.

§ 40. Neither is the people of Israel a priestly kingdom, as Moses calls them, *Exod. xix. 6*, because the priests were to be kings of them¹. For the original imports a kingdom of priests, which Onkelos^a translates kings and priests; as also the New Testament, *Apoc. i. 6*; *v. 10*. Which, if it signify that all the Israelites should be both kings and priests, then certainly it enforceth, not that their high-priests should be their kings, but that they should be kings, because redeemed from the servitude of strangers, to be a people, lords of themselves; and priests, because redeemed to spend their time in sacrificing and feasting upon their sacrifices—which is the estate under the figure whereof God promiseth unto them that which He meant to His Church, and they still expect under their Messias, *Is. lxi. 6*—though they sacrificed not in
133 person, but by their priests appointed in their stead by imposition of the elders' hands; *Num. viii. 10*.

§ 41. As for the charge of Joshua, to go in and out at the word of Eleazar², *Num. xxvii. 21*, it is expressly declared

Israelitas judicabant. Nam ut judices, auctoritatem habebant civilem; ut propheta, interpretabantur verbum Dei; atque ita omni modo hucusque dum ille potentates inseparabiles existerent.

Constitutis regibus, dubium non est, quin auctoritas civilis penes reges esset. . . . Et quia præter legem Mosaicam, aliud verbum Dei scriptum usque ad captivitatem non agnoscebatur, penes reges eadem erat auctoritas interpretandi verbum Dei. Hobbes, de Cive, cap. xvi. §§ 15, 16, pp. 131, 134.

¹ Tempore Jussu interpretatio legum et verbi Dei erat penes Eleazarum summum sacerdotem, eundemque regem sub Deo absolutum. Id quod colligitur primo ex ipso pacto, in quo respública Israelitarum appellatur reg-

num sacerdotale, vel ut recitatur I Petr. ii. 9. sacerdotium regale. quod nullo modo dei poterat, nisi per institutio nem et pactum populi potestas regia intelligeretur esse penes sacerdotem.—*Ib.* § 14 p. 132.

^a Paraphrasis Onkeli Chaldaica, in Latinum versa, autore Paulo Fagio. Argentorat. 1546.

² Habuisse autem Eleazarum sacerdotem non modo sacerdotium, sed etiam imperium summum, expresse habetur per ipsam Josue ad administrationem rerum vocatorem. Sic enim scriptum est, Tolle Josua, filium Num, &c., *Num. xxvii. 18-21*. Ubi consimulare Deum quicquid agendum sit, hoc est, verbum Dei interpretari, et in nomine Dei imperare in omnibus,

CHAP. there to be said, in regard of the oracle of God by Urim and
 IV Thummim, which the high-priest was to declare, as you see by Deut. xxxiii. 8; and Joshua to consult in all his undertakings. For this is one of the principal reasons why the government of that people, before they had kings, was, as Josephus calls it*, *θεοκρατία*, that is, the empire of God; because He, by His oracles of Urim and Thummim, prescribed how they were to proceed in their public affairs.

§ 42. Another reason being this, because He stirred them up judges when He pleased, which being of His immediate appointment, are so far acknowledged by Him, that when they were weary of Samuel and desired a king, God declareth that it was not Samuel, but Himself whom they refused. And therefore it is not to be said* that of right the high-priests ought to have had the power, though *de facto* the judges had it during their time: for, if it be said* that the Israelites cast off God, Judg. ii. 10, because they would not be subject to the high-priest, but embraced the judges, it could not be understood how they should refuse God by refusing Samuel that was one of the judges. Therefore the sovereign power¹³⁴ was of right in the judges, for which it is said, Judg. xvii. 6, as also xviii. 1; xix. 1; xxi. 25, that there was no king in Israel, speaking of the time before the judges—when Josephus^b and

pertinet ad Eleazarum; Egređi autem, et ingredi ad verbum ejus, hoc est, ei obediō, pertinet et ad Josuam, et ad omnem populum. . . . Interim manifestum est, etiam tempore Josue potestatem summam civilem, et auctoritatem interpretandi verbum Dei fuisse ambas in eadem persona. Hobbes, de Cive, cap. xvi. § 14. p. 132.

* Οἱ μὲν γὰρ μοναρχίαν, οἱ δὲ ταῖς ἀλλήλων δυναστείαις, ἄλλοι δὲ τοῖς πλῃθεσι συνεκτεταγμένην τὴν ἐξουσίαν τῶν πολιτῶν. ὁ δὲ ἡμετέρος νομοθετὴς εἰς μὴν τούτων αἰδοῦσιν ἀπεῖθεν* ὡς δ' ἐν τῇ εἰσοῖ βιασάμενος τὸν λόγον, θεοκρατίαν ἀπέδειξε τὸ πολίτευμα, θεῷ τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τὸ κράτος ἀναθεῖς, —Joseph. Contr. Apion., lib. ii. § 16. p. 1376. ed. Hudson Oxon. 1720.

* Potestas itaque civilis summa debeatur jure, ex institutione Dei, sacerdote summo—facto autem potestas illa in prophetia erat, quibus—a Deo extraordinario suscitatis—Israelitæ—gens prophetarum avida—propter existima-

tionem prophetiæ protegendas ac et judicandos subjecerunt. Hobbes, de Cive, cap. xvi. § 15. p. 132, 133.

* Et propterea etiam ab initio per Moysen præscripsit Deus leges futuris regibus, Deut. xvii. 14. Et Moyses ultimis ad populum verbis prædixit, "Novi quod post mortem meam inique agitis et declinabitis cito de via, quam præcepi vobis," Deut. xxxi. 29. Cum ergo secundum hanc prædictionem surrexerit alia generatio "quæ non noverat Dominum et opera, quæ fecerat cum Israel, fecerunt filii Israel malum in conspectu Dei, et servierunt Baalim," Jud. ii. 10, 11. Scilicet abjecerunt regimen Dei, hoc est, sacerdotis, per quem Deus regebatur, et postea cum ab hostibus vincerentur et servitute premerentur, Dei voluntatem non amplius a sacerdote, sed a prophetis expectarent. Hi igitur judicabant Israel de facto, jure autem obedientia eorum debita erat sacerdoti summo. —Ib., p. 133.

* See Joseph. Antiq. Jud., lib. v

all the circumstances shew these things fell out—though they were not always obeyed, Judg. ii. 17, —because, as prophets, they laboured to recall the people from their idolatries. CHAP. IV.

§ 43. That which is here said of the marriage of Boaz and Ruth, p. 241^c, seems to be confirmed by the opinion of Epiphanius^d, that our Lord was invited to the marriage at Cana in Galilee, that, as a prophet, He might bless the marriage. For what is this but the same that the Church always practised afterwards in blessing marriages, to signify that they were approved to be made according to the law of God? For which reason also, the custom of celebrating marriages with the Sacrament of the Eucharist^e, was established, that the power of the keys, from which the communion of the Eucharist proceeds, might declare thereby an approbation of that which was done.

CHAPTER V.

SEIZING it is here declared, p. 255, that whosoever thinks himself authorized by his religion to unsettle the public peace, or to maintain his religion by force—his civil obedience being dispensed with by the same^f—is thereby an enemy to the

capp. ii. iii., where the history of the tribe of Dan and of the Levite is related before that of Othniel and the subsequent judges.

^c Chap. ix. sect. 86.

^d Γάμος γὰρ οὗτος, ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐβλῆ-
γήμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ τύπου ἐκείνου λαβὼν
τὴν πρῶταίαν. ἐκεῖ μὲν γὰρ γάμος ἦν
αἰσθητὸς ἐν κατὰ τῆς Γαλιλαίας, καὶ
ἐδωκεν ἀληθῶς οἶνον γεγενηῶς καὶ ἐκλήθη
κατὰ τοῦ οὐνοῦ ἵνα τὴ ὕδατος τῶν ἐν
τῷ κόσμῳ ἐκβαλλεσσομένων ἐπιστοφῇ
τοῦ γάμου εἰς σωτηρίαν. . . Hæres. li.
contr. Alog. num. 39 p. 454. Colon.
1682.

^e Ad benedictionem sacerdotalem
non potius benedictionem Ecclesie, mis-
tatione sacerdotis impetitionem, nec
non prout Missæ Sacramentum nuptia-
rum benedictione celebrari consuetum,
non obscure alludit Tertullianus, lib.
ii. ad l. iuram. cap. vii. dicens "Unde
sufficiens ad currandam celebritatem
est matrimonii, quod Ecclesia con-
secrat, et exornat oblatione, et obsequio
benedictio." Van Espen, Jura Eccl.
Univ., par. ii. § i. tit. xiii. § 12. tom. i.

p. 572. Lovan. 1753.

^f "Christ doth speak of revenge,
not defence of private revenge, not
public of revenge by ill means, not a
legal defence. Christ willett us rather
to suffer wrong, than to revenge ourselves
for private offences by ill means, as the
Apostle cleareth it, Rom. xii. 20. He
doth [not] forbid the magistrate to
revenge the evil because it is their
duty; Rom. xiii. 4. Neither doth He
inhibit private men to defend them-
selves in a lawful way, else wicked
men would be made more presump-
tuous and strengthened in their malice,
and violence against God's children, if
they durst not defend themselves, nay
Christ had broken this command Him-
self, John xviii. 23."

"But our covenant speaketh of a
more public defence, in the maintain-
ing and pursuing of this covenant, and
the several articles thereof, where it is
not only lawful, but our duty to help."
The Covenants Catechism, p. 39.
London, 1644.

indeed, interpreteth that precept of the law, "Thou shalt not curse gods," to mean, that they are forbidden thereby to blaspheme the gods of the Gentiles. Wherein, though it seems he flattereth the Romans—for you may have seen another sense thereof before^k—yet this interpretation is presumption enough that they were not commanded by the law to do it.

§ 3. I will not, therefore, condemn the Christians of the 137 East, for singing to Julian's face, as the Ecclesiastical Histories tell us^l, "Their idols are silver and gold;" and, "Confounded be all they that worship carved images." Because we know particularly, that the Christians of his time were resolved to suffer for their Christianity, rather than to defend themselves by force; and therefore, cannot interpret it to be done in scorn to him, but to protest their resolution against heathenism; as also many zealous acts of the primitive martyrs must be interpreted. But I will make this inference, to prove that in point of right, which you have seen was true *de facto*, that, because Christianity preserveth the estate of the world in the same terms, and under the same powers, which it findeth; therefore, it enjoineth no man to blaspheme the religion of the lawful powers of the world, because thereby themselves would be brought into contempt, to the undermining of the obedience due to them. And therefore this inference proceedeth not upon supposition of the truth of Christianity, but upon a reason common to all civil societies, whether Christian, or otherwise, which Christianity prejudiceth not, but maintaineth.

§ 4. As for the second doubt, it must also be resolved, that those whom Christian states hold themselves not enabled to 138 put out of the world, or out of the state for professing any religion: those they cannot so punish for the exercise of that religion which they profess. For if it be so necessary for all men to profess and exercise some religion, that they should be

[Whether a state may inflict penalties upon those who profess a different religion.]

τοὺς κομψόμενοι θεοῦ παρ' ἑτέροις, ἐκτετρύπηται ἡμῖν ὁ νομοθετῆς ἀπειρήκεν. αὐτοῖς ἐνέκα πρᾶσσις τοῦ θεοῦ. Joseph. C. ii. c. 11. lib. ii. c. 5. lib. p. 1380. ed. Hildner. Oxon. 1720.

^k Rev. vi. cap. iv. ver. 11.

^l Τοῖς δὲ βασιλέσιν παρέδοτο, γεγωνό-
τερον κοινῇ ἐψάλλον, εὐκαταφρονήτων
ἡγουμένων καὶ καταγγέλλοντων τὸν βλά-
στορα. Ἡδὼν δὲ μέλει τὰ ἐκείνα τὰ ἀσ-

ματα δὲ τῶν εἰδωλῶν κομᾶσθαι τὴν ἀσ-
κῆσαν καὶ μετὰ τοῦ Διὸς ἱεργὰ τὰ
εἰδωλά των ἐθνῶν ἡγούμενοι καὶ χρυσίον,
ἔργα χρυσῶν ἀνέστησαν. Καὶ μετὰ τὴν
τῆς ἀναστροφῆς διήγησιν ἔλεγον ὅμοιοι
αὐτοῖς γερασσοὶ οὐ κτισθέντες αὐτὰ, καὶ
ἐδοτοὶ οὐ παροδοῖται ἐκ' αὐτοῖς. Theod-
dot. Eccles. Hist. l. vi. c. p. xiv.
(h p. i. m. m. p. 652 ed. Simond Paris.
1612.)

is—occasions a question concerning Athanasius, banished to CHAP.
V. Trier by Constantine; and the same Athanasius and many more, by Constantius, Valens, and others' wherein the injustice of the punishment lay, whether the power was only abused, or also usurped. Whereunto it is to be answered, that the sentence of Constantine upon Athanasius neither imported banishment, nor passed merely in consideration of his opinion in religion. For, seeing the place of abode to which he was confined, was within the state whereof he was; so that, not changing laws, or language—for he must needs be understood over all the Roman empire—he could not be said to live among them that were barbarous to him, or he to them barbarous; he continued free of the state whereof he was afore, though not in possession and use of that rank and estate which he bore in it. As for the cause of this sentence, it is manifest by the relation, that it passed in consideration of the public peace, which seemed to suffer, because Athanasius submitted not the trust which he had from the Church to the judgment of the emperor, in abandoning that which the council of Nice had done in deposing Arius*.

§ 7. But the ground of Constantius's sentence upon Libe- [Of Libe-
rius and
Eusebius] rius of Rome¹, and Eusebius of Vercellæ², was merely for

Church, to defend, protect it, against these seducers and devouring wolves, to preserve the peace, the unity of it, and the purity of doctrine and worship in it, as the Scripture warrants, and Divines have ever asserted in all ages of the Church, till some new lights and sectaries of late opposed it in others, to procure immunity to themselves, to vent their errors without control."—Prynne's *Sword of Christian Magistracy*, pp. 32, 33. London, 1647.

¹ Τούτω γὰρ συνεπραγείη ὁ βασιλεὺς, καὶ εἰς θυμὸν ἀχθείη, ἐξορίᾳ υποβάλλει τὴν Ἀθανάσιον, τὰς Γαλλίας κηλεύσας οἰκείῳ φανί δι' τινος τοῦτο πεποιηκέναι τὸν βασιλεῖα, σκοπῶ τοῦ ἐνωθῆναι τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν. *Ἐπιδὲ* Ἀθανάσιος πᾶντὴν κοινωσίαν τοῖς περὶ Ἀριον ἐξεδίκετο ἅλλ' αὐτοὶ μὲν ἐν Τριβέρῃ, τῇ Γαλλίᾳ διέγαγον.—Socrat. Hist. Eccles., lib. i. cap. xxv. p. 71. ed. Vala. See also lib. ii. cap. xvi. and lib. iv. cap. ii. Sozomen, lib. iv. cap. ii.

² Ἐχων τοίνυν τῇ ἐμῇ βουλῇ τὸ γινώσκοντα πᾶσι τοῖς βουλομένοις εἰς τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν εἰσελθεῖν, ἀπόλυτον παρό-

σχον τὴν εἰσοδον. Ἐὰν γὰρ γνώ ἐκ κηλεύσας τινὰς αὐτῶν τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ μεταποιούμενοι, ἢ ἀπέλθας τῆς εἰσόδου, ἀποστελῶ παραχρήμα τὴν καθαιρήσουσιν αὐτοὺς ἐξ ἐμῇ κηλεύσει, καὶ τῶν τόπων μεταστήσουσα. Ταῦτα ἐγγράφει ὁ βασιλεὺς. Socrat. Hist. Eccles., lib. i. cap. xxvii. p. 63. ed. Vala.

³ Ὁ βασιλεὺς δὲ, καὶ ᾗδῃ μὲν προτερον ἐσκόπει τὴν Ἀριανὴν δόξαν τοῖς Ἐκκλησίᾳς ἐγκατασπείρας. . . . τὴν δὲ ἐθεόουν τῇ ἀναγνωσθείσῃ ἐν Ἀριμνῷ πίστει ἐκέλευσεν εἰς τὰς περὶ Ἰταλίαν Ἐκκλησίας ἐπέμπεσθαι, προστάζας τοῖς μὴ βουλομένοις υπογράψαι αὐτῇ, ἐξελῶσθαι τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν, καὶ εἰς τοὺς τόπους αὐτῶν ἑτέρους ἀντικαθίστασθαι. καὶ πρῶτος μὲν Ἀβίριος ὁ τῆς Ῥώμης Ἐπισκοπος παρωτησάμενος ἵκεν τῇ πλείστῃ συνθείσθαι, ἐξόμνηται γίνεται. Socrat. Hist. Eccles., lib. ii. cap. xxvii. p. 140. ed. Vala.

⁴ Πρώταγμα δὲ ἦν τοῦ βασιλέως, ἐν Μεδιολάνῳ πόλει ποιεῖσθαι τὴν σύνοδον. Καθ' ἣν συνελεύοντο, οἱ ἐκ τῆς ἀνατολῆς ἐπὶ πάντων ψήφον κειμένη κατὰ Ἀθανασίου ἀφ' ὧν ἤξια. . . . ὥς δὲ βούλυτο

determine that clergymen are incapable of employment in CHAP. secular affairs², whereof here, p. 268, be it but to shew how — V.
men's trust is abused when they examine not such allegations. I grant these are his words: *ὅτι πολιτικὴν ἀρετὴν ἱερωσύνη συνάπτειν τὸ κλώθειν ἐστὶ τὰ ἀσύγκλωστα*; "that, to join civil skill with the priesthood, is to spin two wools together that will not make one thread." I grant he saith that the Egyptians and Hebrews had once priests for their kings; but that
142 God parted them, because His work was done with human weakness³. But shall I count that to be against God's law in Synesius's opinion, which he counts those Bishops happy that could go through with? which he himself declares that he was not desirous to lay aside from his own care; which he desires a coadjutor to be joined with him to assist him in⁴?

§ 10. The case was this: It was a part of the Bishop's office, as still it ought to be, to intercede with the civil powers for favour to all charitable causes⁵; for among the ancient people of God it was the prophets' office—who may well be called the preachers of Christianity during that time—as you see 2 Kings iv. 13; and therefore, of duty, belongs to the chief doctors of it now. In the African canons⁶, it is divers

[Relation of the Bishop to the civil power.]

² Sub lege igitur Christiana queritur an sublimatum imperium et pastorale munus quod et sacerdotium appellari jam diximus—in eam personam recte coalescant. Affirmant enim Patres Romani praeputius. At Synesius olim dixit, ὅτι πολιτικὴν ἀρετὴν, Regiam intellegi, ἱερωσίῃ συνάπτειν, τὸ κλώθειν ἐστὶ τὰ ἀσύγκλωστα, connectere potestatem civilem cum sacerdotio est maxime dissimulabile. — Grotii de Imp. N. Pal. ecc. Sacr., cap. ii. § 6. p. 210. Londini, 1679.

³ Καὶ γὰρ Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ τὸ Ἑβραίων ἔθνος, χρόνον συχρόν ὑπὸ τῶν ἱερῶν ἡβασιλεύθησαν. Εἴτ' ἐπιβήμοι δοκεῖ τὸ Θεῶν ἔργον ἀνθρωπίνως ἐπράττειν, διότι κισεν ὁ Θεὸς τοὺς βίους. Synes. Ep. lvi. p. 197. Paris 1646.

⁴ Οὐ καταδικάζω τῶν Ἐπισκόπων τοὺς ἐν τοῖς πράγμασι· ἀλλ' ἑμαυτὸν εἰδὼς μόλις εἰς ἄλλοτερον ἐκινουμένον, ἄρῃαι τῶν δυναμένων ἡσυχίαν. *Id.* p. 199.

⁵ Οὐ μὲν τὸ γε κληθεῖν καιροῦς ἐμαυτὸν ἀφαιρησάμαι, ὥς ὅταν εἴῃ κατιόντα, μὴ κατεῖναι· τούτεστι διὰ τῆς τυχευόμενης ἐπιστημῆς ἀγαθὸν τι μέγα ποιῆν. . . . οὐκ ἐκμοῶμαι τὴν ἱερωσύνην. *Id.*, pp. 199, 200.

⁶ ἀνθραπειτέος οὐκ ἡμῶν, ἢ μετ' ἡμῶν

αἰρετέος, πάντως δὲ αἰρετέος ὁ ἄνθρωπος. "Ὅστις ἐν ᾧ πάσται ἐμοὶ τὰ πολιτικὰ μακρὴ φανέται, ποφώτερος, καὶ δυνήσεται τὰ διατετα ταῖς ἀνθρώποις ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐμοὶ καὶ μεταχειρίζεσθαι. — *Id.*, p. 201. Paris, 1646.

⁷ Si quempiam nominavero monachorum, . . . aures illius mœas inconcussis tumultu circumstrepitis ignobilium tumultuum matrem everberat consequentium. Hic qui nominatur, inquit, non Episcopi, sed potius alibis complet officium: et intercedere magis pro animabus apud Cœlestem, quam pro corporibus apud terrenum iudicem potest. — Apollin. Sidon. lib. vi. Ep. ix. apud Sidon. Opp. tom. i. col. 1433. Paris. 1696. The emperor Julian speaks of this act of charity in the Christian Bishops as desirable in the pagan priests: — ἐν ταύτῃ δὲ καὶ εἰς ἀγαθὴν παρελθεῖν οὐκ ἄσπον ἀνθρώποις ἡμεῶν τε προσεχέειν, καὶ ἔθνος ἀρχαῖον καὶ τοὺς εἰλίγως διακειμένους ἡμεῶς ἐνδύεσθαι βοηθεῖν. — *Id.* p. 303. Lipsæ 1696.

⁸ Vul. Conc. Sard. can. A.D. 347. Can. vii. ix. Labbei, tom. ii. col. 664. ed. Venet.

secular, especially in public affairs, is that which all parties now declare to be well done, when it is done by law, by doing it themselves without law. CHAP. V.

- 144 § 12. The distance between civil and military employment among the Romans, whereof p. 271^a, appears by the provision introduced by the emperors in favour of soldiers, that their last wills should be good, though made without the solemnities of law; which the laws themselves, ff. *de Testamento Militis* l. i.^b, Institut. *de Militari Testamento* xi.^c, declare, was provided in regard to the simpleness or innocence of soldiers, that is, because of the ignorance in the laws, proceeding from that strict attendance upon their colours, to which soldiers stood obliged all the time of their service, which was, with most of them, the greatest part of their lives. It is not my purpose to say that the clergy are not to be so constant to the service of the Church, as soldiers to their colours; but, that the service of the Church, when the state is Christian, requires not that distance from civil business, as the service of the wars among the Romans.

- § 13. If the service of the Church consisted only in preaching, it would be much otherwise; but, if the service of the Church consist in the maintenance and advancement of Christianity; then, neither can the clergy understand wherein consists the interest of Christianity, without understanding the affairs of the world, wherein it is seen, neither can they act towards the maintenance and advancement thereof, without understanding it. Wherefore, though it appear, not only by

[Secular employment fitly bidden the clergy only when the state was pagan.]

^a Chap. v. sect. 29.

^b Militibus liberam testamenti factionem primus quidem divus Julius Caesar concessit, sed ea concessio temporalis erat. Postea vero primus divus Titus dedit. Post hoc Domitianus. Postea divus Nerva plenissimam indulgentiam in milites contulit, eamque et Trajanus secutus est: et exinde mandatis inseri cepit caput tale—Cum in notitiam meam prelatum sit, subinde testamenta a commilitonibus relicta proferri, quæ possint in controversiam deduci, si ad diligentiam legum remaneant et observantiam: secutus animi mei integritudinem erga optimos fidelissimisque commilitones, simplicitati certum consulendum existimavi: ut quomodo testati fuissent, rata casset

eorum voluntas. Faciant igitur testamenta, quomodo volent faciant, quomodo poterint; sufficiatque ad bonorum suarum distributionem faciendam nuda voluntas testatoris.—D. 29. l.

^c Supradicta diligens observatio in ordinandis testamentis, multis propter nimiam imperitiam eorum constitutionibus [principalibus] remissa est. Nam quævis si neque legitimum numerum testum adhibuerint neque aliam testamentorum solennitatem observaverint: recte nihilominus testantur, videlicet cum in expeditionibus occupati sunt; quod merito nostra constitutio introduxit. Quoquo enim modo voluntas ejus suprema invenitur, sive scripta sive sine scriptura: valet testamentum ex voluntate ejus. —2 11

CHAP. V. St. Cyprian^b, but by Can. Apost. lxxx. lxxxii.¹ and others, that, when states were not Christian, the clergy were forbidden secular business^m; yet, when the state is Christian, to forbid it were to forbid the means of maintaining Christianity in the despatching of such business.

[What constitutes schism.]

§ 14. To that which is acknowledged p. 273, chap. v.², that no part of the Church can be concluded but by the act of the synod respective to it; I add further, that the act thereof cannot pass but by the greater part of it; for, unless the consent of the whole follow the consent of the greater part, in doing those acts which must oblige the Church, as in making canons and ordinations, it cannot appear how the precept of the Apostles, of obeying the present rulers of the Church, is neglected in any schism that is effected by any part of them; and, by consequence, there would be no such crime as that of schism in any such case.

§ 15. As, for example, in the case of the Church of Corinth, upon which the epistle of Clemens was written and sent, which he declares p. 62^o, when he says that "it is much a shame for the profession of Christians, that the ancient Church of Corinth should maintain a faction against the presbyters, for one or two persons:" to wit, of the same rank of presbyters, as we must needs understand it. When, therefore, both sides follow some of the rulers of the Church, how should schism be incurred, if, by that precept, the lesser part were not obliged to be concluded by the greater, in things not determined by God's law? So, in the ordination of Novatianus^f, how shall it be taken for schismatical, being done by

^b See chap. v. sect. 29.

¹ Εἴπωμεν, ὅτι οὐ χρὴ Ἐπίσκοπον, ἢ πρεσβύτερον καθιέναι ἑαυτὸν εἰς δημοσίας διοικήσεις, ἀλλὰ προσεκαίρειν ταῖς ἐκκλησιαστικαῖς χρείαις. Ἡ περὶ τούτου ταῦτο μὴ τοῖσιν, ἢ καθαιρεῖσθω.

Ἐπίσκοπος, ἢ πρεσβύτερος, ἢ διάκονος, στρατείας σχολάζων, καὶ βουλευόμενος ἀμφοτέρω κατέχειν, Ῥωμαϊκὴν ἀρχὴν, καὶ ἱερατικὴν διοίκησιν, καθαιρεῖσθω.—Labbei, tom. i. col. 41. ed. Venet.

^m "For sure the complaints of good men, canons and acts of councils—forbidding ministers to meddle in state affairs—and the answers of our own breasts prove this truth more than sufficiently.

"You shall have St. Austin—in his

eighty-first Epistle—complaining that worldly affairs distracted his thoughts from his calling; and St. Cyprian apprehends those great persecutions were but just consequences of the clergy's guilt in this kind. Gregory the Great was much troubled to find himself under that load.

"Secondly canons and councils discover their judgments fully in this point. So can. vi. viii. and lxxxii. of the Apostles."—Lord Brooke's Discourse of Episcopacy, chap. iii. p. 6. London, 1641.

ⁿ Sect. 34.

^o See Prim. Govern., chap. vi. sect. 4. note

^p Chap. v. sect. 4.

three Bishops, unless we grant that the lesser part is to be CHAP.
concluded by the greater, under the pain of incurring the V.
crime of schism?

§ 16. Thus, that which is here propounded, pp. 249, 250^o, proceedeth upon the same ground with that which followeth, pp. 314, 315^o, which to confirm, I add here a memorable passage out of the said epistle of Clemens, whose doctrine being received from the very mouths of the Apostles, must needs be accounted their own. Thus, then, Clemens p. 54^o: Οἱ Ἀπόστολοι ἡμῶν—so it must be read, and not ἡμῖν—εὐηγγελίσθησαν ἀπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐξεπέμφθη ὁ Χριστὸς οὖν ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ οἱ Ἀπόστολοι ἀπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐγένοντο οὖν ἀμφότερα εὐτάκτως ἐκ θελήματος Θεοῦ. Παραγγελίας οὖν λαβόντες καὶ πληροφορηθέντες διὰ τῆς ἀναστάσεως τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ πιστωθέντες τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἐξῆλθον εὐαγγελιζόμενοι 147 τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ μέλλειν ἔρχεσθαι. κατὰ χώρας οὖν καὶ πόλεις κηρύσσοντες καθίστανον τὰς ἀπαρχὰς αὐτῶν, δοκιμάσαντες τῷ Πνεύματι, εἰς Ἐπισκόπους καὶ διακόνους τῶν μελλόντων πιστεύειν. “Our Apostles received the Gospel from the Lord Jesus Christ; Jesus Christ from God. And so Christ was sent forth from God, and the Apostles from Christ: thus both were orderly done by the will of God. Having, therefore, received instructions, and being assured by the resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ, and confirmed by the word of God, they went forth preaching that the kingdom of God was coming. Preaching, then, through countries and cities, they constituted the first fruits of them overseers and ministers of those that should believe.”

§ 17. This he thus prosecutes, p. 57^o: Καὶ οἱ Ἀπόστολοι ἡμῶν ἐγνωσαν διὰ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ὅτι ἔρις ἔσται ἐπὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος Ἐπισκοπῆς. Διὰ ταύτην οὖν τὴν αἰτίαν πρόγνωνσιν εἰληφότες τελείαν, κατέστησαν τοὺς προειρημένους, καὶ μεταξὺ ἐπινομῆν δεδάκασιν ὅπως ἐὰν κοιμηθῶσιν, διαδέξωνται ἕτεροι δεδοκιμασμένοι ἄνδρες τὴν λειτουργίαν αὐτῶν. Τοὺς οὖν κατασταθέντας ὑπ’ ἐκείνων ἢ μεταξὺ ὑφ’ ἑτέρων ἐλλογίμων ἀνδρῶν, “And our Apostles knew by our Lord Jesus Christ,

* Chap. v. sect. 3, 4.

* Chap. v. sect. 78, 79.

* S. Clement. Ep. i. cap. xlii. p. 170.

ed. Coteler.

* *Ib.*, cap. xlii. pp. 171, 172. ed.

Coteler.

the presbyters; but he hath said nothing by all this which I have here produced, unless we grant that it was not in their power to do it, merely in this consideration, because they succeeded such as were constituted by the Apostles. For the Apostles had done nothing in appointing that others should succeed them whom they constituted, if this succession could be voided by any power but that which appointed it.

§ 19. From the distinction advanced, p. 276*, between those things that are commanded every Christian, and those things that are commanded the body of the Church, perhaps a resolution may be deduced, what is absolutely necessary to salvation, and what not: and also, what is absolutely necessary to salvation to be known, and what not. The book *De Civ* maintains this position, that there is but one article of the faith necessary to salvation, which is, that our Lord Jesus is the Messiah*. But the sufficiency of it is further declared to imply the receiving of Christ for a doctor sent by God, in all things, without exception, to be believed and obeyed, which manifestly infers the profession of all Christianity, and the sincerity of the same.

§ 20. And upon these terms, I see no reason how to deny that, upon this condition, the thief upon the cross is promised life everlasting, and the eunuch of Æthiopia admitted to baptism, that is, to remission of sins, and the title to life everlasting: according to that which is said here, p. 16^b, that in danger of death, or when there appeared an ardent zeal to Christianity, men were admitted to baptism without regular trial, to wit, upon the free and zealous profession of Christianity. So Philip is ordered by the Spirit to give baptism on the like terms as the Church used to do. But this makes no alteration in the necessity of those things that are to be known and undertook by those that regularly come to baptism, which continue no less necessary to salvation, though

* Chap. v. sect. 36.

* Est ergo credere in Christum nihil aliud, quam credere ipsi Jesu dicenti, se esse Christum.

Concurrentibus ad salutem fide et obedientia, utraque necessario, qualis sit ea obedientia, et cum debita monstratum est supra. . . Articuli autem

fidei quinam requirantur, id nunc inquirendum est. Dico autem, alium articulum fidei præter hunc, Jesum esse Christum, homini Christiano, ut necessarium ad salutem, requiri nullum. — Cap. xviii. §§ 5, 6. pp. 167, 168.

^b Chap. i. sect. 17, 18.

CHAP. the obligation of knowing and acknowledging them cannot
 V. — take place, either at all in them that die immediately, or in
 them that are thus baptized before their baptism. It may
 then, with a great deal of reason, be said, that all that, and
 only that which is contained in the covenant of baptism, is
 necessary to salvation, among which is the unity of the
 Church, and the obligation of every Christian to contribute¹⁵⁷
 towards the preservation of it; but otherwise, what this cove-
 nant containeth this is not the place to dispute.

[Precepts
 in the
 Scripture
 not neces-
 sarily
 now.]

§ 21. Some of the particulars remembered, p. 289^c, that
 are in the Scriptures, and yet oblige not the Church, deserve
 to be considered more at large. That the Apostle speaks not
 barely of the Sacrament of the Eucharist, 1 Cor. xi., but of
 the celebration thereof at their feasts of love—beside that
 which hath been said upon divers occasions in this discourse—
 appears further by this gloss, which I find in the written copy
 lately alleged^d: κυριακήν δείπνον τὸ ἐν Ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀριστον.
 “The Lord’s Supper,” saith he, is “to dine in the Church.”
 Whereby it may appear, that the Sacrament of the Eucharist
 is properly called “the Sacrament of the Lord’s Supper,” but
 not properly the “Supper of the Lord.”

[es. of
 eating
 things
 offered to
 idols.]

§ 22. There is nothing can be propounded in a more
 express form of precept, than the decree of forbearing things
 sacrificed to idols, by the council at Jerusalem; and yet it is
 manifest that it was but local^e: for if it had obliged the
 Church of Rome, St. Paul could not have given them another
 rule, not to condemn one another, Jews and Gentiles, for
 eating or not eating. For, that this case is comprised within
 that rule, it appeareth, because St. Paul is afraid that Jewish
 Christians should fall away from Christianity, as enjoining¹⁵⁸
 to renounce the law, and, by consequence, the author of it,
 which was manifestly the scandal of those at Jerusalem.
 But if it had obliged the Church of Corinth, much less could
 St. Paul have given leave to eat things sacrificed to idols
 materially, as God’s creatures, which you have seen that he
 doth.

[The rites
 of Divine
 Service.]

§ 23. That, under the Apostles, baptism was drenching of
 all the body under water, appears by St. Paul’s discourse,

^c Chap. v. sect. 52.

^d Review, chap. iv. sect. 38.

^e See chap. ii. sect. 10.

Rom. vi. 3—5; for how should the death and resurrection of our Lord Christ be represented by baptism otherwise? And so the exception that is taken against the baptism of Novatianus, is, that he was *ἐν κλίνῃ διὰ νόσου περιχυθεὶς*, Eusebius, *Eccles. Hist.* vi. 43^f: "Hlad water poured about him in bed, because of his sickness." So the solemnity of drenching was due; though I shewed afore* that the substance of the exception is grounded upon the weakness of his resolution to Christianity, who would not undertake to profess it while persecution appeared: for if that had not been, the solemnity would not have been avoided.

§ 24. The veil of women in the Church, which the Apostle requires, 1 Cor. xi.; that it was to cover their faces, though laid upon the head, I will seek no other argument but Tertullian, though it were possible to find more. For he, in his 153 book *De Virginibus Velandis*, proveth, that the virgins were not exempted from wearing the like, because at Corinth, whither St. Paul directed this charge, they were not. And this the property of the Greek seemeth to argue, when the Apostle calleth it *κατακαλύπτειν τὴν κεφαλὴν*, and *κατὰ κεφαλῆς ἔχειν*, 1 Cor. xi. 7, 4, which differs something from *ἐπὶ κεφαλῆς ἔχειν*; this, signifying that which is only upon the head: and so was the veil; and therefore the woman is said *ἐπὶ κεφαλῆς ἔχειν*, 10: the other, that which is so upon the head that it comes down from the head, as to the purpose, before the face.

§ 25. Neither do I see any reason why we may not understand the Apostle, when he says that "the women ought to have power on their head because of the angels," to have respect unto the legend reported in the book of Enoch^a—which we see was read in the Church in the Apostles' time, by the second epistle of St. Peter, and that of St. Jude—of those angels that are reported there to have been seduced by the beauty of women, out of Gen. vi. 2; not as if the Apostle did suppose that report to be true, or did intend to give credit to the book, but that, by alluding to a passage commonly

^f See Review, chap. i. sect. 28.

^g Review, chap. i. sect. 29.

^a "And when the angels, the sons of heaven, beheld them then

they took wives, each choosing for himself. . . . and the women conceiving brought forth giants."—Dr. Laurence's Translation, pp. 5, 6. Oxford, 1821.

women ought to be veiled because of that which we read in the book of Enoch to have befallen the angels. Now, in those countries where the veil was not used at the receiving of Christianity, it seems this precept of St. Paul was not held to oblige. As for men covering or uncovering their head in preaching, it can be nothing to St. Paul's meaning; because uncovering the head in sign of reverence was a custom unknown in his time. Thus you see, these particulars, propounded in the form of precepts, notwithstanding do not oblige the Church.

§ 28. Those that scruple the superiority of Bishops as a step to bring in Antichrist, are not only to consider that which is said here, p. 291¹, that the Socinians have the same scruple of the substance of Christianity, but also that which some of the sects of this time give out, as you see in the beginning of this Review, that the making of the Church a society or community was the beginning of Antichrist, which I have shewed was the act of our Lord and His Apostles; and also, that which Erastus² objecteth unto the pres-

CHAP.
V.

[The charge of Antichrist made against the Episcopate.]

¹ Chap. v. sect. 54.

² Nullum posse ex Sacris litteris usum in Ecclesia ostendi: ejus rei, quæ falso Ecclesies obtrahitur, ut præceptum Divinum, cum a Deo imperata nunquam fuerit, omnes, credo, sanè intelligunt. Facile, ergo dixero, quantum mali pepererit. Universam religionem fere sola, aut certe præcipue foedissime contempnavit, et tantum non evertit. Quod hominum nulla æternum perdidit, novit Dominus: ex historia constare posse, arbitror, in Imperio Germanico propter excommunicationem supra quinquies centena hominum nulla diversis temporibus trucidata fuisse. Ingenue profiteor, me persuasum esse, si quidem extet hodie Deus ille fortitudinis Danielis, aliud esse non posse quam excommunicationem. Nam cum vere fortis Deus fuit, qui omnes reges et principes, omne robur, omnes conscientias, ipsam etiam sacrosanctam Scripturam Pontificis Romani pedibus subiecit. At nos, iniques, aliter iustitiamus, Pontificum factum non probamus. Audie pudent hoc dicti, sed contrarium valeo et experior — Erasti Confut. Thes., lib. v. cap. i. p. 298. Peselavii, 1589.

The following account given by Selden of the publication of this work of

Erastus, is, at least, curious. — In fronte legitur *Peselavi*, apud *Rocium Sultoceterum anno MDLXXXIX*. Nominum, sive locum spectes sive hominem, portenta? Neque curiam sic efficta opera pretium est aut disquirere aut arari. Sunt quorum indices editionem illam memorant quasi *Peselavi* aut *Pesolavi* facta fuisse anno 1591, nec loci nomen prius fictum, sed aliud pariter nihil nec verum annum exhibentes. Alii quasi *Pesclavum* nomen loci fuisse. Sed vero certissimum est, *Pesclavium* ibi suppositum pro *Londino*; saltem, *Londini* codicem lavato illo loci nomine proditisse. Nec revera, ni fallor nimium, *Baculus Sultoceterus* ibi alius est quam *Joannes Wolfius*, Latinis, Græcis, et Ebraicis litteris *Elizabethæ reginæ* tunc *typographus*. Ab Erasti vidua, aut a *Castelvetro*, cui nupta illa est; autographum impetrant tunc aliquot ex ordine Ecclesiastici in Anglia summi, qui etiam in regimine publico partes tunc agebant hic *penurias*. Atque eorum auspiciis postquam typis est mandatum. Placet quidem illis ut non sine fœderum loci et typographi nominum larva prodiret, quale pro hominum rebus capius fit. Sed vero non ita furtim ad lapidum exit quin in acta typographorum et biblio-

CHAP. V. byteries, that by the means of excommunication, the papacy, which is the power of Antichrist, was advanced. Whereby he hath requited all their aspersions upon Episcopacy, and shewed all the world that the imputation of Antichrist is a saddle for all horses; that it is *argumentum galeatum*, a reason that will serve to discredit any adversary, if it may have passport, without shewing, by the Scriptures, wherein the being of Antichrist consisteth.

§ 29. And herewith my purpose was to rest contented for the present, thinking this enough for this particular cause, to answer the objection of Antichrist with. But I have considered since, that the whole credit of the ancient Church, and the benefit that might redound to the resolution of all differences and difficulties from the acknowledgment thereof, but in the nature of historical truth, is utterly lost to us by the means of this prejudice. In particular, that, by the papers which passed between his late majesty, of happy memory, and Master Alexander Henderson^a, lately published, it appears that the whole issue of that dispute ended in it.

polarum Londinensium Societatis illius temporis publice expressim relatum fuerit, nec sine auspiciis antistitis summi, qui ante alios librorum hic censuræ tunc præfuit, ejusque de eo judicis testimonio. In Actis illis legitur 20 Junii 1689. JOHN WOLF ENTERED FOR HIS COPY A TREATISE OF THOMAS ERASMI, De Excommunicatione, REPORTED BY M. FORTESCUE TO BE ALLOWED BY THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY; . . . In tunc erat Joannes Whitgiftus, . . . Memini me in Bibliotheca Lambethana, quæ dudum Cantabrigiam translata est, vidisse eandem hunc sic typis emissam in corio flavo nitidius compactum, cum inscriptione hac utrinque aurea intra certum nitidum aureum inserta, *Iatus quam extra formosior.*—De Synedrion, lib. i. cap. x. ad fin.

^a These passed between his Majesty King Charles and Henderson at Newcastle, 1646, and are printed in the King's Works, pp. 155—189. London, 1662. Henderson says, "It is true Diotrophes sought the pre-eminence in the Apostles' times, and the mystery of iniquity did then begin to work, and no doubt in after times some puffed up

with ambition, and others overtaken with weakness, endeavoured the alteration of Church government."—p. 161. And in another paper—"Two words only I add; that notwithstanding all that is pretended from antiquity, a Bishop, having sole power of ordination and jurisdiction, will never be found in prime antiquity. The other is, that many of the Fathers did, unwittingly, bring forth that Antichrist which was conceived in the times of the Apostles, and therefore are incompetent judges in the question of hierarchy. And upon the other part, the lights of the Christian Church at and since the beginning of the Reformation, have discovered many secrets concerning Antichrist and his hierarchy which were not known to former ages: . . . I wind together Diotrophes and the mystery of iniquity, the one as an old example of Church ambition, which was also too palpable in the Apostles themselves, and the other as a cover of ambition, afterwards discovered; which two brought forth the great mystery of the papacy at last."—pp. 171, 172.

§ 30. Upon these considerations, therefore, I have thought
 157 fit further to answer, by denying the truth of this interpretation of St. Paul and the Apocalypse; and to justify this denial, by propounding so probable a meaning of those prophecies to another effect, as all those that apply them to the papacy do shew they could never attain to, because they are fain to prophesy themselves for the meaning of part of them, which they confess is not fulfilled. And this I do here the rather, because hereby I shall declare the utmost of that argument which I have used for the interest of secular powers in Church matters, grounded upon the prophecies of the calling of the Gentiles, whereby God, declaring His will of bringing states to Christianity, declareth by consequence, that He calleth them to the same interest in matters of religion, which we know was exercised by the kings of His ancient people.

CHAP.
V.
[Why
Thomlike
suggests
an inter-
pretation
of the Apo-
calypse.]

§ 31. And hereof the Apocalypse will make full proof, being nothing else but the complement of all the prophecies of the Old Testament concerning the calling of the Gentiles, and therefore fulfilled in the subduing of the Roman empire to Christianity, and the vengeance taken upon the persecutors thereof; which, though it cannot be fully proved without
 158 expounding all and every part of it to this effect, yet because, by the main hinges upon which it turns, reasonable men may perceive that it cannot, nor ever will, be expounded to any other purpose, I will stop here awhile to shew this, that men for the future may advise before they act upon supposition of such uncertain conceits.

§ 32. I begin with the opening of the first seal, Apoc. vi. 1, 2°, because as our Saviour Christ rides forth thereupon, at the beginning, so at the end of the prophecy, xix. 11, He appears again, riding on the white horse, which He appears mounted on at the beginning: so that He which went forth to conquer at the first, returns to take vengeance at the last, as He is there described. In the next place, I will not much entreat any man to grant me that the souls under the Altar,

° Sessor hujus equi est Christus, ut patet, cap. xix. 11. de quo pulchre Origenes, *Hom. in Cantic.* ad illud Equitatus Pharaonis assimilatus te, Equus, in-

quit, et equitatus Dei et Christi sunt Apostoli et animæ sanctæ. Sessor est verbum Deus.—Cornel. a Lapide, Comment. in loc.

appears, that after the six seals he proceeds to declare the vengeance promised the martyrs, because immediately after the sixth seal there appear four angels ready to destroy the earth, Apoc. vii. 1. But because God would shew His prophet that He meant as well to preserve a number of His own as to take vengeance upon the persecutors, therefore He suffers them not to proceed till His own be marked.

§ 34. These prayers are therefore called also the prayers
260 of all the saints, Apoc. viii. 3, to shew us, that though they are expressed at the opening of the fifth seal to be only the prayers of the martyrs, Apoc. vi. 9, yet we are to understand that those which are sealed and saved from the vengeance inflicted on the persecutors, do join in the same; for the martyrs that had long white robes given them, Apoc. vi. 11, do appear again, praising God in those white robes, Apoc. vii. 9, 14. But we must needs imagine that the meaning of the vision is, that those which were sealed and saved joined also in the same praises of God. For, Apoc. xiv. 1, 3, where the same one hundred and forty-four thousand that were sealed afore, appear again', and immediately the same voice of God's praises is heard—like the noise of harpers, but as loud as thunder, or as many waters—it is said that no man could learn the song but the one hundred and forty-four thousand redeemed from the earth. So then, both the martyrs and those that are sealed join in the praises of God, therefore in the prayers also; for the fulfilling whereof those praises are tendered, which are therefore called the prayers of all the saints, because, as well those that were sealed and saved as those that suffered martyrdom, are to be conceived to join in
161 them, as well as in the praises of God. And therefore, the plagues which they procure began from the going forth of the Gospel; because from thence began the sufferings of the martyrs, which appeared at the beginning of the fifth seal, as also the praises tendered to God by those that were sealed and escaped; though they were not to be accomplished but with the number of their brethren that were to be slain as well as themselves*.

* Ludovicius ab Alcazar considers them to be the same. Cornelius a Lapide, on the contrary, says, *longe verius est esse diversos*. See note y below.

* See note p above.

CHAP. § 35. Now the sum of the prophecy being propounded in the figure of a book with seven seals, which none but the Lamb could open, Apoc. v.¹, the effect of the seventh is divided into seven trumpets, wherewith seven angels publish the vengeance which God had promised to take upon the persecutors of His martyrs, at the opening of the fifth seal, Apoc. vi. 9—11; viii. 2. So that the martyrs being those that suffered by the Roman empire, the vengeance is that which was taken upon the Roman empire. This, as the most judicious of our late expositors^a confesseth and proveth, so, had he considered the consequence of it, he would have found himself constrained not to part the tenth chapter and that which followeth from the rest that went afore, but to expound all to one and the same effect; the oversight whereof, is, in truth, the cause of his whole mistake^b.

§ 36. For whereas the angel pronounceth three woes to come upon the sounding of the three last trumpets, Apoc. viii. 13, two whereof are repeated after the fifth and sixth, ix. 12; xi. 14; is it not manifest that the effect of the seventh trumpet is divided into, and comprised in, seven vials of the last plagues, Apoc. xv. 1, 7, as the effect of the seventh seal was in seven trumpets? otherwise, how comes it to pass, that where the third woe is proclaimed, upon the sounding of the seventh trumpet, Apoc. xi. 15, there follows nothing but rejoicing? Only because the joy of the saints for the advancement of Christianity is joined with the woe that

^a Hinc tamen infero, librum signatum in se complecti, non totam Apocalypseo prophetiam, sed solum quod a cap. vi. ad xi. inclusive continetur—id est, per sex capita—omnia enim quæ apertis sigillis revelata sunt, caput undecimam non transgrediuntur. Et ego sane usque ad finem undecimi hoc extendo: certus enim sum septem tubas ad septimum spectare sigillum, atqui caput undecimum septima tuba terminatur.—Ludovicus ab Alcazar, *in loc.*

^b Cornelius & Lapide. See note c above.

^c Notat Alcazar hæc omnia a cap. x. usque ad xv. 11. pertinere quodammodo ad sextam tubam et plagam septimi sigilli. . . .

Rursum Alcazar ex suæ explanationis acolutia censet, sicut plaga

sexta Judæorum iras et furores complexa est: ita hoc capite significari horribilem illam persecutionis procellam, et quasi furorē, quam Judæi contra Ecclesiam concitârunt, initium fuisse veræ ac solidæ Gentilium felicitatis: eo enim Deum hæc direxisse ut persecutiones Ecclesiæ verteret in ejus felicitatem et gloriam, nimirum ut derelictis Judæis transferret fidem, Ecclesiam et salutem ad gentes, atque hoc intelligi cum dicitur, *consummabitur mysterium Dei*. Verum hæc spectant novissima tempora. Insuper ergo hic, ut homines qui tunc tot plagis sex tubarum a Deo per angelos moniti nolent penitere, vehementius redarguantur, ardeant et urgeantur, unde jurat angelus, quia amplius non erit tempus.—Cornel. & Lapide, in cap. x.

comes upon the persecutors. And the joy is mentioned here, the woe deferred, till the seven vials, which contain the effect of the seventh trumpet, come. Therefore they are called the last plagues, Apoc. xv. 1, to wit, of those which the martyrs' blood, Apoc. vi. 9, required. For the plagues, as they began, so they must needs be accomplished, after the persecutions.

CHAP.
V.

§ 37. And all this gap between the sixth trumpet and the seven vials, is made on purpose to reveal more largely the cause of those last plagues, to wit, the persecution which God punishes. For what signifies the victory of Michael and his angels over the devil and his, and the taking of the child up to God's throne, Apoc. xii. 5, 7, but God's decree that Christianity should prevail? Wherefore, the flight of the woman into the wilderness, following in time the fall of Satan into the world which caused it, Apoc. xii. 6, 9, must needs begin as soon as persecution for Christianity began. And the same one hundred and forty-four thousand, which were sealed afore the trumpets, Apoc. vii. 4, appear again with the Lamb after six of them, Apoc. xiv. 17, as having escaped the persecution represented in the thirteenth chapter, as well as the plagues attending on it, and therefore were sealed that they might escape it. Therefore, the same persons being preserved, the same persecutors must be understood.

§ 38. The same it is which St. Paul had prophesied of, 2 Thess. ii.; though, it seems, there was more revealed to St. John by succession of time. For whereas, by many passages of St. Paul's epistles², it appears that he had conceived that the end of the world was to come within the age of men then living, perhaps at the fall of Jerusalem, as the 164 Apostles also imagined when they asked our Lord when the destruction of Jerusalem should be, and what the signs of His coming, and the end of the world, Matt. xxiv. 3; to prevent the ill consequences of this opinion, St. Paul, having the

[The prophecies of
St. Paul.]

² Putant aliqui, ut S. Hieronymus lib. i. *contra Iovin.* et Alcazar hos esse eundem cum illis totidem signatis cap. vii. sed longe verius est esse diversos, nam hi virgines sunt: illi fideles et sancti cuiusque status, etiam conju-

galis: illi omnes sunt Iudæi hi tam Iudæi quam Gentiles. —Cornel. à Lapide, *in loc.*

³ 1 Cor. xv. 51—53, 2 Cor. v. 1—3, 1 Thess. iv. 15.

this passage suffers; to wit, that this second Epistle to the
Thessalonians must be written before the death of Caligula, CHAP.
which no man can easily believe; there being between the V.
baptism of our Lord, upon the fifteenth of Tiberius, accord-
ing to the Gospel, and the death of Caligula, but a matter of
eleven years; whatsoever passed between the baptism of
Christ and His death, and between the death of Caligula

166 and the writing of this epistle.

§ 40. This is then the first of the two beasts that St. John
sees in the thirteenth of his Revelations, blaspheming God,
and persecuting His Church, even the succession of the
Roman emperors. The second is the same, whereof St. Paul
prophesies in the next words, 2 Thess. ii. 8, 9, representing
in one person, as before the succession of the Roman em-
perors, so now the succession of magicians and heathen phi-
losophers, the priests and the divines, whom Satan employed
to disguise, interpret, and maintain heathenism in opposition
to Christianity. Simon Magus may well be reckoned *in-*
primis of the list, together with much of the fry of his
Gnostics, who, though wearing the name of Christians, yet
practising manifest idolatry with their magic, occasioned
the persecution of true Christianity, by compounding a false
out of it and heathenism^c.

§ 41. But Apollonius Tyaneus must needs be accounted of
this body, who did many strange things in St. John's time to
support heathenism, and was therefore by the pagans opposed
to our Lord Christ, as you may see by Vopiscus, in the life
of Aurelian^d, and Hierocles's book to that purpose, refuted by
Eusebius^e. After him came all those Pythagorean or Platonic
167 philosophers, who, after St. John's time, as they were the
maintainers of heathenism against Christianity, were doubtless
also magicians, as their father Pythagoras seems to have
been, by his travels in the east, and many passages of his life.

gravi periculo vulgari non potuerit.
regnante Caesarum domo, ideo quod
post conatum illum statim Caesarem col-
locandæ in ipso Dei sui mi templo.—
Grotii Annot. in ii. ad Theas. cap. i.

^c See chap. v. sect. 14

^d Quid enim illo viro sanctius, vene-
rabilius, antiquius, diviniusque inter
homines fuit? Ille mortuus reddidit

vitam, Ille multa ultra homines et
fecit et dixit. quæ quæ velit nosse,
Græcos legat libros qui de ejus vita
conscripti sunt.—Hist. August. Script.
vi. tom. ii. pp. 475, 476. Lugd. Batav.
1671.

^e Ad calc. Euseb. Demonstr. Evang.
p. 511. Paris. 1628.

CHAP. V. Such were Apuleius¹, Plotinus, Porphyry, Iamblichus, Maximus²; and with such the histories shew that the persecuting emperors, Maxentius, Maximian, Licinius, and Julian, conversed: who, both by learned writings, and by strange works, done by familiarity with unclean spirits, laboured to support the credit of their idols.

§ 42. Two instances I must not conceal in this place, the one recorded by Dionysius Alexandrinus, in an epistle to Hermammon, produced by Eusebius, *Eccles. Hist.* vii. 10³, where he relateth of Valerian, how he cherished the Christians at the first, insomuch that his court was a kind of church. Unto which he addeth as followeth: ἀποσκευάσασθαι δὲ παρέπεισεν αὐτὸν ὁ διδάσκαλος καὶ τῶν ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου μάγων ἀρχισυνάγωγος· τοὺς μὲν καθαρούς καὶ ὁσίους ἀνδρας κτείνυσθαι καὶ διώκεσθαι κελεύων, ὡς αὐτίπαλοις καὶ καλυτὰς τῶν παμμυάρων καὶ βδελυκτῶν ἐπαιδῶν ὑπάρχοντας. "Now he that persuaded him to be rid of them, was his doctor, the ruler of the synagogue of Egyptian magicians: who commanded the pure to be slain and persecuted, as opposites and hinderers of their abominable and detestable enchantments:" which he proceeds to declare what they were, and how they became of no effect wheresoever the Christians came.

§ 43. And perhaps if we had the epistle at length, it would appear that Dionysius had interpreted the beast and the false prophet as I do; for the words which Eusebius quotes begin thus: καὶ τῷ Ἰωάννῃ δὲ ὁμοίως ἀποκαλύπτεται, καὶ ἐδόθη γὰρ αὐτῷ, φησὶ, στόμα λαλοῦν μεγάλα καὶ βλασφημίαν, καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτῷ ἔξουσία μηνῶν τεσσαράκοντα δύο. "Accordingly," saith he, "is revelation made to St. John; for he saith, and there was given him a mouth speaking great things and blasphemy, and it was granted him to continue two-and-forty months." Proceeding to that which I reported afore of Valerian in these terms: ἀμφότερα δὲ ἐστὶν ἐπὶ Οὐαλεριανοῦ θαυμάσαι:

¹ Postremo ipse Apuleius numquid apud judices Christianos de magicis artibus accusatus est?—S. Augustin. de Civit. Dei, lib. viii. cap. xx. col. 207. ed. Ben.

² Μάξιμος ὁ φιλόσοφος, οὗχ ὁ Βοζάντιος ὁ Εὐκλείδου πατήρ, ἀλλ' ὁ Ἐφέσιος, ὃν βαττεῖν ὡς μαγικῆς ποιοῦντα

ὁ βασιλεὺς Οὐαλεντιανὸς ἀναερεθῆναι ἐκέλευσε.—Soerat. Hist. Eccles., lib. ii. cap. i. p. 165. ed. Vales.

³ Ὃς ἐκείνος οἰκειότατα ἐν ἀρχῇ καὶ προσφιλέστατα φανερός ἦν αἰτοῦς ἀποβεχόμενος, καὶ πᾶς ὁ οἶκος αὐτοῦ θεοσεβῶν πεπλήρωτο, καὶ ἦν Ἐκκλησία Θεοῦ. p. 256. ed. Vales.

καὶ τούτων μάλιστα τὰ πρὸ αὐτοῦ, ὡς οὕτως ἔσχε συννοεῖν, ὥς ἡπιος καὶ φιλόφρων ἦν πρὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τοῦ Θεοῦ. "We may well marvel at both in Valerian, and especially we may consider how he stood affected before him—that is, before the magician, whom he spoke of, had access to him—how gentle and kind he was to the men of God." For when he saith that St. John's revelations were according to what he there relates, he seems to make Valerian, the beast, the magician, the false prophet, whom he speaks of afterwards.

§ 44. The other is out of an edict of Constantine, reported by Eusebius, *De Vita Constantini*, ii. 48—50¹, where the great emperor declares to all the empire, that Apollo, that gave answers at Delphi, having answered out of the dark cave there, that the just upon earth hindered him from speaking truth, and that was the reason why his oracles proved false. Diocletian hereupon, πλάνη τὴν ψυχὴν ἡπατημένος· παρὰ τῶν δορυφορούντων αὐτὸν, τίνες ἂν εἶεν οἱ πρὸς τῇ γῇ δίκαιοι πολιπραγμονῶν ἐπυνθάνετο· καὶ τις τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν θυπόλων ἀποκριθεὶς, Χριστιανοὶ δὴπουθεν, ἔφη· ὁ δὲ τὴν ἀπόκρισιν ὥσπερ τι βρογχθίσας μέλι, τὰ κατὰ τῶν ἀδικημάτων εὔρεθέντα ξίφη, κατὰ τῆς ἀνεπιλήπτου ὁσιότητος ἐξέτεινεν. "Being deceived in the error of his soul, curiously inquired of those about him, who were the just upon the earth. And one of the priests about him answered, the Christians. But he, swallowing the answer like honey, drew those swords that were found out against injustice, against blameless piety." And this he professes afore God, that he heard himself, being then a youth, in the emperor's presence^k. By these two particulars we may make an estimate how the rest of the persecutions were moved, and therefore, that the body of these philosophers and magicians, the priests and interpreters of heathenism, is called in the revelation the false prophet.

§ 45. So that the subject of St. Paul's and St. John's prophecies is all one; but the beginning of the persecution seems to be more distinctly set down by St. Paul, though

¹ Τὸν Ἀπάλαν τὸ πνικαῖτα ἔφασαν ἐξ ἀντροῦ τινὸς καὶ σκοτίου μυχοῦ, ὡς εἶπε ὁ ἀνθρώπου χρῆσαι, ὡς ἔρα νι ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς δίκαιοι ἐμπόδιον εἶναι τοῦ ἀληθεύειν αὐτῶν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο, φειδύει τῶν τριπόλων τὰς μαγείας ποιεῖσθαι.—Cap. 4. p. 467. ed. Vales.

^k Σὺ γὰρ τὸν θεῖστον θεὸν καλῶ, ἡρώμεν τότε κομῆθαι καὶ ὑπαρχόν. πῶς δ' ἐκείνῳ καιροῦ παρὰ τοῖς Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτορσιν ἔχον τὰ πρωτεῖα, δούλαιοι ἀληθῶς δούλαιοι, πλάνη εἰς τὸν λόγον, p. 167. ed. Vales.

72 servants, the prophets, the good news of, should be accom- CHAP.
plished, we understand thereby his meaning to be, that time V.
shall be no more to that effect, but that the ancient prophecies
should be quite fulfilled^m.

§ 47. And what remained to be fulfilled of ancient prophecies but the calling of the Gentiles, which was accomplished while the vials were pouring out on the empire for persecuting the Christians? As for the raising of the dead again, and the judging of them, and the reign of the saints with Christ a thousand years, which necessarily come in upon the seventh trumpet, or the seven vials, Apoc. xi. 18; xx. 4, there will remain no great difficulty in it, if we think fit to understand it, as the like prophetic visions in Ezekiel and Daniel, from whom it is manifest St. John had it, are evidently to be understood. The judgment which Daniel saw exercised upon the beast which persecuted the Jews, Dan. vii. 11, if we will not interrupt the consequence of his prophecies, and the coherence of the text in that place, and offer violence to our own senses, is not that which shall come at the general resurrection, but it is that which God shews His prophet, that He would exercise upon the princes that should afflict
73 His people—Antiochus Epiphanes, by name—and do them justice.

§ 48. Just so are the Christians here judged, and the kingdom given them, as it is said to be given there to the Jews, because they were freed under the Maccabees, and became lords of themselves. And as Ezekiel saw dry bones revive, to figure the restoring of the Israelites, Ezek. xxxvii. 3; so proper is it to understand the dead Christians to rise again, and be judged, and reign, because they are restored to freedom and authority under Constantineⁿ. And this it is which is called the first resurrection, Apoc. xx. 6, in respect of the general resurrection, which he saith afterwards shall not be till after a thousand years, Apoc. xx. 7, 11; so that when he

^m Cornelius a Lapide interprets this of the end of the world, but Alensar otherwise;—Consummatio mysterii Dei, ut statim videbimus, referenda omnino est ad repulsum Judaicæ populi et Gentilici electionem. Igitur illa verba, *tempus non erit amplius*, referri debent ad penitentium spatium, quod

Dens Judaico populo ante seculi resurrectionem concessit.—Apoc. x. 5.

ⁿ Alensar per primam resurrectionem accipit aureum Constantini æculum, quo Christiana Ecclesia antea oppressa et quasi emortua reviviscere, imo dominari cepit toto orbe.—Cornel. a Lapide, Comment. in Apoc. xi. 5.

§ 51. If it be objected that the desolation of Rome by CHAP. Alaricus' and Gensericus was nothing to that which is pro- V. phesied of Babylon, Apoc. xvii. xviii, let the prophecies of Isaiah and Jeremiah against Babylon be considered, which we know stood hundreds of years after Cyrus, so that Scaliger saith that we must expect Elias, with the Jews, to reconcile their prophecies with the histories. Nor is it to the purpose, that Babylon was utterly ruined at length; for should Rome be utterly ruined so long after Alaricus as Babylon was after Cyrus, they would not think the revelation thereby fulfilled in any sense. No more am I to think those prophecies against Babylon for cruelty to the Jews fulfilled, by what fell out, when no man remembered the Jews or those prophecies. But these descriptions of the Apocalypse, borrowed many times word for word out of the prophecies of the Old Testament, are nothing else but lofty pathetical figures, hyperbolically expressing the condition of heathen Rome, which, in respect of the empire quite taken from the pagans, was left as desolate as Babylon under Cyrus*.

§ 52. This is then the whole compass of the Apocalypse; [Sum of the foregoing interpretation.] Christ goeth forth at the preaching of the Gospel, after the first seal, to subdue the empire to Christianity. The next three seals foretell that God would punish them with the sword, famine, and pestilence, for neglecting it. Which they, by the instinct of Satan, imputing to the neglect of their idols, as all histories shew, fall to persecute the Christians, till the martyrs' blood calling for vengeance in the fifth seal, under the sixth the change under Constantine comes, the seventh bringing forth those plagues which the seven trumpets and even vials, out of the last of them, import. Till the seat of the empire being removed, and Rome sacked once and again, Christ appears again to punish the persecutors and false prophets that set them upon it, to do the Christians justice, and give them the empire; and this is that appearance which

* August 24, A. D. 410.

† Great allegories Isaia xxi. 9. Excidium enim Babylonis per Cyrum, sed describit Isaia cap. xlii. et cap. xl. allegorice significant exidum domus Ithemic—quæ hic vocatur Babylon in fine mundi, q. d., Sicut iam excidit Babylon illa gloriosa in

regnia, ineluta superbia Chaldaeorum, sicut subvertit Dominus Sodomum et Gomorram, ut ait Isaia, cap. xlii. 19. Babylon, inquam, quæ fuit malleus universæ terre, ut ait Jeremias, cap. l. 23, ita cadet Roma illa ineluta orbis domina.—Cornel. a Lapide, Comment. in Apoc. xviii. 2.

CHAP. St. Paul speaks of, to whom God, revealing the fortune of
V. His Church by degrees, shews the end of the persecution,
not the continuance of Christianity a thousand years after
and more, which St. John hereby learns.

§ 53. And this interpretation so much more reasonable, as
it is more unreasonable that all this should be sent to the
seven Churches, telling them that they should be happy in
reading, and understanding, and keeping it, which, for the
most part, concerned no soul in them, than that he should
send them this encouragement to stick to their Christianity,
in the midst of those persecutions which here he foretells.

A
REVIEW OF THE DISCOURSE
OF THE
PRIMITIVE GOVERNMENT OF CHURCHES.

11

12

13

CHAPTER I.

I HAVE an intent shortly to publish a Discourse Of the Right of the Church in a Christian State: wherein, being obliged to take in hand again divers of the particulars whereof I had entreated before in these two Discourses, I find many things more clearly declared, more expressly determined, more sufficiently proved, than they are here. This hath moved me to read both these Discourses over again, with a purpose further to declare or to confirm such passages as shall seem capable of that improvement, by the consideration of those reasons which are advanced in it. This is the occasion and intention of this Review.

CHAP.
I.

[Occasion
of this
Review.]

§ 2. It is here said, p. 3^a, that it was requisite that the Apostles should be such persons as had seen our Lord in the flesh, and received His doctrine from His own mouth. This is not all that may be said to this purpose. The prophets of God had always their disciples whom they brought up and instructed in the doctrine delivered from God by Moses, and by themselves in succession to Moses; and on the other side, the disciples that were brought up thus, waited upon their masters as their ministers, that, by continual attendance, they might have means inwardly to understand their masters' conversation and doctrine^b. Neither can any thing be more reasonable than that, first, our Lord should take the same course as the prophets of God's people had done before; secondly, that He should choose these, His nearest and most inward disciples, to employ not only in preaching the Gospel, and planting the Church, but also in governing His people. The name of disciples was common to all those who, first believed our Lord's doctrine, and afterwards, professing the same, were admitted to baptism: for it signified all that were called Christians afterwards. Therefore it is given the

[What
constitutes
an Apo-
stle.]

^a Prim. Govern., chap. i. sect. 2. 13, and Right of the Church, chap. ii.
^b See Rel. Assembl., chap. iii. sect. sect. 30.

understand wherein the quality which it importeth consists. CHAP. I.
 But when the Apostles of Christ are named, I suppose that addition serves very properly to specify those whom we know by the Gospel to have been sent by our Lord in person, and to distinguish them from such as are called apostles in the New Testament, but may appear to have been sent otherwise.

§ 5. So then, the Apostles of Christ being both the Twelve and the Seventy, it was not my purpose to dispute what difference of power our Lord may be thought to have constituted between the Twelve and the Seventy: though I can make no question that these were subordinate to the former, be it but for the correspondence between the Church and synagogue, between Israel according to the flesh, and the true Israel of God*: seeing that the twelve princes of the tribes had the coactive power next the king, as captains of the militia of their respective tribes, the seventy only the directive, consisting in the interpretation of the law, and the declaring and determining such matters questionable thereupon, as were not determined by the letter of it. But, for my purpose, it is sufficient that all ecclesiastical power, by virtue of the keys of the Church, was originally in the whole number of the Apostles of Christ, what difference soever there may be between those that bear that title. And I conceive I have shewed how that quality may be thought to belong both to Paul and Barnabas, though in the Scripture I find not both of them called Apostles of Christ, but barely Apostles, Acts xiv. 4, 14. [Extent of the authority of the Apostles.]

§ 6. As little do I think myself obliged to shew how this power, which in every one of them extended to the whole Church, was limited and divided among them in respect to several Churches: for it is not reason that our curiosity should make a question, where their humility made none: yet as I shew you here, p. 54, something like an agreement by which the Gentiles are assigned to St. Paul, the Jews to three principal ones of the rest, so there appears in their own writings, as well as in all the records of the Church, something like occupation, or possession by use, when we see [How limited in particular cases.]

* See Right of the Church, Review, Chap. 1. sect. 3, chap. v. sect. 2, 6.

CHAP. I. the Churches of their own planting governed first by themselves, and after by their successors^a. For thus was their power propagated, by being deposited in the Churches founded by them, with dependence upon the chief Churches, so that, as every Church was to have it collaterally, in respect of those Churches to which it was not subordinate, so absolutely, in respect of those whom it contained. The consequence whereof is, that every Church is able to conclude the members thereof, as itself is liable to be concluded by a greater part of the Church.

[Use of
the *formatæ*.]

§ 7. Now the means to bring this power to effect was always, upon extraordinary occasions, by those assemblies of several Churches which are called councils; but whereas the use of it was daily, but councils seldom, it was continually used, by intelligence, and intercourse of letters, which were afterwards called *formatæ*^b, because they had a several form which served for credit that they were not counterfeit: for by these, all Churches, giving and receiving account to and from all Churches, to which they were either collateral or subordinate, and expressing and procuring consent to such acts as the time required, maintained that society and communion wherein the unity of the whole Church consisteth.

CHAPTER II.

[The
Church
of Jeru-
salem.]

IN consequence to the premises, that the Church of Jerusalem, the mother of all Churches, was under one of the Apostles, as the head of it, is a just ground to presume the like of all other Churches, whereof it is the original and pattern. And truly, that James, one of the Apostles, is justly reckoned, by ecclesiastical writers, the first Bishop of Jerusalem, is evident by the Scriptures here produced, agreeing with the most ancient records of the Church alleged by Euse-

^a Cæterum Paulus ad Galatas scribens addit, ejusdem concilii decreto sibi et Barnabæ esse injunctam prædicationem ac patrocinium gentium. Petro autem, Jacobo, et Joanni relictam curam illorum qui ex circumcisione ad

fidem venissent: id enim idem Paulus his verbis testatur. *cum vidisset quod,* &c.—Baron. Eccles. Ann. ad an 51. num. 17.

^b See Right of the Church, chap. iii. sect. 65, note z.

bis'. For what reason can be given why he should be found always there, should give such a particular stroke in ordering the affairs, either concerning that Church or others with it, if his interest and charge imported no more than that of one of the presbyters of that Church? Which argument draws after it a consequence, in the angels of the seven Churches of Asia, to whom St. John is commanded to direct that epistle which you have Apoc. ii. and iii. For though they are not called by the proper names of persons, but by a name which may, by a metaphor, belong to all presbyters, yet every presbyter cannot reasonably be thought to be called that angel to whom that which is well or ill done in the Church is imputed. Therefore an angel being the name not of a presbytery but of a presbyter, and the angel to whom the praise or dispraise of the Church is imputed, not the name of every presbyter, but of one that hath such a particular power as may render him particularly chargeable for all, manifestly the angels are the Bishops of the seven Churches^k.

§ 2. It is not so manifest that this James of Jerusalem was one of the Twelve, which I labour here to clear, by shewing him to be the same that is called James the son of Alphæus in the Gospel. This I have further done in the Discourse of the Right of the Church in a Christian State, p. 86^l, by removing two difficulties, which only seem to me considerable in this business. But the reason here alleged, p. 11^m, proceedeth upon a supposition that he was one of

[Her first
Bishop.]

^l Prim. Govern., chap. ii. sect. 2, 3; Right of the Church, chap. iii. sect. 4.

"... The very name angel is sufficient to prove, that it is not meant of one person alone, because the word angel doth not import any peculiar jurisdiction or pre-eminence, but is a common name to all ministers and so is used in Scripture. For all ministers are God's messengers and ambassadors, sent for the good of the elect, and therefore the name being common to all ministers, why should we think that there should be any thing spoken to one minister that doth not belong to all" ...

"By one and the same phrase of speech he sheweth the angels and the Churches to be one and the same."

... And this is further proved by the whole argument of those epistles,

wherein the admonitions, threatenings, commendations and reproofs are directed to all the ministers of all the Churches, ... all these and the like places are not to be understood as meant of one individual person, but of the whole company of ministers, and also of the whole Church, because that the punishment threatened is to the whole Church, ... Now we have no warrant in the word to think that Christ would remove His Gospel from a Church for the sin of one Bishop, when all the other ministers and the Churches themselves, are free from those sins."—*Smeectymnius*, sect. xiii. See *Right of the Church*, chap. ii. sect. 6. note c; chap. iii. sect. 8. note b, sect. 48. note r.

^k Chap. iii. sect. 3.

= Prim. Govern., chap. ii. sect. 1.

§ 2. It is a thing much to be considered—in that which you have p. 25^p, that St. Paul himself excommunicates the incestuous person at Corinth—that there is no mention of any ordination or excommunication made by any of the rank of presbyters, in all the Scriptures. The Apostle writes to the Corinthians of him in these terms; “And ye are puffed up, and have not rather mourned, that he who hath done this thing might be taken out of the midst of you.” Here he reproves them, because they mourned not for him that had done this: but doth he therefore reprove them, because they had not excommunicated him themselves? The Church indeed, in the first times, was wont to mourn for the excommunicate, as lost, both to God and to the Church; so that is the reason of this language of the Apostle: but, though he suppose that they ought to have mourned themselves, yet he saith not that they ought to have put him from among them themselves, but that they should have done their part, mourning for such a thing done in the Church, and not puffed with the opinion of such a person, so as to bear him out in his crime: so that he might have been put out of the Church, though not by the Church as it was, without the knowledge, approbation, and consent of the Apostle, but by his judgment, upon knowledge of the business referred to him. For, though a man may imagine that the disorder which was among them is the only reason why the Apostle interposes, yet, when he says not, ye are puffed up, and have not taken him from among you, but, “ye have not mourned, that he might be taken from among you,” he seems to intimate that he was to be taken away by some other beside themselves.

§ 3. This being the only instance of any excommunication without a Bishop—or an Apostle, that is more—in the Scriptures, seeing, for ordination to be so made, there is neither precept nor precedent in the Scriptures, it is demanded again and again, but will never be answered by them which take upon them to ordain presbyters against their Bishops—and, may as well excommunicate them, when they are able, as in Scotland^a—by what authority they do this, having given a rule to

CHAP.
[II]
[How
these
Churches
were
governed.]

^a Prim. Govern. chap. iii. sect. 4.
^b Sentence of Deposition against
Mr John Guthrie, pretended Bishop

of Murray: Mr. John Graham, pretended Bishop of Orkney, Mr. James Fairly, pretended Bishop of Lismore;

CHAP. others not to stir a finger without express text, or necessary
III. consequence from the Scriptures.

CHAPTER IV.

12

[Of St.
Paul's
journey-
ings.]

THOUGH it is not easy to shew when St. Paul preached the Gospel beyond Corinth, as far as Illyricum, which he purposed to do when he wrote to the Corinthians, 2 Cor. x. 16, and which he saith he had done when he wrote to the Romans xv. 19, yet, upon further consideration, I do not see cause to go from that which is commonly received, that the epistle to the Romans was dated from Corinth, as here I do, p. 35'. For though the circumstances there alleged are very pregnant to shew that St. Paul went from Nicopolis to Macedonia after that he had wintered there, as he resolveth to do, Titus iii. 12, yet it is possible that he might see Corinth again after he had preached the Gospel as far as to Illyricum—the frontier whereof was Nicopolis—before he returned through Macedonia into Judæa; and from thence write the epistle to the Romans. This, the salutations which you have toward the end of the epistle, seem strongly to prove, for Gaius, whom he remembereth, Rom. xvi. 23, was of Corinth, 1 Cor. i. 14, and when St. Paul calls him his host he seems to intimate that he then lodged at his house. Erastus also seemeth to be an officer of the same city, not specified for the eminence of it, Rom. xvi. 23, and Phebe, by whom he writeth, and whom is

Mr. Neil Campbell, pretended Bishop of Isles.

"The General Assembly having heard the libels and complaints given in against the foresaid pretended Bishops, to the presbytery of Edinburgh, and sundry presbyteries within their diocese and by the said presbyteries referred to this Assembly to be tried: The said pretended Bishops being lawfully cited, oftentimes called, and not compeering, proceeded to the cognition of the complaints and libels against them, Therefore the Assembly moved with zeal to the glory of God and purging of this Kirk ordains the said pretended Bishops to be deposed, and by these presents doth depose them, not only of the office of missionary to vote

in Parliament, Council or Convention in name of the Kirk, but also of all functions, whether of pretended Episcopal or ministerial calling: and likewise in case they acknowledge not this assembly, reverence not the constitutions thereof, and obey not the sentence, and make not their repentance conform to the order prescribed by this Assembly, ordains them to be excommunicated, and declared to be of these whom Christ commandeth to be holden by all and every one of the faithful as enemies and publicans, and the sentence of excommunication to be pronounced upon their refusal, in the Kirks appointed," —Nelson's Collection, vol. i. p. 132.

* Prim. Govern., chap. iv. sect. 4.

he recommendeth, Rom. xvi. 1, being a deaconess of the Church of Cenchrea—which being the haven to Corinth, and therefore populous, as it might well have a particular Church planted in it, beside that of Corinth, according to the rule of planting Churches in cities, which I maintain to come from the Apostles, so was within four or five miles of Corinth—makes very great appearance that she did receive it at Corinth, rather than at Nicopolis.

§ 2. The prophecies that went afore concerning Timothy—of which p. 40 and 41^a—seem to have been such inspirations as those were, by which we find that, in the beginning of the Church, God did many times declare whom He had appointed to be chosen to public place in the Church: so, Clements Alexandrinus, in the words quoted p. 47^b, saith that St. John did κλήρω ἕνα γέ τινα κληρώσων τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Πνεύματος σηματομενῶν, “take into the clergy some of them that were signified by the Spirit.” And so St. Paul tells the presbyters of Ephesus that the Holy Ghost had made them overseers of this Church, Acts xx. 28. But the grace which he received by imposition of hands, 1 Tim. i. 18, seemeth to be of that kind whereof St. Paul saith, 1 Cor. xii. 7, “The manifestation of the Spirit is given to every one to profit with:” as thus, that, as Christians then, upon their baptism received miraculous graces of the Holy Ghost by imposition of hands, to evidence the presence of God in His Church: so to the same purpose was the like grace given Timothy by imposition of hands in ordination, which the Apostle calls the manifestation of the Spirit, because it was given to evidence the presence of God in His Church, and so to convince the world of the truth of Christianity. But the Apostle not only calls it the manifestation of the Spirit, but says that it was given to every one to profit with, to wit, the Church. Which consideration if we apply to this case, it will enforce thus much, that those graces which were given by imposition of hands in ordination, tended to the benefit of the Church by the discharge of those places whereunto they that received the graces were ordained.

§ 3. Now the office of an evangelist is, necessarily, no more

CHAP.
IV.

[The prophecies concern-
ing Timoth-
y.]

[Of evan-
gelists.]

^a Prim. Govern., chap. iv. sect. 7, 8.

^b Prim. Govern., chap. iv. sect. 13.

that a *diaconus* or some of the Apostles, as I have shewed in the *beginning of the Church in a Christian State*, p. 75^a, as those who ministered to the Apostles in the work of converting the heathens and are therefore called their "helpers" or "vice-regents" in St. Paul's epistles. Which though sometimes it might be, as *Pancemon*—by all likelihood, one of the presbyters of *Corinthe*—is called by St. Paul in the beginning of his epistle to him, his work-fellow, yet that which they did in that kind must be confined to their own Church: whereas they were presbyters, whereas evangelists were employed out of the way to preach the Gospel in the *vicinity* of the Churches, but also wheresoever they approached there in *providing* still no more than deacons, and they received a standing commission and power from them to visit Churches and govern the same, as Timothy and Titus who thereby are Bishops of the chief Churches committed to their charge, trusted to order the government of inferior Churches as they found it most expedient.

§ 4. This is the authority received, which is here mentioned, p. 410. 10, though the degrees of Bishops were according to the commands of civil in the state, yet, so they might be by the authority of the Apostles, providing that the order of the state should be followed in the Church, so far as Christianity could be placed in the chief places: and, that so it was the subordination and dependence of Churches serve to demonstrate. This standing commission being accessory to the office of evangelist—for there is no great appearance that Epaphroditus was preached to the Colossians, and therefore was their evangelist, Col. i. 7, continued governor of that Church, seeing we see that he is employed by the Philippians to St. Paul and back again about far other business, Phil. ii. 25; iv. 18—shows where the difference lies between the power of Bishops, which depends upon it, and the office of evangelist, which depends not necessarily upon it, but yet may stand with it.

* Chap. ii. sect. 31.

* Prim. Govern., chap. iv. sect. 11.

CHAPTER V.

CHAP.
V.

THIS conjecture of Linus and Clemens in the Church of [Of the
Rome, p. 577, seems much to be confirmed, by the like case, election-
in the Churches of Ephesus and Antiochia. For at Ephesus sion of
it is plain by St. Paul's epistle, that the Church was first con- Bishops.]
stituted by him of Gentiles, and Timothy made Bishop of it,
as hath been said. And it is as plain, by all that we read in
Eusebius^a, of the order of keeping Easter with the Jews,
brought into that Church, and the rest of the Churches of
Asia, by St. John, on purpose to comply with the Jews that
were converted to Christianity, that the Church there con-
sisted afterwards of Jews also, whereof, we know by Josephus,
that Ephesus was a very great residence^b; and, otherwise, that
the Bishops of Ephesus, in after times, derived themselves
not from Timothy and St. Paul, but from St. John; therefore
the Christian Jews and Gentiles of that city and nation were
17 afterwards united under St. John, whereof part was first
under St. Paul, or his substitute. And for the Church of
Antiochia, besides what is here said, p. 52^b, if we believe the
Apostolical Constitutions, vii. 47^c, Euodius at the first suc-
ceeded St. Peter, and Ignatius St. Paul there, which all might
very well be, though, afterwards, all became one Church
under Ignatius.

CHAPTER VI.

THAT there was no Bishop at Corinth when Clemens wrote [The state
his epistle, upon further consideration, I see no necessary of the
reason to believe. That which I consider further in the Church of
business, is that which I declared afore^d, that the means Corinth.]

^a Prim. Govern., chap. v. sect. 6.^b Hist. Eccles., lib. i. 23, 24, 26. de Vita Constantini, lib. iii. 5.^c Ἀντὼν γὰρ ἡμῶν οἱ τὴν Ἀντιοχείαν κατοικοῦντες, Ἀντιοχείῃ δουλοῦνται, τὴν γὰρ πολιτείαν αὐτοῖς ἔδωκεν ὁ ἀπίστη· Ἰερατικός δὲ οὐκ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἑλληνικὴν ταῖς ἀδελφεαῖς πολιταῖς ἀγωνιμοῖσι· ταῦτο παρασχόντων αὐτοῖς τῶν διαδόχων.—Joseph. Contra Apion., lib. ii. § 1. p. 186^k. ed. Hudson. Oxon. 1720. Compare also

Antiq. Jud., lib. xiv. cap. x. § 25, pp. 635, 636. xvi. cap. ii. § 2. pp. 708, 709. Vid. Baechin. de Eccles. Hierarch. Origon., par. 1. pp. 93, 94. Mutinre. 1703.

^d Prim. Govern., chap. v. sect. 2.^e Ἀντιοχείας δὲ Εὐόδιος μὲν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ Πέτρον· Ἰγνάτιος δὲ ὑπὸ Παύλου . . . χειροτονήται.—Labbæi, tom. i. col. 452. ed. Venet.^f Chap. i. sect. 7, chap. iii. sect. 1 of this Review.

And therefore the name of the whole Church, comprising in the sub-
 sequent Epistles, the names of particular Churches,
 was introduced, was the introduction of letters—because
 letters were the means by which all Churches
 communicated themselves in great intelligence and correspond-
 ence with all Churches to which they were either subordinate
 or co-equal.

§ 2. I observe, therefore, that these letters were some-
 times directed from the head alone to the head alone, as
 from St. John to the angels of the seven Churches, from
 St. Cyprian to Cornelius, from Firmilianus to St. Cyprian,
 from Cornelius of Rome to Julius of Anagnina, from Ignatius
 to Polycarpus, and the like—sometimes from the head of
 one to the whole body of another, as the rest of Ignatius' epistles—sometimes from the clergy of one to the whole body
 of another, as that of Polycarpus and his presbyters to the
 Philippians, and those of the Roman clergy in the vacancy
 in the Church of Carthage among St. Cyprian's; sometimes
 from the whole body of one, comprising also the people, to
 the whole body of another, as this of Clement—which, though
 penned by him as then Bishop of Rome, without whose con-
 sent it must not have been sent, yet is addressed from the
 body of the Church of Rome, consisting of clergy and people,
 —to the like body of the Church of Corinth. Wherefore all
 reason requires that decorum to be used in all these cases,
 which the respect due from the person that writes, to those
 to whom his writing is addressed, requires.

§ 3. Now it is manifest that a letter dated from the whole
 Church of Rome, comprising also the people, owes more re-
 spect to the whole Church of Corinth, comprising also the
 Bishop, than if it came from the Bishop of Rome only, to the
 people of Corinth. It is also manifest by the epistle, that the
 subject of it was, upon a difference between the greatest part
 of the clergy, or presbyters, and the people, seduced by two or
 three of them into a faction tending to schism, as appears
 by that which he saith, p. 62*, that it was a shame they should
 make a faction against their presbyters, for one or two persons.
 It is therefore very reasonable that the Church of Rome, writing
 to the Church of Corinth about this difference, wherein their

* See Prim. Govern., chap. vi. sect. 4.

Bishop suffered most, should spare all mention of him, lest the people of the Church of Rome, comprised in the epistle, should seem to take upon them to be judges in a matter concerning the Bishop of Corinth, which Christian civility—called charity in the language of the Scriptures—all records of the primitive Church will justify to be no more than due. And yet, when he says, p. 58^f, μακάριοι οἱ προδοιπορήσαντες πρεσβύτεροι, οἵτινες ἔγκαρπον καὶ τελείαν ἔσχον τὴν ἀνάλυσιν; "Happy are the presbyters that are gone afore, for they have had a perfect and fruitful departure;" he useth the very same style which Irenæus, Tertullian, and others of those times do use, calling Bishops and presbyters by the same title, in those times, when it cannot be denied that the power and office were distinct. So that, by the terms held in this epistle, it cannot be concluded that they were not.

§ 4. The same is to be said of Polycarpus's epistle to the Philippians, that there is no mention made of any
20 Bishop in it, because it did not become Polycarpus, and his presbyters, to seem to prescribe any thing to the Bishop, as it might become them to do to the presbyters. Now by Tertullian, *de Præscript. advers. Hæret.*, cap. xxxii.^g, it appears that, as Rome alleged Clemens ordained by St. Peter, Smyrna Polycarpus by St. John, *proinde utique et cætera exhibent, quos ab Apostolis in Episcopatum constitutos, Apostolici seminis traduces habeant*: "so the rest of the Churches exhibit, whom they have for propagators of the Apostles' seed, being installed by them in the Bishopric." Which necessarily deduces the succession of the Apostles from their own persons, as well at Corinth and Philippi as at Smyrna and Rome. I will add here Ignatius's words, out of which Blondell^h and Salmasiusⁱ seem very willingly to mistake, that he says the

^g Ed. Jun. Oxon. 1655. cap. xlv. p. 172. ed. Coteler.

^h P. 337. ed. Pam. Rothomag. 1662.

ⁱ See Right of the Church, chap. iii. sect. 50. note x.

^k Per νεωτεριστήν autem τῶν μανιφεστόν est ab eo sic vocari novam institutionem, vel novum ordinem qui tunc in Ecclesiam introducebatur de Episcopo una supra presbyteros reliquos in majore gradu constituto. . . . νεωτεριστὴν autem τῶν μανιφ.

Episcopi ætate accipienda est ut fecit ille qui omnia hæc miserrima interpretavit et pervertit. . . . νεωτεριστὴν τῶν μανιφ. est novellam institutum vel novus ordo quo Episcopus superlatas est presbyteris. Nec enim τῶν μανιφ. ad ætatem potest referri. νεωτεριστὴς quoque non juvenem significat vel juvenem, sed novum quod καὶ νεὸν designat.—Apparat ad h. l. de Primatu, p. 58. Lugd. Batav. 1645.

CHAP.
VI.

order of Bishops was then newly instituted when he wrote those epistles, therefore not by the Apostles: for though there is a difficulty in the signification of one word, which seems not yet fully cleared, yet it shall manifestly appear that it cannot make to their purpose: καὶ ὑμῖν δὲ πρέπει μὴ συγχρᾶσθαι τῇ ἡλικίᾳ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, ἀλλὰ κατὰ δύναμιν Θεοῦ πατρὸς πᾶσαν ἐντροπὴν αὐτῷ ἀπονέμειν, καθὼς ἔγνωσαν καὶ τοὶ ἅγιοις πρεσβυτέρους, οὐ προσειληφότας τὴν φαινομένην νεπερικὴν τάξιν, ἀλλ' ὡς φρονίμους ἐν Θεῷ συγχωροῦντας αὐτῷ. Thus Ignatius, in his epistle to the Magnesians^k. The difficulty is the meaning of προσειληφότας, which is cleared by observing that it signifies the same with συγχρᾶσθαι afore. contrary to συγχωρεῖν that follows: and then, that he exhorts the people, by the example of their presbyters, "to give way," that is, respect and obedience to their Bishop—which it is manifest that συγχωρεῖν signifies—and therefore, "not to slight or take him up too short because of his youth:" wherefore συγχρᾶσθαι and προσλαμβάνειν here both signify that they are not to use their Bishop as their equal, or to take him into their own rank, because of his youth, but to give him that respect which they saw the presbyters do. These words, therefore, cannot be construed into any sense to their purpose: and this I add here to shew what respect was fit for the people of the Church of Rome to observe towards the Bishop of Corinth, according to Ignatius.

CHAPTER VII.

[*Sacerdotes, presbyters.*]

THE difference between the names of *sacerdotes* and *presbyteri*—of which here, p. 75^l—and the respective reasons, for which they both belong to the same rank, which have been since translated into one and the same of priests, answering both of them in English, is to be drawn from that which is disputed at large by many reasons, in the Discourse of the Right of the Church in a Christian State, from p. 98^m, that the consecration of the Eucharist belongs to all and only presbyters—for Bishops are presbyters and more—by virtueⁿ

^k Cap. iii. p. 18. ed. Coteler.

^m Chap. iii. sect. 13.

^l Prim. Govern., chap. vii. sect. 4.

of the power of the keys, whereby they all have interest in admitting to, or excluding from, the communion of the same. CHAP. VII
Now, seeing in divers passages of the same Discourse I have declared that the Eucharist is the representation, that is—as in good Latin the word representation signifies^a—not the figuring, but the exhibiting of the sacrifice of Christ crucified, it follows that those who are called presbyters for the interest which they have in the keys of the Church, are also to be called *sacerdotes*, because the same are to celebrate and communicate the same sacrifice^b.

§ 2. Though this conjecture upon the reading of the canon [Προεστῶ-
tes applic-
able to
deacons.] of the council at Antiochia, which you have here, p. 80^p, cannot much be blamed, yet—in consideration of that which is here touched, p. 105^q, and disputed at large in the Discourse of the Right of the Church in a Christian State, from p. 93^r, concerning the manner of sitting in the Church, whereby every Church is distinguished into the clergy and people, which are in Tertullian's language *ordo et plebs*^c, the clergy consisting of the Bishops and presbyters that sat, and the deacons that stood, as ready to attend upon and execute their commands—I do not find it necessary. For seeing that they are called *προεστῶτες* in Greek, and in Latin *presidentes*, or *antistites*, in relation to this their posture in the Church, it may very well seem that the name of *προεστῶτες* is communicated to deacons also, though only ministers and attendants of them that are properly so called, because of their interest in that oversight and government, in the execution whereof their office consists. And it were easy to shew, if it were to the purpose, that so it is used in Church-writers for the same cause.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE ground of the difference between the synagogue and the Church, as to the government that was to continue under [The difference between

^a See the Epilogue, bk. iii. chap. i., where this is more fully shewn.

^b See Right of the Church, chap. iii. sect. 36.

^c Prim. Govern. chap. vii. sect. 6.

^d Prim. Govern. chap. ix. sect. 8.

^e Chap. ii. sect. 9.

^f Right of the Church, chap. iii. sect. 38.

CHAP.
VIII.the law
and the
Gospel.]

the Gospel, I have shewed, in many places of the Discourse of the Right of the Church in a Christian State¹, to consist in this, that God had covenanted with the Israelites to maintain them a free people, in the possession of the land of promise, upon condition of their living according to the law; but with Christians, He covenants to give them life everlasting, upon condition of professing Christianity and performing it. Only it followed, that, under the law, there should be a figurative service of God, foretelling the coming of Christ, and a priesthood to execute and minister the same. Which, the reason of the government of the Church cannot be derived from, not² only because it was to cease when the Gospel should come in force, as being but the figure of that service of God which was proper to it, but also because, during the time that it was to stand, the command of the priests as priests was confined to the temple, and to their own tribe. I say the proper command of the priests, as they were priests, because it is manifest that other Israelites were to be admitted to the great consistory as well as the priests and Levites; and as for the consistories whereby inferior cities were governed, it is still more manifest that they were to consist of the best, and wisest, and skilfullest in the law, that those cities had, though assisted with some of the tribe of Levi dwelling among them.

[There was but one court among the Jews.]

§ 2. This is enough to shew the vanity of that conceit which is here touched, p. 83^u, that the Jews had two courts, one for ecclesiastical, another for civil causes³. And this shews that the orders of presbyters and deacons may well be paralleled with the priests and Levites of the temple, upon such terms as you have here, p. 85^x, but that the reason of the institution of them, their power and office, is not to be derived from that priesthood which was to have no place under the Gospel, but

¹ See chap. v. sect. 16, 72.

² Prim. Govern., chap. viii. sect. 2.

³ Fuisse vero initio per Moysen distinctos istos consensus, neque mere sacra civilibus permixta, illud quoque manifeste declarat, quod civilia quidem illa judicia apud civitatum portas, sacra vero in synagogis exercebantur. . . . Ut ad rem redeam, duo fuisse synedria a Mose constituta, inde quoque constat, quod non uno et eodem tempore fuit utrumque institutum, et

quod judicium quidem civilem numerus editur Septuagenarius videlicet extra Moysen, in cuius locum succedere primam iudices prout a Deo extra ordinem excitabantur, ac tandem etiam reges. Synedri vero Ecclesiastici numerus non editur; sed eorum jurisdictionis manifestissimis verbis ab illa civili discernitur. — Beza, de vera Excomm. et Christian. Presbyter., pp. 103, 104. Geneva, 1590.

⁴ Prim. Govern., chap. viii. sect. 4

from the judges and ministers of the Jews' consistories, to
 25 which they bear the very same correspondence as Israel
 according to the flesh, which is the synagogue, does to the
 spiritual Israel of God, which is the Church, according to the
 language of the Apostle. And this is further proved by all
 those passages of the most ancient writers of the Church, in
 which the duties of the clergy are declared and proved, and
 they reprov'd and blamed, by those Scriptures of the Old
 Testament which concern the judges of Israel, that are
 instructed, exhorted, and reprov'd by the prophets: which,
 as they are not a few, so, without this observation, they are
 little better than impertinences^a.

CHAP.
 VIII.

§ 3. The difference here specified, p. 87^a, between the law
 and the Gospel, that, under the law, there was but one great
 consistory resident at Jerusalem, under the Gospel as many
 chief consistories as chief Churches, because the law was con-
 fined to one nation, the Gospel proclaimed to all, holds but
 in regard of the written law, and the provision made by it.
 For I have shew'd in the Review of that Discourse, chap. ii.^b,
 that when the Jews came to be dispersed out of the land of
 Israel, first by the captivity of Babylon—where a great part
 of the nation stay'd and never return'd—and afterwards
 26 by carrying a great number of them into Egypt and other
 countries, they instituted high consistories for the bodies of
 those dispersions in the chief cities of the same, as is there
 specified in the Babylonian and Egyptian Jews, as also in
 those that lived in Palestine at Tiberias, after the destruction
 of the temple. In this estate, the correspondence between
 the synagogue and the Church is so much the more exact:
 this difference only remaining, that the Gospel had the promise
 of the Gentiles coming to the Church, the law continued

[The Jews
 in their
 disper-
 sion fore-
 shadowed
 the Church
 through-
 out all the
 world.]

^a Ergo contra Phariseos et *θεορεπο-
 τας* præsens locus accipitur. Inter
 senes autem et principes hoc fuisse
 reor in veteri populo, quod nunc est
 inter presbyteros et Episcopos. S.
 Hieron. Comm. in Isai. iii. 13, 14. tom.
 iii. col. 39. ed. Ben. Judæes quique
 ejus quasi lupi Arabiæ, occidentes ve-
 pere et nil relinquentes in mane non
 aspicientes ad ortum solis, sed moran-
 tes semper in tenebris, et possessun-
 culas Ecclesiarum, ut ea quæ in Dei

donaria conferantur, vertentes in lu-
 cem suam, ut non habeant pauperes
 quod mane comedant. qui quasi in
 nocte et nullo vidente cuncta populan-
 tur, et quam luporum more cuncta
 diripiunt, ne parvos quidem eos indig-
 entibus derelinquunt.—Comment. in
 Sophon., iii. 3. 74. col. 1671.

^b Prim. Govern., chap. viii. sect. 4.

^c Right of the Church, sect. 13.

It is not to be denied, though the Apostles, when teaching, did not expect converts should all observe the law; if the law of Moses be the original tradition of it. But being of such antiquity, it is expected to make way for Christianity, and give the Jews a pattern how to govern the new people of God, in the form which was used in governing the old, where the services of the law were not in force, as they were not to be in force under the Gospel.

CHAPTER IX.

THE reasons here alleged, why the presbyteries of Christian Churches are to consist only of the clergy, whether the great consistory of the Jews consisted of priests and people is fully discovered in the first and fifth chapters of the *Dissertation of the Right of the Church*, beside other passages throughout the same*. Where you may see that it is to be derived from the constitution of the Church, subsisting by immediate revelation and appointment of God, and consisting of all Christians under several states and nations, whereas the synagogue, consisting only of Jews, subsisted by that law of God which constituted the state of that people. Wherefore, the consistory being appointed to determine all things not determined by that law, which contained both the religion and the civil government of that people, was to consist of priests and Levites, as well as Israelites, being all interested in the law: but the Church being a society insti-

* *Hic itaque vicibus et gradibus hierarchica Ecclesiarum res processit, Apostoli primas ibi sedes collocaverunt, ubi illustrius, frequentiusque Juxta suis legibus vivebant; at ubi Judaeorum nullas, Ecclesias ex gentibus collectas prout illi sedi subjectas suis edixerunt, unde qui gentes convertere incipiant fuerant. Apostolis immo suo defunctis, quae secula sunt tempora solum praenarrato modo ab Apostolis fundata eo nomine ceteris praestulere, quod apud illas, cum certa Episcoporum successione ab Apostolis derivata, vera traditio tradere crederetur. cum enim dogmatum questiones impendit congregerent, quique Ecclesiam tenuerant Episcopo vitam cum*

morte commutassent, ab Ecclesiis d. is, quas Apostolicas dixere, et ordinationem beneficium, et traditionis Apostolorum veritatem accipi debere censuerunt. Tertio tandem inclinato aera Christianae seculo, prima argumenta habentur, quibus credi potest, et in civili imperii politia primas in Provinciis civitates, ubi Praesides incoherent extitisse, et earum urbium Episcopos ex loci dignitate sui muneris jura in Provincia Episcopos augere cepisse.—Bacchin, de Eccles. Hierarch. Origin. Dissert. par. i. § 26. pp. 290, 291. Mutine, 1703.

^d Prim. Govern., chap. ix. sect. 1.

^e See chap. iii. sect. 45.

tuted to preserve the unity of all Christians in the communion of those ordinances which God hath declared that He will be served with under the Gospel, it followeth that no man, by his quality in any state, can claim any interest in the government of that society which is to consist of the Christians of all states and nations: but that all such interest must proceed from the act of those that are qualified by the constitution of the Church to give it. Now though I have shewed there that the Apostles never instituted any such thing as lay-elders, from p. 118^f, yet I do not conceive it
28 contrary to any law of God, that the right and interest which the people of any Church hath, in the transaction of such things as commonly concern the same, should be referred and committed to some certain persons chosen out of the people of that Church, to act on their behalf, and in that interest which by right they may challenge: as I have declared there in the review of the third chapter, at the end of it^g.

§ 2. To shew that originally the office of presbyters consisted as well in their care and oversight of the whole life and conversation of their people, as in preaching to them—of which here, p. 93^h—I will lay down the words of Cornelius of Rome, to Fabius of Antiochia—concerning Novatianus, who, in opposition to him, became head of the Novatians—out of Eusebius, *Eccles. Hist.*, vi. 43ⁱ. 'Ο διὰ δειλίαν καὶ φιλοζῶταν ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῆς διώξεως πρεσβύτερον εἶναι ἑαυτὸν ἀρνησάμενος· ἀξιοῦμενος γὰρ καὶ παρακαλούμενος ὑπὸ τῶν διακόνων, ἵν' ἐξελθὼν τοῦ οἰκίσκου ἐν ᾧ καθεῖρξεν ἑαυτὸν, βοηθήσῃ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ὅσα θέμις καὶ ὅσα δυνατόν πρεσβυτέρῳ κινδυνεύουσιν ἀδελφοῖς καὶ ἐπικουρίας δεομένοις βοηθεῖν· τοσούτων ἀπέσχε τοῦ πειθαρχῆσαι παρακαλοῦσι τοῖς διακόνοις, ὥς καὶ χαλεπαίνοντα ἀπίεσαι καὶ ἀπαλλάττεσθαι· μὴ γὰρ ἐτι βούλεσθαι πρεσβύτερος εἶναι ἔφη. "Who for fear, and love of life, had denied himself to be a presbyter in time of persecution: for being required and exhorted by the deacons to come forth of the house which he had shut himself up in, and help the brethren that stood in need of help, was so far from

[Duty of
presby-
ters.]

^f Right of the Church, chap. iii. sect. 35.

^g Sect. 25.

^h Prim. Govern., chap. ix. sect. 3.

ⁱ Pp. 244; 245, ed. Vales.

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The first of these is the fact that the Church is not a
 mere collection of individuals, but a living organism,
 which grows and develops as it goes on. It is not
 a static body, but a dynamic one, which is constantly
 changing and adapting itself to the needs of the
 world. This is why the Church is so often
 misunderstood and misrepresented. It is not a
 mere collection of individuals, but a living organism,
 which grows and develops as it goes on. It is not
 a static body, but a dynamic one, which is constantly
 changing and adapting itself to the needs of the
 world.

4. There is another meaning given to the words of St. Ambrose quoted here, p. 167¹, which I confess seems to me not improper. It is acknowledged in that Discourse, p. 162¹, that it was the custom, in divers parts and ages of the Church, to refer the interest of the people to some of the

* From Govt., 1916, p. 1

11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100 101 102 103 104 105 106 107 108 109 110 111 112 113 114 115 116 117 118 119 120 121 122 123 124 125 126 127 128 129 130 131 132 133 134 135 136 137 138 139 140 141 142 143 144 145 146 147 148 149 150 151 152 153 154 155 156 157 158 159 160 161 162 163 164 165 166 167 168 169 170 171 172 173 174 175 176 177 178 179 180 181 182 183 184 185 186 187 188 189 190 191 192 193 194 195 196 197 198 199 200 201 202 203 204 205 206 207 208 209 210 211 212 213 214 215 216 217 218 219 220 221 222 223 224 225 226 227 228 229 230 231 232 233 234 235 236 237 238 239 240 241 242 243 244 245 246 247 248 249 250 251 252 253 254 255 256 257 258 259 260 261 262 263 264 265 266 267 268 269 270 271 272 273 274 275 276 277 278 279 280 281 282 283 284 285 286 287 288 289 290 291 292 293 294 295 296 297 298 299 300 301 302 303 304 305 306 307 308 309 310 311 312 313 314 315 316 317 318 319 320 321 322 323 324 325 326 327 328 329 330 331 332 333 334 335 336 337 338 339 340 341 342 343 344 345 346 347 348 349 350 351 352 353 354 355 356 357 358 359 360 361 362 363 364 365 366 367 368 369 370 371 372 373 374 375 376 377 378 379 380 381 382 383 384 385 386 387 388 389 390 391 392 393 394 395 396 397 398 399 400 401 402 403 404 405 406 407 408 409 410 411 412 413 414 415 416 417 418 419 420 421 422 423 424 425 426 427 428 429 430 431 432 433 434 435 436 437 438 439 440 441 442 443 444 445 446 447 448 449 450 451 452 453 454 455 456 457 458 459 460 461 462 463 464 465 466 467 468 469 470 471 472 473 474 475 476 477 478 479 480 481 482 483 484 485 486 487 488 489 490 491 492 493 494 495 496 497 498 499 500 501 502 503 504 505 506 507 508 509 510 511 512 513 514 515 516 517 518 519 520 521 522 523 524 525 526 527 528 529 530 531 532 533 534 535 536 537 538 539 540 541 542 543 544 545 546 547 548 549 550 551 552 553 554 555 556 557 558 559 560 561 562 563 564 565 566 567 568 569 570 571 572 573 574 575 576 577 578 579 580 581 582 583 584 585 586 587 588 589 590 591 592 593 594 595 596 597 598 599 600 601 602 603 604 605 606 607 608 609 610 611 612 613 614 615 616 617 618 619 620 621 622 623 624 625 626 627 628 629 630 631 632 633 634 635 636 637 638 639 640 641 642 643 644 645 646 647 648 649 650 651 652 653 654 655 656 657 658 659 660 661 662 663 664 665 666 667 668 669 670 671 672 673 674 675 676 677 678 679 680 681 682 683 684 685 686 687 688 689 690 691 692 693 694 695 696 697 698 699 700 701 702 703 704 705 706 707 708 709 710 711 712 713 714 715 716 717 718 719 720 721 722 723 724 725 726 727 728 729 730 731 732 733 734 735 736 737 738 739 740 741 742 743 744 745 746 747 748 749 750 751 752 753 754 755 756 757 758 759 760 761 762 763 764 765 766 767 768 769 770 771 772 773 774 775 776 777 778 779 780 781 782 783 784 785 786 787 788 789 790 791 792 793 794 795 796 797 798 799 800 801 802 803 804 805 806 807 808 809 810 811 812 813 814 815 816 817 818 819 820 821 822 823 824 825 826 827 828 829 830 831 832 833 834 835 836 837 838 839 840 841 842 843 844 845 846 847 848 849 850 851 852 853 854 855 856 857 858 859 860 861 862 863 864 865 866 867 868 869 870 871 872 873 874 875 876 877 878 879 880 881 882 883 884 885 886 887 888 889 890 891 892 893 894 895 896 897 898 899 900 901 902 903 904 905 906 907 908 909 910 911 912 913 914 915 916 917 918 919 920 921 922 923 924 925 926 927 928 929 930 931 932 933 934 935 936 937 938 939 940 941 942 943 944 945 946 947 948 949 950 951 952 953 954 955 956 957 958 959 960 961 962 963 964 965 966 967 968 969 970 971 972 973 974 975 976 977 978 979 980 981 982 983 984 985 986 987 988 989 990 991 992 993 994 995 996 997 998 999 1000 1001 1002 1003 1004 1005 1006 1007 1008 1009 1010 1011 1012 1013 1014 1015 1016 1017 1018 1019 1020 1021 1022 1023 1024 1025 1026 1027 1028 1029 1030 1031 1032 1033 1034 1035 1036 1037 1038 1039 1040 1041 1042 1043 1044 10

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"Blight of the Church, chap iii

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* Penn. Govern. chap. ix. sect. 9

* Pages of the Church, chap. vi.

76

ablest of them, deputed to act on their behalf, and in their right, who were therefore called *seniores plebis*. And I confess it puts me to a stand to resolve whether these words, when he saith that "sometimes the Church, by the example of the synagogue, had elders, without whose advice nothing was done in the Church," be not meant of those elders: who did concur in many acts of the Church, and may stand in comparison to the clergy in the Church, as the elders do to the priests in the synagogue. But the reason here propounded turns the balance: for when I read afterwards, that "this custom came out of use, by the sloth or rather pride
 31 of some doctors, that would have no man seem any body but themselves," it appears to me by those words, that he speaks of clergymen, because he speaks of those presbyters whom the Bishops permitted not to preach, lest they should carry the repute from them among the people. And therefore I stand to this interpretation, that his meaning is not to complain that the Church had not presbyters, but that it had not such as the Bishops advised with about the affairs of the Church. For we must needs take them for clergymen, whose office it was to preach had the Bishop permitted.

§ 5. Ability in preaching is to be counted among the *gratiae* [Gifts and graces.] *gratis datae*, because, though not given by inspiration, as those graces whereof St. Paul writes, 1 Cor. xiv., yet it tends, not to the advantage of the person that hath it—unless it be by the right use of it, seeing it may be used amiss—but to the public benefit of the Church. Wherefore the work of it is not to be compared with other offices of the public service of God, as to determine which is most acceptable to God, or advances His glory most, for there is no comparison in that nature between acts essentially good, and such as may be ill done; but when it is commended, p. 109*, as the most excellent and useful work which men can contribute to the service
 32 of God, it is to be limited by St. Paul's doctrine, 1 Cor. xii., 31. Because, as he says there, that they are to strive for the best graces indeed, but the way of charity is more excellent than the best: so of graces given for the public benefit of the Church, those are most excellent by which the Church is immediately instructed in Christianity, but the work of

* Prim. Govern., chap. iii. sect. 10.

CHAP. IX. them not to be compared with those offices wherein the service of God, for which the Church stands, consisteth.

CHAPTER X.

[All acts of Divine service belong to the Bishop in chief.]

It hath been always a custom in the Church that ecclesiastical offices be performed by the chief minister of the Church, if he be present. I have shewed, in the Discourse of the Right of the Church in a Christian State, p. 107^a, that deacons may baptize. But in the Bishop's presence, the saying of Tertullian takes place, *De Baptismo*, cap. xvii., which follows here, p. 114^b. So presbyters may celebrate the Eucharist: but in the Bishop's presence, neither was it the custom for deacons to baptize, nor presbyters to consecrate, lest they should seem to do it without dependence on the Bishop, in which the unity of the Church consists, saith Tertullian. Therefore confirmation was reserved to the Bishop to signify that, without his authority, no man was admitted to communion with the Church; and, as I have said in that Discourse, p. 149^c, though, in Egypt, presbyters did confirm, yet in the Bishop's absence, which implies, by his order and licence.

[Limits of the priest's power.]

§ 2. Thus a reason is given why presbyters, that may consecrate the Eucharist, yet may not consecrate churches, though this be but by custom of the Church, the other, the most heavenly office that our Lord hath commanded His Church. The reason is, because the consecration of a church is a visible argument of that authority by which the assemblies of such a part of Christ's flock are assigned to such a place. Though, to say truth, neither doth the presbyter at any time consecrate the Eucharist without the Bishop's appointment, and therefore his authority is seen in that also, so far as it is seen to be done by that appointment. But the consecration of the Eucharist being an office so to be frequented that recourse cannot be had to the chief power of the Church so often as it is to be celebrated, the chief authority is sufficiently seen by deputing once for all, persons requisite: the consecration of churches, the confirmation of the baptized,

^a Chap. iii. sect. 23.

^b Prim. Govern., chap. x. sect. 3.

^c Right of the Church, chap. iii. sect. 63.

neither of them are so frequent that the chief authority may not be seen in the personal performance of both. CHAP. X.

§ 3. To this reason belong all those ancient canons whereby 34 it is provided that chrism be sent once a year from the mother-Church to the parish churches^a: because this signifies that in the power of baptizing they acknowledged their dependence upon the mother-Church. To the same belong all those canons that give presbyters leave to restore penitents in some cases^b. And the ground of all is, because the society of the Church, standing upon the right and power of assembling for the common service of God, as you have it in the Right of the Church in a Christian State, chap. i.^c, and the Review of it, the whole extent of ecclesiastical power must needs consist in determining the persons, the times, the places, the forms, the ceremonies, the rules and solemnities, by which, on which, at which, and according to which, the offices of Divine service—which God hath declared that He will be served with under the Gospel—are to be performed, so far as by God's law they are not determined; so that the chief power in every Church must needs be that without which these things are not determinable.

§ 4. And therefore it is no marvel that the passages of Ignatius here alleged, from p. 115^a, declare it to be an act of schism to hold those assemblies without the Bishop; for if the whole power of the Church be grounded upon the right 35 of holding assemblies for the service of God, then do they usurp sovereignty in the Church that hold assemblies for the public service of God without dependence upon that authority by which every part is united to the whole. And this is that which the ancient Church called erecting altar against altar^b. For the Eucharist is the prime office of the service

[Presbyters to depend on their Bishop.]

^a Vid. Benedict XIV. de Synod. Diocesan., lib. viii. cap. viii. Right of the Church in a Christian State, chap. iii. sect. 19, note n.

^b Aarelius Episcopus dixit, si quisquam in periculo fuerit constitutus, et se reconciliari Divinis Altaribus petierit, si Episcopus absens fuerit, debet utique presbyter consulere Episcopum, et sic periclitantem ejus precepto reconciliare. Quam rem debemus salubri consilio corroborare. Ab universis Episcopis dictum est. Placet quod

Sanctius vestra necessario nos instruere dignata est.—Cone. Carthag. ii. A.D. 397. can. iv. Labbei, tom. ii. col. 1391, ed. Venet. Vide Van Espen., tom. iii. *Schol. in Cann. Afric.*, pp. 288, 289. Alhaapin. *Observatt.*, lib. ii. *Observ.* xii.

^c Sect. 5. See Review, chap. i. sect. 6–8.

^a Prim. Govern., chap. x. sect. 4, 5.

^b See Prim. Govern., chap. x. sect. 5, note h.

CHAP. X. of God, as peculiar to Christianity^c, and to do this without commission was to usurp sovereignty, that is, to be a schismatic.

[Of the disposition of the ecclesiastical goods.]

§ 5. Of the power of disposing the common stock of every Church, that it is originally in the Bishop and presbytery of the same, and in the deacons but by their appointment that little which is said here, p. 119^d, is enough to declare. But how the Church comes to be endowed with such a stock, by what title it claimeth the tithes, first-fruits, and oblations of those whereof it consists, as the common stock of every Church, for the common necessities thereof, of this I say nothing here, purposing to add something to the eighth chapter of the Service of God at Religious Assemblies concerning it.

CHAPTER XL

[The discipline of penance.]

THE power of the keys, and the work of it in admitting or in re-admitting to the communion of the Church, by baptism or by penance, may be considered either in respect to God, or in respect to the society of the Church, in order to invisible communion with God, or in order to communion with the visible Church: in the first respect, that holds true which is here affirmed, p. 125^e, that it is the act of a physician: seeing that, as a physician can do no more than help nature to overcome the disease, by the use of things contrary to it, and friendly to nature, which he prescribes: so much and no more is this power able to do, by prescribing to those that seek for remission of sins and life everlasting, to undertake the profession of Christianity, and to go through with it. And if a physician be truly said to give health and life, by doing that which I said, then is he that manageth the power of the keys as truly and as properly said to give remission of sins, and life everlasting, by doing no more than hath been specified. But if we regard the society of the Church, then is it the act of a judge to admit or exclude from the communion of the same: the jurisdiction being founded upon the power of the keys, which sentenceth those that demand the

^c See Right of the Church, chap. iii. sect. 32; chap. iv. sect. 62.

^d Prim. Govern., chap. x. sect. 6.

^e Prim. Govern., chap. xi. sect. 2.

communion of the Church, to be qualified or not qualified for it, admitting or excluding them accordingly. CHAP.
XI.

§ 2. In the work of excluding those that had forfeited their Christianity, from the communion of the Church, and of reconciling them to the same, the Church mourned, and the party mourned: the Church mourned as for the loss of a brother, presumed to be cut off from invisible communion with God, from remission of sins, and life everlasting: and this is that which is signified by the passages of the Apostle here quoted, p. 130^f, which therefore contain a very manifest argument of a power of excommunication estated upon the Church, by the constitution of it, as hath been declared in the first chapter of that Discourse^g. But if the person that had offended, by the profession of his conversion to the sincerity of Christianity for the future, should persuade the Church, or whosoever managed the power of the keys on behalf of the Church, to make trial of him again, then it concerned him to put on mourning, and to present himself in the Church in that state, that, by the prayers of the Church, joined with his own, together with that zeal in the works of Christianity which the recovering of one that was lost requires, he may be presumed to be restored to the privilege which he had forfeited afore. And this is that which is intimated by the words of our Lord, Matt. xviii. 15, alleged here, p. 133^h, as also by the passages of the Apostles, James vi. 16; 1 John v. 16, as you have it declared more at large in the first chapter of the Discourse of the Right of the Church in a Christian Stateⁱ.

§ 3. The particulars here mentioned, p. 135^k, that he who was under the less excommunication among the Jews must not be reckoned in the number of those whom their religion required to be present at the blessing of meat, or to make a synagogue for the public service of God, are manifest arguments that those who were under this censure stood removed every whit as much from the sacred and religious as from the civil conversation and communion of that people. Which helps to make full proof of the like power in the Church.

^f Prim. Govern., chap. xi. sect. 4.

^g See Right of the Church, chap. i. sect. 38.

^h Prim. Govern., chap. xi. sect. 6.

ⁱ Sect. 21, 22.

^k Prim. Govern., chap. xi. sect. 8.

[What it was among the Jews.]

CHAP.
XI.

[Degrees
of it.]

§ 4. There is a difference among the Jews themselves, whether there were only two degrees of excommunication amongst them, or three. Their doctors determine that he who was under the second was to be utterly excluded from the conversation of men, and dwell in a cabin alone, and have sustenance brought him: and could he be more banished than thus? As also under the Church, how should any man be more excommunicate than he that is quite cut off from it? Notwithstanding, possible it is, that the heinousness of some crimes, and the obstinacy of some men's malice, in seeking to destroy God's people, might deserve their special prayers against the same. And so, we understand by Justin against³⁹ Tryphon, and Epiphanius in the heresy of the Nazarenes¹, that the Jews were wont not only to excommunicate, but to curse the Christians from day to day in their synagogues. Wherefore, this perhaps was that which some of them tell us was called מְרִיבָה, by way of eminence, though it is plain that the name is common to all excommunications. The correspondent whereof in the Church may well be thought to be that which the Apostle pronounceth against the haters of Christianity, 1 Cor. xvi. 22. For מְרִיבָה signifies "God is come," and *maranatha* signifies "our Lord is come," and therefore there seemeth to be the same difference between them as between Judaism and Christianity, the Jews expecting God, the Christians our Lord Christ, to come to judgment, and denouncing the expectation thereof to those whom thus they censure.

[Each
Bishop a
type of
unity.]

§ 5. The passage of St. Cyprian quoted here, p. 142^m, out of his twenty-seventh epistle, supposeth the same form of government to have been established by God in all Churches. For by virtue of this supposition he infers, that, because the keys of the Church were given to St. Peter, by our Lord, therefore are they given to every Bishop, so that, without him, no man can be reconciled to his Church, and therefore not to the whole Church. For the unity of the whole con-⁴⁰sisting in the correspondence of collateral, and the dependence of subordinate Churches, and the act of any Church, done within the compass of those rules by which the whole is

¹ See the Right of the Church, chap. i. sect. 37. note i.

^m Prim. Govern., chap. xi. sect. 11

tied, obliging all Churches, by virtue of the unity of the whole, it follows that what is true of St. Peter in his Church, is true in all Churches. And this is that which St. Augustine^o, Optatus^o, and St. Hierome^p intend to be the meaning of our Lord's words to St. Peter, Matt. xvi. 16, when they deliver that our Lord, in them, speaks to St. Peter as to one that represented the whole Church, the figure and model of all being designed in one. Therefore, unless we degrade St. Peter to the rank of one of the presbyters, whom himself the other day admitted to be Christians, it cannot be imagined that, according to St. Cyprian, the interest of the Bishop in the power of the keys is the same with that of the presbyters.

§ 6. The satisfaction of the people that the power of the keys was well used, was necessary under the Apostles, as it is said here, p. 148^o, because it could not come to execution and effect but by the voluntary consent of the people. Within

CHAP.
XL

[Interest
of the
people.]

* Dominus Jesus discipulos suos ante passionem suam, sicut nostis, elegit quos Apostolos appellavit. Inter hos pene ubique solus Petrus, totius Ecclesiæ meruit gestare personam. Propter ipsam personam, quam totius Ecclesiæ solus gestabat, audire meruit, *Tibi dabo claves regni celorum*. Has enim claves non homo unus, sed unitas accepit Ecclesiam. Hinc ergo Petri excellentia prædicatur quæ ipsius universitatis et unitatis Ecclesiæ figuram gessit, quando et dictum est, *Tibi trado, quod omnibus traditum est*.—S. Augustinus, *Serm.* 295.—In Natali Apostolorum Petri et Pauli, tom. v. col. 1194. ed. Ben.

o Quod si de recipiendis vobis Catholica dubitaret, nonne vos debuistis unitatis assequi formam? Sed exempla in Evangelio lecta proponere noluistis, ut est lectum de persona Beatissimi Petri; ex qua forma unitatis retinendus vel faciendus descripta recitatur. Equidem malum est contra interdictum aliquid facere; sed peius est unitatem non habere cum possis. Quam unitatem, ipsum Christum videmus proposuisse vindictæ suæ, qui magis omnes discipulos suos voluit in apocryse, quam quod offensam fuerat vindicare—dum nobet se negari, promissum eo apud Patrem negaturum esse, qui se negaret, cum hæc ita scripta sunt, tamen bono unitatis Beatus Petrus, cui satis erat si post quod negavit,

solum veniam consequeretur, et præferri Apostolis omnibus meruit, et claves regni celorum communis auras ceteris, solus accepit.—De Schism. Donatist., lib. vii. cap. iii. pp. 101, 102. Antwerp. 1702.

o *Et dabo tibi claves regni, &c.*
Istam locum Episcopi et presbyteri non intelligentes aliqui sibi de Pharisæorum assument supercilio ut vel damnum innocentes vel se vivere se nexios arbitrentur. quam apud Deum non sententia sacerdotum sed reorum vita quaeratur. Quomodo ergo ibi leprosum sacerdos mundum vel mundum facit: sic et hic alligat vel solvit Episcopus et presbyter, non eos qui innoxios sunt vel noxii, sed pro officio suo, quum peccatorum audierit varietates, sicut qui ligandus sit, quive solvendus.—Comm. in S. Math., lib. iii. tom. iv. col. 75. ed. Ben.

At dicitur, super Petram fundatur Ecclesia, licet id ipsum in alio loco super omnes Apostolos fiat, et cuncti claves regni celorum accipiant, et ex æquo super eam Ecclesia fundando solidatur; tamen propterea inter duodecim unus eligitur: ut capite constituto Schismaticis tollatur occasio.—S. Hieron., *Advers. Iovinianum*, lib. i. tom. iv. col. 168. ed. Ben. See a passage from St. Leo to the same effect, cited in Prim. Govern. chap. xi. sect. 11 note 2.

* Prim. Govern., chap. xi. sect. 15, 16.

CHAP. XI. these bounds, notwithstanding that those that were too heady to be guided by their own superiors, could not refuse to be concluded by the determination of a synod, seeing there could be no pretence why other Churches—which by the form of government, instituted by the Apostles, held themselves bound to be concluded by the determinations of their respective synods—should rather be ruled by the people of another Church, than by their own synod. This appeareth by the course St. Cyprian taketh in such a case, *Epist. xviii.*¹ to refer the business wherein his people was not satisfied, to a synod. But when whole nations and states profess Christianity, it cannot be imagined that the power of the keys could ever be effectual towards all persons, as it must be if to any, if it were not fortified by the secular powers and laws of those states rendering it effectual to all members of the same². So that it is required also of the temporal laws of Christian states, that the interest of the people, to have satisfaction of the right use of this power, be maintained and rendered effectual by the wise determinations of the same.

[Interest of the state and what it ought to do.]

§ 7. It is manifest that the law of Christianity is more strait than the civil law of any state, and that more strictness of life is required in him that continueth in the communion of the Church, than of him that will continue a member of any state, by the institution of the Church, and therefore, of right, by the execution of the same. Whereupon it follows, that those who are convicted of capital or infamous offences against the state, when they are reconciled unto it by undergoing their punishment, or by grace, or not by consequence reconciled to the Church, because not satisfied of any conversion to sincere Christianity, and therefore ought to stand secluded from the Church, till that is done, because the crimes are notorious, by their conviction to the state³. In the intended reformation of the ecclesiastical laws of England, there

¹ Quæ res cum omnium nostrum consilium et sententiam expectet, præjudicare ego et solus mihi rem communem vindicare non audeo. Et ideo instetur interim epistolis quas ad vos proxime feceram, quarum exemplum colligis quoque multis jam misi; qui rescripterunt placere sibi quod statui-mus nec ab eo recedendum esse donec,

pace nobis a Domino reddita, in unum convenire et singulorum causas examinare possimus. — *Ep. xvi. p. 51. Oxon. 1682.*

² See Rel. Assembl., chap. vi. sect. 35. Right of the Church, chap. ii. sect. 5.

³ See Prim. Govern., chap. xi. sect. 16.

is a Christian provision for this purpose^a, neither can this be any usurpation in any Church, which in doing this, takes nothing but the conviction from the state, the proceedings whereof in all reason are to be presupposed just, using for the rest the original right of the Church. As for that which followeth, p. 150^b, of private offences and the office of the Church in reconciling them, by that which I have said in the first and fifth chapters of the Discourse of the Right of the Church^c, it appears that it is provided by the ordinance of our Lord, and the practice of the Church under the Apostles, that no difference between Christians should be carried out of the Church, and pleaded before the Gentiles—whereby it
 42 is manifest that in all estates of the Church it is the course that agreeth best with Christianity—but nevertheless, that in Christian states, no man is forbidden by God's law to pursue his right by the laws of his people, the reason of this right of the Church being because the state then was not Christian.

CHAP
 XI.

CHAPTER XII.

IN the words of Lampridius, in his Alexander Severus, re-
 lated here, p. 155^d, it is much to be observed that he speaks
 of ordaining the priests of the Jews: for thus he says, *Quum id
 Christiani et Judei facerent, in prædicandis sacerdotibus qui
 ordinandi sunt*: “seeing the Christians and Jews did so, in
 publishing the priests that are to be ordained.” Which is
 a manifest mistake, seeing we know that no man was ordained
 priest among the Jews, all being so born. Wherefore, on the
 one side, this prince could not be mistaken in this, that there
 was a custom among the Jews, his subjects, to publish the
 names of those that they did ordain: on the other side, we
 are to believe the Jews’ doctors, that those whom they or-
 [Of ordi-
 nations.]

^a Cum civilis magistratus aliquis flagitiosos homines adhuc non excommunicatos præoccupavit, in carcerem abduxerat, hi, si post, sententiam mortis hæcperint, ut nos. His postea pepercerimus, nolimus tunc indulgentia nostra Ecclesie disciplinam impedire. Iudex igitur Excommunicationis illos satisfactionis et reliquorum officiorum commonefaciat. que si non omnia cito per-

ficiant, excommunicationis virga tantisper flagelleretur donec salubriores cogitationes susceperint. — Reformat. Legg. Eccles. de Excommunicatione, cap. xvi.

^b Prim. Govern., chap. xi. sect. 16.

^c Chap. i. sects. 39—42, chap. v. sect. 25.

^d Prim. Govern., chap. xii. sect. 2.

CHAP.
XII.

dained were the judges of their consistories: we must therefore conclude that those are they whom the historian here compriseth in the common name of *sacerdotes*, containing both the Bishops and presbyters of Christians. A most express argument of the correspondence which I have observed in so many passages of the said Discourse^a, between the clergy of Christian Churches and the Jews' consistories.

[The ancient rule.]

§ 2. In the words of the supposed St. Ambrose, reported p. 160^b, I did purposely change the vulgar reading, and instead of *immutata est ratio prospiciente concilio*, "the course was changed by advice of a council," caused it to be printed *concilio*, "upon provident advice," or, "upon advice which provided that," not believing that it could be made to appear that any council had done an act by which such a general change was introduced into the Church, that whereas afore always the eldest of the presbyters succeeded in the Bishop's place upon his decease, thenceforth the choice should be at large, by the opinion of merit. Salmasius in *Apparatu*^c, grounding himself upon the vulgar reading of these words, persuades himself that the alteration here mentioned was introduced by the fourth canon of the Nicene council, and that this is the council whereof our author speaks. A conceit so slight that every instance of the ordination of any Bishop by the Bishops of the province, before the Council of Nice, brings it to nothing, whereof there follows one here, p. 161^d. For thereby it appears that the course which that canon prescribes, was in use long before it—without doubt from the beginning of the establishment of Christianity throughout any nation or province—and that the effect of the canon was, but to limit and establish that course every where for the future. And therefore I do not repent me of the change of this reading, which frees us of a question which will never be answered, what council it should be that could produce such a general change as this is.

^a Right of the Church, chap. ii. sect. 14, 15, chap. ix. sect. 25.

^b Prim. Govern., chap. xii. sect. 4.

^c Et hoc plane est quod dixit S. Hilarius in epistolam ad Ephesios, *prospiciente Concilio, ut non ordo sed meritum crearet Episcopum, ut indignus leuare usurparet et esset multis scandalum*.

Concilium certe illud non de alio potest intelligi quam de Nicæno. Nulla enim antiquior Nicæno synodus statuit ut ab Episcopis provincie ordinaretur, cuiuslibet civitatis Episcopus.—pp. 77, 78, Lugd. Batav. 1645.

^d Prim. Govern., chap. xii. sect. 5.

§ 3. The ground of the custom of the Church of creating Bishops by the neighbour Bishops, of which p. 160^a, is the same Divine right by which the dependence of Churches was ordained, as you have it in the Right of the Church, from p. 46^f, the unity of the Churches requiring an interest of the chief Church first, and afterwards of collateral Churches, in the constitution of the head of every Church whom they were to maintain communion with, and by whom to maintain communion with the whole. But that Bishops should be constituted by the Bishops of the province, as it follows here, p. 162^g, was a rule that could not be established till Christianity was first established, both in the chief and subordinate cities of nations and provinces or in the greatest part of the same.

CHAP
XII.
[Reason of
the rule.]

46 § 4. The reason why St. Chrysostom and St. Hierome, quoted here, p. 163^b, affirm that Bishops are above presbyters only in the ordination of presbyters, is not because the interest of a Bishop and of a presbyter in other parts of their office was the same: for I have shewed in the Discourse of the Right of the Church in a Christian State, from p. 128ⁱ, that there was so much difference in all parts of their office, that without the Bishop nothing was to be done; but, because other ecclesiastical offices were of so frequent use that they were communicable to the Bishop's inferiors because he could not in person perform all himself, though not without dependence upon him, and his appointment, as I said afore, chap. xi. Whereas the ordination of presbyters being of so great weight, was by consequence not so frequent that it could be necessary to be done without the personal execution of the Bishop, the chief of every Church.

[Ordination by the Bishop only.]

§ 5. The word *χειροτονεῖν*, or *χειροτονία*,—of which p. 170^k,—hath two significations, which are both reduced to one general one. For, because the Jews first ordained their judges of consistories by imposition of hands, therefore, by those of that nation that wrote in Greek, it is used to signify such ordinations. And because the Greeks used to choose magistrates 47 by lifting up their hands; therefore it signifies such elections.

[Χειροτονία.]

^a Prim. Govern., chap. xii. sect. 4.

^f Chap. ii. sect. 3.

^g Prim. Govern., chap. xii. sect. 6.

^b Prim. Govern., chap. xii. sect. 7.

ⁱ Chap. iii. sect. 13.

^k Prim. Govern., chap. xii. sect. 12.

CHAP. XII.

And because the judge or the magistrate is created and constituted, therefore it signifies sometimes generally to create and constitute, as in Philo¹, Dion Cassius^m, Josephusⁿ, and others, it is used, in speaking of those that were constituted neither way, as of persons created by princes, as in the words of Agrippa to Caius, related by Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 8¹. *Εἰ γὰρ ἀφίκοιτό ποτε ἡμέρα, ἢ μεταστάς ὁ γέρον οὗτος, χειροτονοίη σε ἡγεμόνα τῆς οἰκουμένης.* And afore in the same chapter, *ἑτέροι πρέσβεις ἐπιχειροτουνηθέντες ἐπανόισεν*^p.

[does not mean election.]

§ 6. The opinion of them that take it to signify election by voices of the people, in Acts xiv. 23, is ridiculous^q; because the action signified by it is the action of Paul and Barnabas, not the action of the people: therefore it signifies ordination by the imposition of the Apostles' hands, not election by lifting up the people's hands. But in 2 Cor. viii. 19, it seems to signify in the general sense only constitution, without ordination by imposition of hands, according to the first answer here, p. 173^r. Because they that were only appointed to dispense the contributions of the Churches to the Christians at Jerusalem were not thereby ordained to any degree in the Church, this employment ceasing as soon as that business was done. And though I do believe that St. Luke was a deacon to St. Paul, because an evangelist, and that Timothy was ordained to the

¹ Ὁ Θεόλογος Μωσῆς τετάρτων ἄθλων ἑαυρίτων τυγχάνει, τυχάν βασιλείας, νομοθεσίας, προφητείας, ἀρχιερωσύνης, βασιλεύς τε γὰρ γέγονεν, οὐκ ἔδει τῷ καθεπτῷ μετὰ στρατίας τε καὶ πῶλον ναυτικῆς τε καὶ πεζικῆς καὶ ἱππικῆς δυνάμει, ἀλλ' ὑπο Θεοῦ χειροτονηθεὶς ἐκουσίῳ γνώμῃ τῶν ἀρχομένων, διὰ τοῖς ὑπηκόοις ἐνεργήσατο τὴν εἰς τὸ ἐκούσιον αἵρεσιν. *De Præmiis et Pæniis*, p. 918. Paris, 1840. and likewise of the appointment of Joseph to be over the kingdom by Pharaoh; who, δίδωσιν οὖν αὐτῷ σφραγίδα βασιλικὴν καὶ ἱερὰν ἐσθῆτα. . . . κειλεῖν περιελθεῖν τὴν πόλιν, περιερχομένου κήρυκος καὶ δηλαυτοῦ τοῖς ἀγνοοῦσι τὴν χειροτονίαν. —*de Joseph* p. 543.

^m Τῷ γοῦν ἐπιδέμι εἶναι ἐν ᾧ ὅτε Γδλ-βαγ ὁ Σαραπίας, ὁ μετὰ ταῦτα αὐταρχήσας καὶ Λαυκιὸς Κορήλιος, τῷ τῶν ὑπάρχοντων ὄνομα ἔσχον, πεντεκαίδεκα στρατηγὸν ἐγίνοντο καὶ τοῦτο ἐπὶ πολλὰ ἔτη συνέβη ὥστε ἔστι μὲν ὅτι, ἐκακίδεκα, ἔστ. δ' ὅτε καὶ παρ' ἑνα ἢ καὶ δύο χειροτονείσθαι. —*lib. lviij. Tibertina*, p. 634.

Hærou. 1606.

ⁿ Ἄλλ' ὅσοι τῶν μετ' αὐτοῦ πειθοὶ τε καὶ σωφροσύνῃ τῶν ἄλλων διέφερον, τοῖς τὴν περὶ τὸν Θεὸν μάλιστα θεοπείαν ἐνεχείρησεν. ταῖς δ' ἦν καὶ τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδεύματων ἀκριβὲς ἐπιμέλεια· καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ πᾶσι πόντων καὶ δικαστῶν τῶν ἀμφισβητουμένων, καὶ κολαστῶν τῶν κατεγνωσμένων αἱ ἱερεῖς ἐτάχθησαν.

Τίς ἂν οὖν ἀρχὴ γένοιτο ταύτης δαιμονίας; τίς δὲ Θεῷ τιμὴ μᾶλλον ἀρμόζουσα; παντὸς μὲν τοῦ πληθους κατασκευασμένου πρὸς τὴν εὐσεβείαν, ἐξαιρέτων δὲ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τῶν ἱερῶν πεπιστευμένων, ὥστε διὰ τελετῆς τινὸς τῆς ἁγίας πολιτείας οἰκονομουμένης. — *Contra Apionem*, lib. ii. § 21. 22. p. 1379. ed. Hudson. Oxon. 1720.

^o Cap. vii. § 6. p. 813. ed. Hudson. Oxon. 1720.

^p Cap. vii. § 6. p. 811. ed. Hudson. Oxon. 1720.

^q See *Prim. Govern.* chap. xii. sect. 12. note o.

^r *Prim. Govern.* chap. xii. sect. 14.

same office, as it is said here, pp. 179, 180¹, yet that is nothing to the meaning of this place, because it cannot be imagined that St. Luke was made an evangelist by being appointed to this work, seeing the Apostle, calling him "the brother whose praise is in the Gospel," signifieth that he had won praise by preaching the Gospel before. As for the name of apostles—of which p. 177¹,—it is said already that it signifies generally all commissaries or deputies, and so it is used by the Jews, in the name of those whom they call messengers of the synagogue, of whom p. 180.

§ 7. It is certainly true that the Roman emperors had in them the sovereign power of that state, which formerly had belonged to the people, and that not by mere usurpation or force, established by time into right, but by as free an act as that people could do, whereby they transferred all their power, interest, and right unto Vespasian, which Justinian in the Institutions² after Ulpian calls *legem regiam*, though Buchanan in his book *De Jure Regni apud Scotos*³, makes a question whether ever any such act passed or not: as if any common sense could imagine that Ulpian should impose upon the Romans the belief of that which they might all know, as well as himself, to be a falsehood. But the thing is since put beyond debate, the very copy of the act being extant, and having been produced by antiquaries⁴. By virtue of this power, the interest of all states in Church matters belonged to the Roman emperors, and in this interest they acted in ordinations, being enabled thereby to interpose their power that nothing might be done contrary to God's law or to the peace

¹ Prim. Govern., chap. xii. sect. 16.

² Prim. Govern., chap. xii. sect. 16.

³ Sed quod principi placeat, legis habet vigorem: quam lege regia, quæ de ejus imperio lata est, populus ei et in eum omne imperium auctoritatem concedat.—I. tit. ii. § 5.

⁴ M. Nam ut alios omittam, jurisconsulti affirmant, lege Regia, quæ de imperio curum est lata, omnem populi potestatem ita in eos transmissam, ut eorum placita pro legibus haberi debeant. B. Quod autem ad Legem Regiam attinet, quæ illa fuerit, quando, a quo, quibus verbis, lata nec ipsa jurisconsulti expediunt. Regibus enim Romanis nunquam ea potestas fuit, quippe a quibus provo-

catio ad populum erat.—Buchan. Opp. tom. i. p. 23, Edinburghi, 1715.

⁵ Lege Regia, populus Romanus suum omne imperium ac potestatem etiam in se Cæsaribus permisit. . . . De Lege autem Regia, cognosce ex nostro legum Romanorum Indice, ubi nos primi omnium legem a tam multis et doctissimis et diligentissimis viris questam, ex Livii lib. xlvi. et Romanis Antiquitatibus erimus.—Hottoman. Comment. in i. lib. Justin. Tit. ii. § 7. The Index referred to contains the following.—Vid. etiam qui testantur, Romam hanc scripturam extare in Bas. Ila. Lateranensi, in eæ incisam.—Hottoman. Legg. Rom. Ind. in voce Regia, p. 91.

CHAP. XII. of the state, as I have shewed this interest is to be limited, as the fourth chapter of that Discourse^a.

[What power the people have in the matter of ordinations.]

§ 8. But the interest of the people of any Church, as a stands distinguished from the clergy of the same by constitution of the Church, cannot accrue unto any secular power by undertaking the protection of the Church, because it proceeds immediately from God, and subsisted before any state was Christian, and therefore ought so to continue, as I have shewed by many reasons in the first and fourth chapters of the same. And this interest consists not in choosing persons to be ordained, but in excepting against them, if to their lives, the knowledge whereof is incident to the people they appear unfit. For this you shall find many reasons in the second and third chapters of the same. To which may be added the consideration of the Latin words *suffragium* or *suffragari*, and *refragari*, many times used by Church writers in that business. The property whereof importeth not to give votes, which might carry it by number, but to express liking or dislike of that which is done.

CHAPTER XIII.

[Of ecclesiastical censures.]

For the subject of this chapter I shall only refer you to that consideration which I have touched in the Review of the Discourse of the Right of the Church in a Christian State, chap. i.^a, to shew that the jurisdiction of the Church over the clergy is also founded upon Divine right as a production and consequence of the power of the keys. For seeing the promotion of Christians to several degrees of the clergy presupposeth a profession in them, and in the Church, a persuasion of sincerity in a stricter course in the exercise of Christianity than the rest of Christians are required to undertake, by being admitted to the communion of the Church, as by many passages of that Discourse it appeareth^b, it followeth of necessity that they are subject to two sorts of censures, whereas the rest of the people are subject but to one. For the people being

^a Sect. 6. See Review, chap. iv. sect. 5.

^b Review, chap. i. sect. 50, and there, note c.

^c Sects. 29, 53, 51.

only admitted to the communion of the Church, all the censure which they can be subject to is either excommunication, or some degree and step to it. But the clergy being promoted to a several rank above the people, must needs become ⁵¹ subject to a censure when they are reduced to the common rank of the rest of the people^c. And this is the ground of all those censures of clergymen established by the ancient canons, whereby they are adjudged to lay communion, that is to say, not to be put from the communion, but to communicate with the people, which is, in good English, to be degraded^d. Whereby it may appear that both the power of ordination and this particular jurisdiction of the Church, over persons ordained, proceed naturally from the power of the keys, as the consequences thereof, and therefore are to be exercised and performed according to the same interests.

CHAP.
XIII.

CHAPTER XIV.

In the first and fourth chapters of the often-mentioned Discourse^e, you may see the ground of the jurisdiction of ecclesiastical courts, of which p. 204^f, how it is of Divine right and

[Of the
Courts
Christian.]

^c Ex his aliisque hujus generis multis, quæ in antiquis Synodis passim occurrunt, non solum crimina addiscimus, propter quæ clerici e gradu deturbabantur, sed etiam colligimus, ejectionem e clericali gradu minorem fuisse penam, quam esset segregatio e consortio fidelium seu excommunicationis: aliquos enim audivimus e gradu deponendos, quin tamen ideo essent communionem privandi; quod adhuc clarius liquet, ex can. 29. Apostolorum, ubi clericis ordinis ministerium exercere præsumens, a quo esset depositus, veluti gravioris criminis reus, severiori anathematis pena plecti jubetur. Si quis Episcopus &c. . . . Placuit autem id obiter animadvertere, ut vel ex hoc appareat, quam gravis pena sit excommunicationis, qua majores nostri longe leviores existimabant ejectionem e gradu, atque hanc regulariter illi præmiserunt, ut delinquentes clericos corrigerent: neque faciles fuerunt in ferenda anathematis sententia, quam plerique nostri temporis Antistites in Synodalium decretorum transgressores

immoderate quandoque decernunt.—Benedict XIV. de Synod. Diocesan. lib. ix. cap. vi § 2. tom. ii. p. 208 Mechlin. 1842. See Right of the Church, Review, chap. i. sect. 50.

^d Realis depositio, quæ communiter degradatio appellatur, privat Clericum non tantum executione ordinum sed etiam clericatu, et omnibus privilegiis clericalibus, ut instar laici habeatur, ipse tamen character SS. ordinum, qui in anima imprænitur, indelebilis est, et auferri nequit. ideoque si contingeret aliquem ex falsis probationibus condemnari et degradari, demonstrata postmodum innocentia, restitutus noviter ordinari non deberet; imo degradatus in casu extreme necessitatis, si Sacerdos foret, ex plurium doctorum sententia, aliquem absolvere posset.—Engel, in Decretal. lib. v. tit. 37. p. 1290. Salisburgi, 1759. See Right of the Church, cited above.

^e Right of the Church, chap. i. sect. 43, 44, chap. iv. sect. 74; Rel. Assembl., chap. iv. sect. 17.

^f Prim. Govern., chap. xiv. sect. 4.

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 have of the bounty and freedom of states and princes. The power of the keys is essential and necessary to the being of the Church, as a society, being indeed founded upon it. It is also the ordinance of our Lord, as well as the practice of the Apostles and the Churches under them, that the differences of Christians be ended within the Church, so that they might not plead before Gentiles*. And to enforce both these instructions, the power of excommunication is by our Lord and His Apostles estated upon the Church.

§ 2. But there is great difference between causes concerning the substance of Christianity and matters of interest between Christians; the one touching the condition whereupon men are admitted to the communion of the Church: the other concerning the Church, upon a reason accidental to the being of it, seeing we know that it is not necessary that the Church should live under secular powers, not Christian. That jurisdiction, therefore, that belonged to the Church, upon this accidental estate, seems to cease, as for Divine right, when states become Christian: but so that many sorts of causes cannot be despatched, so agreeably to Christianity, as by the proceeding introduced by the Church. By this the reason is justified that shews what hands the proper essential jurisdiction of the Church ought to rest in. But as for that which belongeth not to the Church, by Divine right, though excommunication be the penalty that enforceth the execution of it, yet may it very well be understood that it is upon a several ground and to a several purpose from that excommunication which enforceth the essential jurisdiction of the Church necessary to the subsistence of it. For whereas excommunication in Christian states is most an end attended with some temporal penalty, greater or less, when excommunication is used but to enforce a jurisdiction concerning matters of interest, it is rather to be thought to tend to that temporal penalty, which it is attended with in civil states, than to cut off any man from the invisible communion of the mystical body of Christ, because not grounded upon the essential constitution, but upon the accidental condition of the Church.

* Right of the Church, chap. i. sect. 40.

A
REVIEW OF THE DISCOURSE
OF THE
SERVICE OF GOD AT RELIGIOUS ASSEMBLIES.



CHAPTER I.

ALL that is alleged p. 2, or elsewhere^a, to be found in the Scriptures, concerning the public service of God, or any office thereof commanded the Church, serves to make proof of a privilege to hold and frequent assemblies for the common service of God, granted immediately from God, upon which the society of the Church is founded and subsisteth. The consequence of this privilege being a charge upon the Church of frequenting such assemblies, though they be forbidden by the secular powers of the world, as the epistle to the Hebrews manifestly sheweth. For those Christians, being subject to persecution from their kindred according to the flesh, the Jews, under whose government, supported and authorized by the Romans, they lived, as well in other provinces as in Judea—because as yet the Romans had not begun to persecute the Christians—appeared then to be in danger of falling from Christianity, for the respect of this world. Therefore the Apostle, exhorting them not only to
 55 continue in the faith, but to frequent the common assemblies of the Church, whereby they might be edified to constancy and resolution in it, Heb. x. 23, 24, shews whence this obligation comes upon the Church, and therefore that it takes place before and against any command of secular powers to the contrary. Of this you have more in the first chapter of the Discourse of the Right of the Church, and the Review of the same^b.

§ 2. When a change was first demanded in the government of the Church, and the order and form of Divine service in England, the principle on which all proceeded was, Divine right for lay elders, for doctors distinct from pastors, for presbyteries of congregations, for classes and synods, national and provincial, compounded out of them, for extem-

CHAP.
I.

[The society of the Church founded on the right of holding assemblies.]

[Principles of the puritan reformation]

^a Chap. i. sect. 1.

^b Sect. 6 § Review, sect. 6—13.

CHAP. *pure prayers, and the rest*°. It was presumed to be a design so necessary to the being of the Church, that if it had been expressed in the Scriptures, God had not done His part toward the Church. Therefore the Scriptures were forced to speak it, though, God knows, very little appearance, even in the outside of the letter, of any thing sounding towards it, but in the inside of the sense, a full agreement with that which is known to have been in the next ages to the Apostles.

[Weakness
of its op-
ponents.]

§ 3. They that then pleaded for the laws in force, contented themselves to maintain that they were not contrary to God's law: knowing that, though only of human right, being agreeable to Divine, without consent of secular and ecclesiastical powers, they could not, by God's law, be changed, without incurring the crime of schism, according to that which hath been proved in the Discourse of the Right of the Church in a Christian State, chap. v.* Where I have shewed that the crime of schism is incurred by taking away the power of the Church from those that stand lawfully possessed of it, that is, not against the law of God, and vesting it upon those that never received it from those that stand so possessed of it.

* "Therefore we must conclude if we acknowledge Christ to be that prophet, that hath fully and perfectly declared unto us whatsoever was needful for the government of the Church, except we will rob Him of some part of His prophetic office, or prefer a servant, be he never so faithful, before the only-begotten Son; and as it were Eliczer before Isaac in his father's house, which surely they do who think the servant to have omitted nothing in this behalf, that the heir hath omitted all: and that Moses left all things perfect, but Christ either began them not, or did not finish that which He began. Now whereas I affirm that Christ hath left us so perfect a rule and discipline, I understand it of that discipline which is common and general to all the Church, and perpetual for all times, and so necessary, that without it this whole society, and company, and Christian commonwealth, cannot well be kept under their prince and king Jesus Christ. And surely we must needs either confess that Christ hath left us such an order to live by, or else spoil Him of His kingly office. The

Papists indeed deny it, and dispute against us and contend that it is lawful for their high-priest to rule and order the Church of God as he listeth, but we who abhor and detest this blasphemous voice, and according to God's word acknowledge and confess Christ to be the only king of the Church, how can we say either that He neglected so great and so necessary a point of His kingly office, or that He hath left it to us to order as we please."—*A Full and Plain Declaration of Ecclesiastical Discipline*, p. 5. Reprinted anno 1617.

† "There was in my poor understanding no remedy but to set down this as my final resolute persuasion. Surely the present form of Church government, which the laws of this land have established, is such as no law of God nor reason of man hath hitherto been alleged of force sufficient to prove they do ill, who to the uttermost of their power withstand the alteration thereof."—Hooker, *Eccles. Pol.* preface, chap. i. § 2. vol. i. p. 157. Oxford. 1836.

* Sect. 83, 84.

§ 4. Now see what is the difference between the issue of their proceeding, and that which is here propounded, p. 5¹, from the particulars which can be evidenced to be provided in the Scriptures, to pronounce in general what was requisite to be expressed in the Scriptures concerning these matters. For advising with the state of the synagogue before, and the practice of the Church after the Apostles, and a little of those helps which must give us information of both, and a little common reason to judge of the agreement of both, with that which appears in the Apostles' writings, it will easily appear that the end of 57 their design was the unity of the Church, consisting in the communion of all Christians in all offices of God's public service: the means to attain it, the dependence of congregations upon city Churches, and of them upon the Churches of the greatest cities, executed and actuated by daily communication and intercourse, not between presbyteries, which, not standing continually, could not maintain daily intercourse, but between Bishops, in the name and behalf of their Churches: and this design not to be voided by any secular power upon earth, without the crime of schism, both to those that shall pretend to exercise it in the name and right of the clergy, and of what secular power soever shall pretend to establish it upon them, and to maintain them in the exercise of it.

§ 5. On the other side, at the treaty of the Isle of Wight², those that offered to prove the presbyteries to be of Divine right, were openly disavowed by the commissioners, and reasons demanded for which episcopacy, though in some

CHAP. 1.
[Presby-
terianism
cannot
maintain
the unity
of the
Church.]

[Divine
right of
presby-
teries de-
nied by
the Parlia-
ment.]

¹ Rel. Assembl., chap. 1. sect. 4.

² "The commissioners, who would not suffer any of the king's servants to be so much as present when any thing of the treaty was agitated, thought fit now to let loose their own clergy upon the king, who was much better versed in the argument than they.

"That which they urged most, was the common allegations, that Bishop and presbyter in the Scripture language signified one and the same thing. . . . then they inveighed vehemently against lords Bishops, their pride and lustre. . . . the commissioners relieved their ill-mannered clergy, and urged that

whatsoever was not of Divine institution might very lawfully be altered; for if it had its original from men, it might by men be changed, or reversed; that episcopacy as it was established in the Church by the laws of England, was not that episcopacy that was mentioned or prescribed in Scripture, and therefore the laws which supported it might be justly taken away which they said was the reason that had induced many men who were not enemies to episcopacy to take the covenant, which obliged them to take the present hierarchy away."—Clarendon's Hist. Rebell., bk. xi.

CHAP. particulars expressed in the Scriptures, could not be dissolved by the secular power in Church matters^b. So that if the establishment of the presbyteries had been obtained, it could not have been maintained without either renouncing the ground upon which it first was demanded, or contradicting the power by which it subsisted^c. Thus much to show upon what terms this dispute must proceed, if we will have the issue of it to be both right and peaceable. Not to presume how much ought to be contained in the Scriptures concerning the matters in question, but seeing all sides agree what the Scriptures say of them, but differ about the meaning thereof, to inquire by what means common reason may be informed, to conclude what is expressed in the Scriptures upon a reason common to all estates of the Church, and that which is not so expressed, not to be determined and put to force without the power in possession from the Apostles.

CHAPTER II.

[Days of
assemblies
under the
law.]

THE reason why the circumstances of the spiritual service of God are not determined by the law—as here is said, p. 11^a—is to be deduced from the difference between the law and the Gospel: the law being the condition of a covenant between God and the people of Israel, by the which, God on His

^a See Right of the Church, chap. iii. sect. 44, note d.

^b Robert Baillie, in his letters just published, acknowledges the difficulties by which the presbyterian party was surrounded, and despairs of its success; he writes from London in 1646 as follows:—"The hearts of the divines here who are wing both of the assembly, city, and elsewhere, are set only on the point of government. We are going on in the assembly with the Confession, and could, if need were, shortly end it. We are preparing for the Catechism, but we think all is for little purpose till the government be set up. The assembly has delivered their full sense of all its parts to the parliament half a year ago. The Independent party, albeit their number in parliament be very small, yet being prime men, active and diligent, and making it their great

work to retard all till they be first secured of a toleration for their separate congregations; and the body of the lawyers, who are another strong party in the house, believing all Church government to be a part of the civil and parliamentary power, which nature and Scripture has placed in them, and to be derived from them to the ministers only so far as they think expedient; a third party of worldly profane men, who are extremely affrighted to come under the yoke of ecclesiastic discipline; these three kinds making up two parts at least of the parliament, there is no hopes that ever they will settle the government according to our mind, if they were left to themselves."—*Letters and Journals*, vol. ii. p. 336. Edinburgh, 1841.

^c Rel. Assembl., chap. ii. sect. 3.

part, undertakes to give them the land of promise, and to maintain them a free people in possession of the same, they on their part undertaking to serve God, and to live according to the law: the Gospel, on the other side, being the tender of a covenant from God to all nations, whereby, He on His part, assures them of remission of sins and life everlasting, they, on their part, undertaking the profession of the Gospel, and performing the same. For if the land of promise be that which cometh expressly into the contract of the law, then is the promise of life everlasting but by consequence implied in the same, as the New Testament is veiled in the Old, and the Old revealed in the New.

§ 2. And therefore, though there was means for the ancient people of God to understand—as in that which followeth it is here declared that they did understand—the difference between the ceremonial and the spiritual service of God, and that this was only of itself acceptable to God, the other being only accepted of Him, because of the obedience wherewith it is tendered, which is His spiritual service—as it is plentifully laid down in the Scriptures of the Old Testament after the law—yet it was agreeable to the dispensation of that time, that there should be particular provision in the law for the particulars and circumstances of the ceremonial service of God, their festivals and sacrifices, whereas the Jews' doctors are put to it to find so much as a precept of praying to God in the law: for the service of God which the law commandeth Deut. x. 20¹, that is, say they, by prayer. Which, as they are enforced to confess that it is true, so it is not possible for them to give a sufficient reason for it, so long as they deny the law to be only a rough draught of the Gospel, given on purpose to make way for it, as they do.

§ 3. The same is the reason of all the allegories whereby the promises and precepts of the Gospel are propounded, rather than declared, in the figures and shadows of the law. Two of these you find mentioned here, p. 17^m, life everlasting, figured by the land of promise, and the rest which Christians first keep in this world—resting from their own works as God did from His, saith the Apostle, Heb. iv. 10—then

CHAP.
II.

[The spiritual service not prescribed by the law.]

[And was fore-shadowed only.]

¹ See Epilogue, bk. i. chap. xiii.

^m Rel. Assembl., chap. ii. sect. 8.

this was the work of their Sabbaths and festivals; as, beside Philo, quoted here, p. 12^P, it were easy to shew out of Josephus and the Talmud doctors, if it were requisite, the Scripture having shewed us that Josaphat chargeth them not only to do justice in matters of interest, but to instruct and exhort and warn the people to do their duties in the law, that the wrath of God be not upon them, 2 Chron. xix. 10: but, notwithstanding, when God immediately stirred up prophets, He made them immediately, by His own grant, doctors of His people: so that though the great consistory had power to judge whether they were true prophets or not, yet had they no power to forbid them to teach the people, but by judging them false prophets. This is that which I have shewed in the Discourse of the Right of the Church, from p. 104^q, that as prophets were sent by God to teach the people, so the consistory had power from God to judge of prophets, whether sent by God or not; whereupon the prophets being sent to discover the Gospel in the law by such degrees as the dispensation of that time in the wisdom of God required, and
 63 their lawyers and judges being from the beginning more affected to the letter than to the spirit, it came to pass by natural consequence that the prophets were the forerunners of our Lord Christ and His martyrs, as He declareth, Matt. xxiii. 29, 34.

§ 6. And this is the privilege by which our Lord Christ, and His Apostles after Him, were admitted to preach in the synagogues, in consequence whereunto, when the spirit of prophecy failed, the scribes and wise men of the Jews—which the Talmudists declare to be the successors of the prophets—obtained the privilege of teaching the law from their masters, as still they do; though to enable them to judge in matters of interest, it behoved them to be qualified by imposition of hands, and to be possessed of that power by being placed in their consistories.

§ 7. The prophets being stirred up immediately by God to carry His messages to His people, must needs be reputed nearer to God and to His favour than any men besides. Wherefore, not only by the particulars alleged here, p. 41^f,

CHAP.
II.

[Authority
of the
scribes.]

[of the
prophets
in the
Church.]

^f Rel. Assembl., chap. ii. sect. 4.

^g Rel. Assembl., chap. ii. sect. 25.

^h Chap. iii. sect. 19.

CHAP. II. but by many more that might be alleged out of the Scriptures, it appeareth that they were sued to for their prayers to God on all occasions, in behalf of all sorts of persons. The prophets which the Apostle speaks of in Christian Churches were stirred up as well to demonstrate the presence of God in His Church, by the graces of the Spirit, as to instruct and edify their Churches in the knowledge of Christianity. But we find none of them sent to publish the Gospel to strangers but the Apostles employed to plant Churches and govern the same. Seeing, then, that these prophets of the New Testament were employed to present the prayers of the people to God—as by the sequel appears out of St. Paul—it cannot be doubted that the same office was done by the prophets of the Old Testament for the people whom they instructed in God's law at their assemblies.

CHAPTER III.

[Of the scribes.]

CONCERNING the extent of the name of scribes—whereof p. 45^a—it will be enough to consider that it comprehendeth all, from the judges of the Jews' consistories to the clerks and notaries of the same. "The rulers of Israel, that sit on the seat of judgment," Judg. v. 9, 10; "the lawgiver," mentioned Numb. xxi. 18; Gen. xlix. 10; are translated scribes in the Chaldee paraphrase. On the other side, the clerks and notaries of their courts are called scribes in those sayings of the Talmud doctors which I have alleged in the Review of the Discourse of the Right of the Church in a Christian State, chap. iii.⁴ In the New Testament there seems to be a great difference between the "scribes of the people," Matt. xii. 4, and those that are called barely scribes, when there is speech of "the scribes and Pharisees;" for to be barely a scribe importeth no more than the study of the law, and the profession of the same—which seems to be the quality of those whom the Talmudists call תלמידי חכמים, or "disciples of the wise," which were all scholars so long as their masters were alive—but the scribes of the people seem to be those that had authority over the people in the interpretation of the

^a Rel. Assembl., chap. iii. sect. 3.

⁴ Sect. 23.

law: for to whom should Herod have recourse to know where the Messiah was to be born but to the great consistory? and therefore there seems to be as much difference between scribes and the scribes of the people, as between elders and the elders of Israel, or the elders of the people, as by and by it shall appear. Again, I have shewed in the same place of that Review^u, that the officers and apparitors of their consistories are translated by the Seventy γραμματεῖς or γραμματοεισαγωγεῖς, that is, “scribes” or “schoolmasters,” by the vulgar Latin “doctors,” so that those that taught children to write and read—of whom you have more here, p. 45^v—and the apparitors of the Jews’ courts, are comprehended under the name of scribes in the Greek Bible.

CHAP.
III.

65 § 2. As concerning that which is here said, p. 47^z, that only the scribes, that is, those only that were bred to the knowledge of the law, were chosen into their consistories, you have the constitution of the Talmud quoted out of Maimoni, p. 52^z. And there is a saying among them, that, to constitute an unlearned judge, is to set up an idol which cannot see or hear, because the same name *elohim* or “gods,” signifieth both heathen gods and the judges of their consistories. But by this saying it appeareth, that whereas all Israelites were bound to learn the law—whereupon they hold all tied to repair to the school, as well as to the synagogue—upon this occasion it came to pass that there was a difference between that which ought to be, and that which was indeed, in the qualification of their judges. Josephus^z reporteth that two of Herod’s sons were brought up in this learning of the law—which questionless was done with an intent to provide them of the places of judges—whom Alexander and Aristobulus, his sons by Mariamne, out of scorn of his children by his other wives, threatened, when they came to the power, to make *κωμογραμματεῖς*, that is, “country scribes,” or “scribes of villages,” that is, to place them in the meanest consistories.

[Scribes
were
judges.]

^u See note above.

^z Rel. Assembl. chap. iii. sect. 3.

^z Rel. Assembl. chap. ii. sect. 4.

^z Rel. Assembl. chap. iii. sect. 10.

^z Χωρίζομεν δ’ ἐκείνη τῇ ἀφ’ ἧς καὶ ἄλλοι ἐθεγον ὡς μέμνηται μετ’ ἡδύον-
τες ἐκείνου τῆς Μαρίας, ἐπιτιμῶσιν
δὲ τὸν πατέρα, συνεχὲς δὲ διατελοῦσιν,

εἰ τόχοιεν αὐτοὶ ποτὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς, τοὺς
μὲν δὲ τῶν ἑλλων γυναικῶν παῖδας
ἠρώδη γεγενημένους, κωμογραμματεῖς
καταστήσειν· ἀρμόσει γὰρ εἰς τοιαύτην
χρεῖαν τὸ πρὸς ἐπὶ μελὲς αὐτῶν καὶ πρὸς
παιδείαν ἐκπαίδασκεν.—Antiq. Jud.,
lib. xvi. cap. vii. § 3. pp. 726, 727. ed.
Hudson. Oxon. 1720.

CHAP.
III.—
Of the
great con-
sistory.]

§ 3. That which is reported from the Talmudists in *Abk zara*, cap. i. p. 63^a, that the great consistory removed from Jerusalem forty years before the destruction of the temple may, not without much probability, be attributed to the prevailing of the Sadducees' faction at Jerusalem, of which you may see the texts of Acts iv. 1; v. 17; xxiii. 6—10, quoted here p. 49^b. For it is manifest that those of the posterity of Hilel descended from Zorobabel and David, who, by their relation about that time departed from the temple and Jerusalem changing their abode ten times—as the glory of the Lord when it parted from the Holy of Holies, Ezek. x., for the they compare them with—till at length they settled themselves at Tiberias, were those that maintained and recorded the traditions of the Pharisees, compiling them afterwards into that body of the Talmud which was first digested in Palestine^c. Wherefore it seemeth that they are by the Talmudists, who are the posterity of the Pharisees, reckoned to be the great consistory, though indeed they could not have that power till after the destruction of the temple, when they settled at Tiberias, seeing it must needs be imagined that those who ruled at Jerusalem maintained there the great consistory, which being by the law to sit before the ark, whosoever departed from Jerusalem must needs depart from it.

Of doctors
forming
the Jews.]

§ 4. I said a little afore^d, that the doctors of the Jews obtained the privilege of teaching the law merely from their masters: which, in the Right of the Church in a Christian State, p. 105^e, is thus further determined, that whosoever had spent his time in the school of a doctor till forty years of age, according to the Talmudists, was from thenceforth accounted a doctor, though he was not to teach in his master's presence, that is, not till he were dead, unless he changed the place of his abode, upon which terms every one thus qualified might

^a Rel. Assembl., chap. iii. sect. 16.

^b Rel. Assembl., chap. iii. sect. 7.

^c See Right of the Church, chap. iv. sect. 18. Opus Julaceum maxime illud in augmentum, interpretationem et illustrationem libri Misnaïoth compositum est. Talmud ab his dictum Hierosolymitanum, eo quod Hierosolymis seu in terra sacra a quodam R. Jochanan seu Joanne Scholarum in terra Israelis rectore

compilatum et editum fuerit.

... Sed præterea sunt evidentiæ testimonia ex quibus cordatus lector non incidenter colligere poterit Talmudis istius auctores post annum a Christo sexcentisimum vixisse, — Morini Exercit. Bibl., lib. ii. ex. vi. cap. ii. §§ 1. 3. pp. 297—299. Paris 1686.

^d Chap. ii. sect. 6.

^e Chap. iii. sect. 20.

set open school, and receive scholars. Such a one, I conceive, was Tyrannus, and such a school was the school of Tyrannus, unto which St. Paul retired when he could not be permitted to preach the Gospel any more in the synagogue, Acts xix. 9, because it is called by the name of the master of it. Seeing then that *νομικοί* and *νομοδιδάσκαλοι*, "lawyers" and "doctors of the law," are both the same in the Gospel, and that the privilege of teaching the law constitutes one peculiar rank and degree in the profession of the law, according to the Jews' constitutions, it seems most probable that this degree and quality is it which is signified by the name of *νομικός* and *νομοδιδάσκαλος* in the Gospels, and not that which was conferred by imposition of hands, as here is conjectured, p. 50¹, because imposition of hands among the Jews qualified men to be judges, which was more than to be doctors of the law.

CHAP.
III.

69 § 5. As for the name of presbyters or elders, of which p. 63¹, if it be read with an addition of "the elders of Israel," or, "the elders of the people," it seemeth to signify those of the high consistory. For though they were elders of Israel before, and therefore had authority among the people originally in Egypt, whom Moses was commanded to choose into that number, Numb. xi. 16, as it is easy to perceive by that which we read Exod. iii. 16; xxiv. 9, yet they ceased not to rule, but were advanced to a peculiar privilege by Moses's choice. The law of Deut. xxi. 2, 3, is clear in this point, where there is a distinction made between "thy elders," that is, the elders of Israel, and the elders of that city where a man is found slain in the field, which were to be, as the constitutions determine, some of the high consistory at Jerusalem, to join with some of the consistory of that city. And for this reason, so often as we find mention of "the elders of Israel," or "the elders of the people" in the Gospels, we are to understand no others but those of the great consistory at Jerusalem.

[Of their
elders.]

§ 6. But what "a presbyter" absolutely put, without any addition, signifies, according to the determination of the Talmudists, is easy to be seen by that which is quoted out of Maimoni in the title of Rebels, p. 64², to wit, whosoever hath at-

[Quali-
fications of
elders.]

¹ Rel. Assembl., chap. iii. sect. 8.

² Rel. Assembl., chap. iii. sect. 17.

³ Rel. Assembl., chap. iii. sect. 10.

CHAP. III. tained the privilege of teaching the law. So that a doctor and a presbyter is all one in their account. And thus the ancient canons of the Church provide, that a man be not made presbyter till thirty years of age, at which our Lord and St. John Baptist began to preach, because, saith Irenæus¹, that was the age at which men came to be doctors among the Jews, though the Talmudists afterwards determined it to be at forty years of age, as I said just now². And this agreeth well enough with the Scripture, which saith, Lev. xix. 32, "Stand up before the grey head, and reverence the presbyter, and fear thy gods." Where elders are a degree under gods, that is judges made by imposition of hands, as you have it more at large in the Right of the Church in a Christian State, p. 214³.

§ 7. As for that which is afterwards quoted here out of Maimoni, p. 64^m, it seems to contain the same equivocation of the Hebrew word *zén*, that you find of the same word in Greek. *πρεσβύτερος*, in 1 Tim. v. 1, 17; for in the former text it stands for a man of years, that is, an elder by nature, in the later for a presbyter, that is, an elder by his quality in the Church. As in the text quoted out of Leviticus, the first degree of honour is due to the aged, the second to doctors or presbyters, the third to judges. So likewise, when Maimoni puts the case "if there be no elder that is a wise man," it will be more reasonable to understand an elder by nature—the sense being, if there be no ancient man that is learned in the law—than that there should be an elder by his quality in the synagogue not learned in the law. As for that which followeth, p. 66ⁿ, that the name of elders is common to judges and other elders, it is because the greater includeth the less, but is not included in it, and therefore the judges of the Jews cease not to be elders when they are made more than elders, as the Bishops of Christians are presbyters and more, and, as I said^o, that these elders of Israel ceased not to be elders of Israel when they were chosen into the great consistory by Moses.

§ 8. Seeing the Jews tell us expressly, Maimoni^p by name,

¹ See Right of the Church, chap. iii. sect. 20, note c.

² In sect. 4. above.

³ Chap. iv. sect. 4.

^m Rel. Assembl. chap. iii. sect. 18.

ⁿ Rel. Assembl. chap. iii. sect. 19.

^o Sect. 5. above.

^p De Synedris et Pœnis. cap. i.

that every one of their courts, consistories, or sessions, had one head, or chief over it, we cannot make any doubt but that when the Scripture nameth *ἀρχοντας τῆς συναγωγῆς* and *ἀρχισυναγώγους* in the plural number, for the rulers of the synagogue, there was nevertheless one chief head of them who were all called by the same common name. Especially seeing Epiphanius, in the heresy of the Ebionites*, hath named and distinguished three ranks in the Jews' synagogues, whom he calls *ἀρχισυναγώγους*, *πρεσβυτέρους*, *Ἀζανάτας*, parallel to the Bishops, presbyters, and deacons of Christian Churches. And thus is *archisynagogus* to be taken in the lives of Marcus and Alexander Severus, and the epistle of Adrian alleged by Vopiscus in the Life of Saturninus, and other places here pointed at, p. 68^r.

CHAP.
III

CHAPTER IV.

THAT the reason of the government of the Church is to be derived from the Jews' consistories, as consisting rather in the power by which they stood than in that which was proper to the priests and Levites, may appear by the beginning of this chapter. Because it is necessary to conceive that power by which the Jews maintained themselves in the exercise of their religion all over the world, to continue, for the maintenance of the true Israel according to the Spirit, in the unity of their profession, rather than that which was confined to the temple, or at the most to the land of promise. Now the regal power, we see, falls to the ground so soon as the people becomes subject to strangers: as for that of the priests and Levites, it can have no place out of the land of promise, neither are their priests known at this day by any thing but by receiving the first-fruits of their part, and by blessing the people with the blessing of Moses, Numb. vi. 24, 25, 26, in the synagogue.

[Power of
the Jews'
consis-
tories.]

§ 2. If it thus fell out when the people of Israel were dispersed among other nations, the reason why it must so come to pass is to be fetched from the original constitution of that

[in the
dispersion
of the peo-
ple.]

* Rel. Assembl. chap. iii. sect. 18. Right of the Church, Review, chap. ii.

† Rel. Assembl. chap. vii. sect. 20. sect. 16; chap. ix. sect. 22.

CHAP.
IV.

people. For seeing the spiritual Israel, which is the Church, was to consist of several nations, states, and kingdoms, it is manifest that all sovereign power of the world, by which Israel according to the flesh maintained itself in freedom, was to cease in the Church; and seeing it was to worship God in spirit and truth, not with that worship which was confined to the temple, but which is always everywhere acceptable to God, it is manifest that the power of the priests and Levites by which that sensible worship of the temple was ordered and maintained, was likewise to cease in the Church. So that the power which remains to be preserved under the Gospel—saying the difference between the Church and the synagogue—is that by which the Israel of God according to the flesh was to be maintained in the observation of God's law, which was to be their religion, in all places of the world, as well as in the land of promise, before the reformation by the Gospel came.

[The relation of the Christian hierarchy to the Jewish.]

§ 3. This is the reason why those ordinances of the Apostles, by which the government of the Church was first established, are to be interpreted, from the state and condition of the Jews' consistories^a, which reason, the visible corre-

^a The following extract from Bæchinus is rather long, but as it confirms the view of the Author in the text about the Christian succession and jurisdiction it may not be considered ill placed here. Ut suus Disputationi ordo constet, propagatæ fidei Christianæ antiquissima tempora in tres periodos sunt distinguenda. Prima periodus eorum annorum est, quibus Apostoli solis Judæis annuntiaverunt, Secunda tempus complectitur, quo quamvis Gentiles admissi fuissent ad baptismum, in ea tamen orbis parte Evangelii gratia est diffusa, ubi frequentes Judæi habitabant. Tertia tandem ejus est temporis, quo novum gratiæ lumen in illis provinciis propagatum est, ubi omnes Gentiles, Judæorum vera perpauci, degabant. Cum in prima period. Judæorum tantum ratio sit habita, et nil de Gentilium conversione curatum: prima omnium Ecclesiarum statim constituta est Hierosolymitana, ubi et Apostolorum Collegium, Petro primas gerente, usquequædam admissis Gentilibus res alia methodo sunt ordinatæ, perdidit, tanquam novum,

novæ reipublicæ syndrium, in quo vetus jurisdictio, regaliq. sacerdotum in meliorem formam Messia: ope evectum, translata fuerat. Ita et in aliis terræ orbibus ubi Synedria Judæis habebantur, cum erudentium numerus auctus est, Ecclesiæ alibi sunt constitutæ. In secunda autem admissi Gentilibus ad baptismum, licet cogitatum sit non esse Deum acceptantem personarum, et in gentes etiam diffundi debere gratiam; primo tamen, ac principaliter ea loca Apostolus latius sunt illustrata, ubi Judæi degabant, et ibi gentiles admissi, sicuti antea a Judæis proselyti admiittabantur. Cum autem extra terram Judæis Synedria essent, quæ singulis tractibus sive provinciis præessent, ita et Ecclesiæ fundatæ sunt ibidem, quæ eodem modo eminent. At cum novissime urbes Judæos haberent, et frequentiores et illustres suis legibus utentes, hæc inter ea teras electæ sunt, quæ quadam singulari honoris prerogativa fulgerent, quasque proinde Petrus sui juris speciali quodam, divineque modo participes voluit. In altera orbis parte, ubi

71 spondence which will be found betwixt them—excepting CHAP. the difference between the law and the Gospel—will very 19. thoroughly justify in chief matters, though in particulars of less consequence it is no matter though it hold not. As it is visible that imposition of hands, which was first used in the synagogue upon the reason here expressed, came from thence to be used in creating the presbyters of Christian Churches, though among the Jews it only qualified men to be capable of sitting in their consistories, when they should be chosen and assumed into the same.

§ 4. To render it more undoubted that the Bishop's throne [of the Bishop's throne.] was seated in the midst of the presbyters in the primitive Church—as you have it here, p. 85^t—I will here remember the proposition of Meletius to Paulinus, recorded by Theodoret, *Eccles. Hist.* v. 3^u, where he moveth that both their flocks, consisting of such Christians as agreed in the true faith at Antiochia, might be united, both of them continuing Bishops, and endeavouring themselves to do their utmost for the good of it, εἰ δὲ ὁ μέσος θῶκος τὴν ἔριν γεννᾷ, ἐγὼ καὶ ταύτην ἐξελάσαι πειρίσομαι ἐν γὰρ τούτῳ τὸ θεῖον προτεθεικὸς εὐαγγελίου, ἐκατέρωθεν ἡμᾶς καθῆσθαι παρεγγυῶ. “But,” saith he, “if it

ratas Juliae incolæ, nulla præter Romanam prima sedes est constituta, quæ Romæ tantum Judaici regiminis forma habebatur, ubi frequentes Judæi habitabant, quorum etiam præter ratio habitabat, quare quæcumque tertia illa Apostolorum ævi pericula simulata sunt, Ecclesie, omnes unam Romanam sedem metropolitani cognovere, totaque illa orbis Romani pars, quæcumque altera longe major, tamquam una Romanæ Ecclesie provinciæ reputata est. Ex ejusmodi partis accessu, ut ubi plerique, et tunc omnes gentes erant, quo et alii aliter non nisi gentiles, sed et Judæi in unum veni corpus crearentur, necessitas emittit Romæ potius quam alibi Patris sedem constituendi, Romanum cum Christianis, hoc angustatis faceret atque unam, dios populos in unam Ecclesiam adducendo, Petrus qui petrachiam, cum et Iordaniam Ecclesiam Christianis prædicaret, sedem omnium principum non Hierosolymis, quæ Hierosolymis tantum metropolis, non Alexandria, vel Antiochia, ubi prægentilium Judæorum sedes haberi debebat, sed Romæ constitui debuit, tamquam in unitatis centro, ubi et Judæi

frequentes, et Gentilium omnis superstitionis convenerat.—De Eccles. Hier. arch. Origin. p. 1. cap. iii. § 2. pp. 189—192. Mut. n. 1703.

^t P. 709, vi. Par. 1612.

^u Μελέτιος δὲ, ὁ πάντων ἀνθρώπων πρῶτος, φιλοφρόνως ἀπὸ καὶ ἡπίως ἔφη πρὸς τὸν Παυλῖνον· ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἐμοὶ τῶν διὰ τῶν πρεσβύτων τὴν ἐκμελεῖαν ὁ τῶν πρεσβύτων ἐνδεχόμενος Κύριος, καὶ σὺ τῶν ἄλλων ἀναβιβάζεις τὴν φροντίδα, κοινῶς δὲ ἀλλήλους τῆς εὐσεβείας τὰ θρόνματα, συνάγωμεν ὁ φιλοῦντος τὰ πόλιν καὶ τὴν περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας καταλιπώμεν διαμάχην· κοινῶς δὲ τὰ πρεσβύτα νομεῖται κοινῇ αὐτοῖς προσεγγίζομεν θεραπείαν. Εἰ δὲ ὁ μέσος θῶκος τὴν ἔριν, ἐγὼ καὶ ταύτην ἐξελάσαι πειράσομαι ἐν γὰρ τούτῳ τῷ θεῷ εὐαγγελίου, ἐκατέρωθεν ἡμᾶς καθῆσθαι παρεγγυῶ. Καὶ εἰ μὲν πρῶτος ἐγὼ δεξιὰ μὲ τοῦ βίου τὴν πέρας, μόνος σχῶν ὁ φίλος τὴν τῆς πόλεως ἡγεμονίαν. Εἰ δὲ σὺ πρῶτος ταύτην καθῶς, ἐγὼ πάλιν εἰς δύναμιν τῶν πρεσβύτων ἐκμελεῖται. Ταῦτα ἔφη μὲν ἅμα καὶ φιλοφρόνως ὁ εὖ εἰς πρὸς Μελέτιον ὁ δὲ Παυλῖνος οὐκ ἐπύρρει· Theodor. Opp. tom. iii. p. 708, Paris. 1642.

CHAP. be the seat in the midst that makes the difference. I will try if I can take it away. For I advise that we lay the true Gospel in it, and set ourselves on this and on that hand of it. So that, whether died first, the other to possess the place with the whole power of it afterwards. And that this manner of sitting in the Church came from the Apostles themselves, who had it from the synagogue—beside that which you may find in the Right of the Church in a Christian State, from p. 93. out of the Apocalypse—may be gathered by the words of the Apostle, 1 Cor. xiv. 16, for by mentioning “the place of a private person,” *ἰδιώτης*, in the Church, he signifies that there were several places for public persons, which thereby he distinguisheth: as also by the words of our Saviour, when he reproveth the Scribes and Pharisees for affecting the uppermost seats in the synagogues, Matt. xxiii. 6, which were these seats whereof we speak.

The angels of churches.]

§ 5. I have shewed in the Review of the Right of the Church in a Christian State, chap. v.⁷, how the words of St. Paul, of which here, p. 80², that a woman ought to have power upon her head because of the angels, may be understood to be an allusion to that which was then read in the Church out of the book of Enoch, of the fall of angels by the beauty of women, reported there out of Gen. vi. 2, which, though it be admitted, notwithstanding the name of angels may be taken for the Bishops and presbyters of the Church nevertheless, the words of St. Paul being understood as an artificial and modest touch of that scandal to which they might be liable, as that book saith the angels of God were. In this sense, an angel of a Church is any of the presbyters, but the angel of a Church is the Bishop.

The power of the bishop.]

§ 6. But the passage quoted here, p. 80², out of the supposed St. Ambrose upon 1 Cor. xii. 28, deserves to be put down at large, for it contains a great deal of the opinion for which I plead. *Caput itaque in Ecclesia Apostolos posunt, qui legati Christi sunt; sicut dicit idem Apostolus, pro quo legatione fungimur: isti sunt Episcopi, firmante istud Petro Apostolo, et dicente inter cætera de Juda, et Episcopatum ejus accipiat alter: “Therefore he putteth down the Apostles for the head in the Church, who*

⁷ Chap. iii. sects. 9—12.
² Sect. 25.

⁷ Rel. Assembl., chap. iv. sect. 8.
² Rel. Assembl., chap. iv. sect. 9.

are the delegates of Christ, as the Apostle saith, for whom we execute a deputation"; or an embassy. These are the Bishops, as the Apostle Peter affirmeth when he saith, 'and let another take his Bishopric.'" After this, having set down divers particulars, concerning the prophets which the Apostle there speaks of, among the rest this, that the Apostles also were prophets, because the first rank was to contain all the inferiors, he concludes, *Ideo quanquam sit melior Apostolus, aliquando tamen eget prophetis. Et quia ab uno Deo Patre sunt omnia, singulos Episcopos singulis Ecclesiis præesse de-* CHAP. — IV.
 77 *crevit*: "Therefore, though an Apostle be above, yet sometimes he hath need of prophets. And because all things are from one Father, even God, therefore He decreed that several Bishops should be over several Churches." By the beginning of this passage, compared with the end of it, it is manifest that he giveth Bishops the right of Apostles, in the government of the Church, with this difference, that the power of a Bishop extendeth but to one Church. By which we must understand the other part of the parallel, that the power of the Apostles extends to more, and all this by the ordinance of God. Therefore I marvel how Salmasius and Blondell could hope to overthrow the superiority of Bishops by this author, whom they have alleged so much. For if you compare but the passage here alleged, with another quoted out of Salmasius, in the Review of the Right of the Church, chap. iii., at the beginning, it will easily appear that the chief particulars wherein my opinion consists are formally expressed in his words.

§ 7. That which is said here, from p. 84^c, concerning the subordination of the people to the clergy in the Church, consists in three points, which are all of them expressly and distinctly proved in the second, third, and fourth chapters of the Right of the Church. The first, that the chief power over the whole Church was deposited by our Lord in the hands of His Apostles, which is a peremptory bar to all that can be pleaded for the people out of the Scriptures, because whatsoever is produced from thence must be said or done in concurrence with the chief power of the Apostles, and therefore can argue no more right than the people could have under the

{ The interest of the people. title }

^a 2 Cor. v. 20.

^c Rel. Assembly, chap. iv. sect. 11.

P. Apostles. The second is the dependence of all Churches upon the mother Church, and the synod representing Churches contained under the same, by reason of which dependence the people of any Church must necessarily be concluded by the resolution of their respective synods. As this St. Cyprian supposeth, in the place here quoted, *lib. iii. ep. 18*, when he calleth his people, who made default to receive satisfaction from him in the case then specified, to their respective synods. The third is the subordination of the people of every Church to the clergy of the same, grounded upon the precept of the Apostle, of obeying their present governors, *1 Thes. v. 14; Heb. xiii. 7. 17*, supposing that which hath been proved in the third chapter of that Discourse, that these governors are the clergy, distinct from the people. Of the difference here pointed at, p. 88^c, between the original right of excommunication necessary to the constitution and being of the Church, and the accessory right of allowing and enforcing the exercise of the said right, in a Christian State, together with the grounds and consequence of both, I have written at large in the fourth chapter of this Discourse.

§ 8. The difference between the power of order and jurisdiction seemeth to be grounded, by the canonists, upon a connective power originally residing in the Church, which the Decretal epistles necessarily presuppose, as I have said in the Review of that Discourse, chap. i. §, toward the end. Therefore I say here, p. 89^a, that we must not be beholden to them for the ground of it. But, going no further than to distinguish between them upon such terms, as, the power of order to consist in the right of consecrating the Eucharist, the power of jurisdiction being seen in the outward court of the Church, proper to the Bishop, in respect to the inward court of the conscience, common to presbyters also, it seemeth to contain nothing contrary to the original reason of the difference, but no ways to express the true ground and source from whence it proceeds: which may well be understood to consist in two points^b.

^a Rel. Assembl., chap. iv. sect. 12.

^b See sect. 18.

^c Rel. Assembl., chap. iv. sect. 14.

^d Sect. 52.

^a Rel. Assembl., chap. iv. sect. 15.

^b Et ideo sciendum est quod cum Episcopatus non addat aliquid supra sacerdotium per relationem ad Corpus

§ 9. The first, whereof I have touched in the place last quoted, to wit, that as the celebration of the Eucharist belongs to all and only presbyters, by virtue of their interest in the power of the keys, so the celebration of all ecclesiastical offices—that is, such as God requires to be served with under the Gospel—is a mark of that power, of admitting those to whom they are ministered to the communion of them, which those that minister them are trusted with. The second is the dependence, as of particular Churches upon the Churches of mother cities, and of them upon the chief Churches whereby they maintain their communion with the whole: so of the people of particular Churches upon the clergy, and of that upon the Bishop, according to the primitive rule established there, chap. iii.^k, that without the Bishop nothing be done, though the greatest matters with advice of the presbyters.

CHAP.
IV.

[Differ-
ence be-
tween
them.]

§ 10. By this it must needs appear necessary which Ignatius saith, that without the Bishop it is unlawful either to baptize or to celebrate the Eucharist. For if all power in the Church be grounded upon the visible communion of God's ordinances, instituted by God, it must needs be the chief power of the Church that is seen in admitting to it. And if it be a mark of schism, as it was always held in the ancient Church, to erect altar against altar, it is because the communion of the

[All eccle-
siastical
power
in the
Bishop.]

Domini verum, sed solum per relationem ad Corpus mysticum. Papa, per hoc quod est Episcopus summus non dicitur habere plenitudinem potestatis per relationem ad Corpus Domini verum, sed per relationem ad Corpus mysticum. Et quia gratia sacramentalis descendit in Corpus mysticum a capite, ideo omnis operatio in Corpus mysticum sacramentalis, per quam gratia datur, dependet ab operatione sacramentali super Corpus Domini verum. Et ideo solus sacerdos potest absolvere in foro penitentiali, et baptizare ex officio. Et ideo dicendum, quod promovere ad illas perfectiones, quæ non respiciunt Domini verum, sed solum Corpus mysticum, potest a Papa, qui habet plenitudinem pontificalis potestatis committi sacerdoti, qui habet actum summum super Corpus Domini verum, non autem diacono, vel alui inferiori, qui non habet perficere Corpus Domini verum, sicut nec absolvere

in foro penitentiali. Non autem potest simplici sacerdoti committere promovere ad perfectionem quæ respicit aliquo modo Corpus Domini verum, et ideo simplex sacerdos ex mandato Papæ non potest conferre ordinem sacerdoti, qui ordinis sacri habet actum supra Corpus Domini verum, vel supra materiam eius. Potest autem concedere simpliciter sacerdoti, quod conferat minores ordines, qui isti nullum actum habent supra Corpus Domini verum, vel materiam ejus, nec etiam supra Corpus mysticum actum, per quem gratia conferuntur, sed habet ex officio quoniam actus secundarios et preparatorios. Et similiter potest concedere alii sacerdoti quod confirmet, quia confirmatio perficitur cum in acta Corporis mystici, non autem habet aliquam relationem ad Corpus Domini verum. S. Thom. Comm. in iv. Sent. dist. vii. q. 3. a. 1. ad 1^{am}.

^k See sect. 44.

which Ignatius writeth to Polycarpus², that no marriage be made without the Bishop, is in effect fulfilled, when either he is expressly acquainted with it, or it is made so public that he may take knowledge of it in time, if there were cause.

CHAP.
IV.

§ 12. Thus you see why the power of order, common to Bishop and presbyters, is said to consist in the power of celebrating the Eucharist, not because it equally belongs to both, but because none beneath that is capable of it. And thus you may see that it is not against God's law that private penance be reconciled by a priest, whereas neither excommunication nor reconciling the excommunicate can be done without the Bishop. And not only so, but there are many things else which the order of presbyters are capable to do—supposing they do them in dependence upon the Bishop, and in subordination to his disposition, with advice of the presbyters—which, notwithstanding, all presbyters are not by their order necessarily enabled to do, before such a disposition be expressed: witness the very great difference which we must needs imagine to have been, even in the primitive times of the Church, between country Bishops—of whom I have spoken in the third chapter of that Discourse³, and the Review of the second⁴—and country presbyters and city presbyters—expressed in the most ancient canons that the Church hath—beside those visitors or *περιδευται*⁵, which were afterwards constituted instead of country Bishops, when they were thought fit to be abolished.

[Wherein
consists
the power
of order.]

§ 13. All which, importing some considerable difference under the degree of Bishops, independent on any but the Bishop of the mother-city, do make it manifest that there was something beside the order of a presbyter that gave it.

[Jurisdiction.]

² Πρώτοι δὲ τοῖς γαμοῖς καὶ ταῖς γαμουμέναις μετὰ τῶν ἐπισκόπων τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ποιεῖν, ἵνα ὁ γάμος ᾖ κατὰ θεόν, καὶ μὴ κατ' ἀνθρώπους.—cap. v. p. 96, ed. Coteler.

³ Sect. 60.

⁴ Sect. 5.

⁵ Sunt qui Synodaliū Testimū originem referunt ad *Perideutas*, de quibus in canone 57 Concilii Laodicēni.

Verum *Perideute* dicebantur, qui,

Episcopi vice, diocesan circumuectes visitabant, cūque vicario nomine non sine perfecto jurisdictionis exercitio, decreta condebant, quare diocesis Visitatores, qui Graece *Perideutes*, Latine *Circulares* dicti sunt quāmododam et Episcoporum visitationes, *Circulationes* passim appellatae, praesertim in Capitulari Caroli Calvi, tit. v. cap. 4. —Bened XIV de Synod. Diocesan., lib. iv. cap. in. § 2. tom. i. p. 255. Mechlin. 1642.

CHAP.
IV.

Which you may well call the power of jurisdiction I will please, provided that by this term you understand the power of the Church, whereof all the parts of ecclesiastical power are the productions and consequences, as you may see by the Review of that Discourse in the place afore quoted. If these things seem obscure because they are general, I propose a due consideration of the reasons which I have declared in the former chapters of that Discourse ought to make them appear as necessary as intelligible.

[The court
of High
Commis-
sion.]

§ 14. The jurisdiction of the High Commission*—of which p. 94^u—was not agreeable to the constitution of the Church because it was neither the jurisdiction of a mother-Church nor of a particular Church, nor of a provincial synod: for the members whereof it consisted being partly of the

* Right of the Church, Review, chap. i. sect. 53. See also chap. iii. sect. 29.

¹ This court derived its powers from the 1 Eliz. cap. i., having a jurisdiction in spiritual matters like that of the Star Chamber in secular. The Act of Parliament by which the Queen was enabled to use such power, after declaring that the whole ecclesiastical authority "shall for ever by authority of this present Parliament be united and annexed to the imperial crown of this realm," proceeds in the following surprising terms:

"And that your highness, your heirs and successors, kings or queens of this realm, shall have full power and authority by virtue of this act, by letters patents under the great seal of England, to assign, name, and authorize, when and as often as your highness, your heirs or successors, shall think meet and convenient, and for such and so long time as shall please your highness, your heirs or successors, such person or persons being natural born subjects to your highness, your heirs or successors, as your majesty, your heirs or successors, shall think meet, to exercise, use, occupy, and execute, under your highness, your heirs and successors, all manner of jurisdictions, privileges, and preeminencies, in any wise touching or concerning any spiritual or ecclesiastical jurisdiction within these your realms of England and Ireland, or any other your highness' dominions and countries, and to visit, reform, redress, order, correct, and amend all such errors, heresies, schisms, abuses, offences,

contempts, and enormities, *which by any manner of spiritual ecclesiastical power, authority, jurisdiction, can or may lawfully be reformed, ordered, redressed, corrected, reformed, or amended, to the pleasure of Almighty God, the increase of virtue, and the preservation of the peace and unity of the realm: and that such person or persons so to be named, assigned, authorized, and appointed by your highness, your heirs or successors, after the said letters patents to him or them made and delivered, as is aforesaid, shall have full power and authority by virtue of this act, and of the said letters patents under your highness, your heirs or successors, to exercise, use, and execute all the premises according to the tenor and effect of the said letters patents, any inatter or cause to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.*

Several commissions were issued by the Queen under the provisions of the act, from time to time, with increased powers. They were directed to Bishops and priests equally and to laymen, of three of whom—but a Bishop to be one—were to have "full power and authority to reform . . . all places of this realm all errors, heresies, schisms, &c." See one of these commissions in Strype's *Life of Grindal* Appendix bk. i. No. vi. p. 61. London, 1710, and a later one in Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. xvi. p. 291. See also Melvini *Celestis Commissionis Anatomia*, A.D. 1620, where the theory of such a commission in Scotland is sharply exposed.

² Rel. Assembl. chap. iv. sect. 18

clergy, partly of the people, it may be understood how both might concur to the same jurisdiction under several titles, the one original, by the constitution of the Church, the other accessory, by the interest of the state in Church matters, upon the protection of Christianity. But the weakening and suppressing of ordinary jurisdiction—which a jurisdiction so disagreeable to the constitution of the Church must needs produce—is that which I will not endeavour to excuse. As for that of judges delegate, you may see what may be said of the nature of it by the Review of the Primitive Government of Churches, in the last chapter.

§ 15. When those elders of the people of whom you read here—from p. 96^a—are called *virī ecclesiastici*, “ecclesiastical persons,” this term is not to be understood according to the notion that prevailed in after ages, in which churchmen and clergymen are all one: neither is it to be understood only in opposition to Gentiles, enemies to the Church, but it imports moreover a difference from heretics and schismatics, hearers, penitents, and whosoever, wearing any ways the name of Christians, were not admitted to the communion of the Church. Thus Caius is called by Eusebius, *Eccles. Hist.* ii. 25, ἀνὴρ Ἐκκλησιαστικός, to commend him, as I suppose, for a man unsuspected in the point of his Christianity, and so many times Ἐκκλησιαστικός signifies ὁ ἐκκλησιαζόμενος, ὁ συναγόμενος, one that communicates in the assemblies of the Church.

§ 16. If Christianity consist in the knowledge of the faith, and conversation according to the same, and that the reason which recommends men to be promoted in the clergy is some proficiency in Christianity above others, then are men qualified for the clergy no less by the eminence of their conversation than by the knowledge which enables them to discourse of matters of faith. This knowledge, if not rather boldness of face, and volubility of tongue, is that which is now most questioned, as if no man could be qualified for the clergy

^a Rel. Assembl, chap. iv sect. 19.

^b Οὐδὲν δ' ἦν καὶ Ἐκκλησιαστικὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ Γάιος ὄνομα κατὰ Ζεφυρίου Ρωμαίων γεγονότος Ἐπίσκοπον.—P. 67. ed. Vales.

^c Εἰ τις ἐλθὼν βαπτίσῃ, καὶ οὐδὲν ἀποκαρτεύσῃ, χρόνον δύο ἢ μετὰ τοῦ τρίτου

ἀποστείλῃται, καὶ ἀποθήνῃ. ἢ τοῦ μόνον ἐκκλησιασμένου καὶ ἐκκλησιασμένου, ἀνευ κοινωνίας, χρόνον α'—NOMINIAN. III. 4. apud Coteler. Eccles. Græc. Monument., tom. i. p. 125. See also the note on the place in p. 739.

I have said in the Right of the Church, p. 207^d, I suppose you find that he implieth the other sort of graces mentioned by St. Peter, consisting in the furnishing of the bodily necessities of those Christians that have need of support, to the intent that being enabled to frequent the assemblies of the Church, without looking after their maintenance, they might be edified to the same measure of Christianity with their brethren: though here, p. 112^e, not discerning so much, I conceived that the Apostle speaketh only of spiritual graces. The like I must say of this passage of the Apostle,

1 Cor. xii. 28, where you may see how I have expounded those whom the Apostle calleth ἀντιλήψεις and κυβερνήσεις, pp. 109, 117^f. But I have since met with a written copy containing glosses of Greek words of the Old and New Testament: wherein having found divers words of this epistle, to wit, 1 Cor. xi. xii. xiv. xvi., marvellous well expounded, to my judgment, I cannot choose but give heed to him when he thus glosses ἀντιλήψεις, προστασίαι τῶν καμνόντων; κυβερνήσεις, προνοητικαὶ ἐπιστήμαι: "Helps are those that govern the sick; governments, those that have skill to provide:" to wit, for the sick, for unless a man refer it to the same that went before, it can have no certain meaning.

§ 19. This meaning I embrace the rather because it agreeth with that of St. Paul, Rom. xii. 8, where he nameth "him that sheweth mercy," for a grace of public office and service in the Church, which the giving of alms is not, besides that it is mentioned afore in the same verse by the Apostle, when he saith, "he that communicateth let him do it with simplicity:" and therefore in my opinion Grotius^h hath very learnedly expounded "those that shew mercy" to be such as the Church employed to take care of the sick, whom the emperors' laws call *parabolanos*ⁱ, because they ran continual

[*Parabolani.*]

^d Chap. iv. sect. 46.

^e Rel. Assemb., chap. iv. sect. 34.

^f Rel. Assemb., chap. iv. sect. 30, 38.

^g See Right of the Church, Review, chap. v. sect. 37.

^h Hic viri qui aegrotis adstant, quos posterior ætas parabolanos vocavit. L. Quin inter cetera, l. Parabo-

lani, Cod. Theodosiano, de Episcopis, et l. Parabolani, Cod. Justin. titulo eodem.—Grot. Opp. tom. ii. p. 747. Londini, 1679.

ⁱ Parabolani—qui ad curanda debiliū aegra corpora deputantur—quingentos esse ante præcepimus: sed quia hos minus sufficere in præsentī cognavimus, pro quingentis sescentos con-

CHAP. IV. reason of the difference which St. Paul makes between these two sorts of presbyters, to both of which he allows double maintenance, 1 Tim. v. 17, to be the same which I have given here, to wit, because among the college of presbyters appointed to one and the same common work of governing the people, of the same Church, according to the Christianity which they professed, some were promoted rather for their abilities in discoursing of the faith to the instruction and confirmation of Christians, and the confusion of unbelievers, others rather for their wisdom and holiness of life, whereby they were fit to govern the conversation of their people in Christianity. Which as it is undoubtedly true, so by manifest consequence it overthrows two positions, fundamental to the design of the presbyteries, which he intended to maintain.

[Salma-
stius re-
solving the
difficulty
of Presby-
terianism.]

§ 22. The first is, the difference between priests and lay elders in the constitution of these presbyteries which the Apostle speaks of, seeing that he acknowledges those presbyters, who St. Paul supposes not to labour in the word and doctrine, to be of the clergy nevertheless, because the Apostle appoints them the same maintenance with those that labour in the word and doctrine*. And seeing he renders the same reason which I do why they are promoted to be of the clergy, though they labour not in the word and doctrine. And herein he fully agrees with Blondell, who, as I have shewed in the Review of the Right of the Church in a Christian State, p. 96^o, utterly abandons all the evidence for lay elders, which is to this day thought among us to be chiefly, if not wholly, in this text of St. Paul, 1 Tim. v. 17. and that for the reason

* Quis tam debet ac rudis vel etiam
mentis cultus, cuius qui non videtur
Apostolus agere, in ordine Episcoporum
et presbyterorum, quod in ordine
quod qui debet ac rudis vel etiam
mentis cultus, cuius qui non videtur
Apostolus agere, in ordine Episcoporum
et presbyterorum, quod in ordine
quod qui debet ac rudis vel etiam
mentis cultus, cuius qui non videtur
Apostolus agere, in ordine Episcoporum
et presbyterorum, quod in ordine
quod qui debet ac rudis vel etiam
mentis cultus, cuius qui non videtur
Apostolus agere, in ordine Episcoporum
et presbyterorum, quod in ordine

eadem utique facultate agere
debet, quod in ordine Episcoporum
et presbyterorum, quod in ordine
quod qui debet ac rudis vel etiam
mentis cultus, cuius qui non videtur
Apostolus agere, in ordine Episcoporum
et presbyterorum, quod in ordine
quod qui debet ac rudis vel etiam
mentis cultus, cuius qui non videtur
Apostolus agere, in ordine Episcoporum
et presbyterorum, quod in ordine
quod qui debet ac rudis vel etiam
mentis cultus, cuius qui non videtur
Apostolus agere, in ordine Episcoporum
et presbyterorum, quod in ordine

* Chap. v. vers. 20.

here alleged, because St. Paul appoints all the same maintenance. CHAP.
IV

§ 23. As for the title whereupon their presbyteries are constituted of preachers and lay elders, he deduceth it from the interest of the people in the transaction of Church matters^a, wherein I have declared my opinion there that the Church may safely join issue with them, if they can first accord themselves with those of the congregations to refer this interest of the people to some persons chosen on their behalf. But it will be utterly impossible to accord this interest with the ordinance for the presbyteries here, by which all presbyteries are to consist of a number of lay elders, double to that of the ministers^t, and, by consequence, the whole power of the keys, and all ecclesiastical power arising from the same, is put in the hands of the people, that is, of them that act in their interest, as Blondell would have it, if they understand themselves: whereas no part of that power, but a right to be satisfied of the due exercise of it by them that have it, is the interest of the people, as I have proved there.

[Blondell's theory of the people's power.]

§ 24. The second position, fundamental to the presbyteries, which Salmasius^b hereby overthroweth, is that the presbyteries are ambulatory assemblies, gathered from time to time, as necessity requires, out of the presbyteries of congregations: whereas he declareth those presbyteries which the Apostle instituted to be standing bodies, resident in the cities which are the seats of Churches, for the government of those bodies of Christians contained in those cities and their territories, which respectively constitute those Churches. Which as it is un-

[Salmasius's second argument.]

^a Exinde suas, easque—cum piorum pii principes essent—præcipuas in Ecclesiæ—in cuius se communi iure natos noverant—reverentiæ clero et fraternitatis universæ gentianibus, aliis partibus, suas—quas ante agnoverant cum clero fraternitatis sententiam—omnibus et singulis illis rebus, nec enim—certum post Ecclesiæ corporis, insitos principes et magistratus. Ecclesiæ autem vim fraternitatis cupientes, quibus ante conclusis Evangelicæ signa reges et potestates—ubique Christi nomen celebratur, Deo servierant, solitas cum clero pro communis Domini sacris et populi curis participare, sequere strenuas doctrinæ ac disciplinæ vias—dicere præstare desiderant. Blondell, de

Jur. Pleb. in Regimin. Eccles. p. 91. Paris. 1648.

^b See Right of the Church, Review, chap. iii. sect. 27. note 1.

^c . . . præsumendum est concludere, presbyterialium administrationem solam esse de jure Divino. Quod illis negare solis liceat, qui poterant infirmari presbyterium ab Apostolis per omnes civitates constitutum solum, ad gubernationem ejusque loci Ecclesiæ. Presbyteri eligebantur qui certo munere præessent Ecclesiis, id est, qui Episcoporum essent Ecclesiarum cum pari omnes auctoritati ac potestate. — Apparatus ad libros de Primatu, p. 220 Lugd. Bat. 1645.

CHAP. IV. doubtfully true, so is it irreconcilable with the design of the presbyteries which are obtruded upon us for the institution of our Lord and His Apostles, because they never subsist otherwise, than the synods of Christian Churches, that at the time they are assembled, from time to time, as occasion requires. The ground of this difference consists in this, that the presbyterians account all several congregations to be so many several Churches^t; whereas in the Scriptures, speaking out the design established by the Apostles, the whole bodies of Christians contained in several cities and the territories they belong all to one Church, though they constitute many congregations depending upon the government established in each city for the regulating of them in all matters of Christianity, as I have shewed at large in the Right of the Church in the Christian State, chap. ii.^u

[Presbyterianism founded on fear of the Pope.]

§ 25. So that Salmasius, speaking out of the Scriptures which agree with the constitution of the ancient Church, is not to be reconciled with the design of these presbyteries which are thrust upon us. And whether on purpose or not considering the consequence of their own reason, these two learned men do quit us two positions fundamental to the presbyteries which they seem to maintain, putting only the superiority of Bishops above their presbyters, because, it seems, they hold that it was a step to the Pope, to raise himself to that absolute power which he has taken length over the whole Church^v.

^t "A single congregation is a Church, but so as it is a part also and a member of a presbyterial Church, and because of nearness of communion with co-associated Churches under one presbytery." &c. = p. 306.

^u Now the prelates' frame of a properly so called Church under one pastor being a creature with a hundred heads, having Church and pastoral care of a hundred little congregations and Churches is a dream, for we know no such Church led by a prelate, nor no such presbyterial Argus to oversee so many flocks, nor do we contend that the many congregations united in a presbyterial government, do make a mystical visible Church meeting for all the ordinances of God. But union of many congregations in a visible government is enough to make all these united

Churches one visible ministerial governing Church, who may and do in one collective body for the glory of God; yet in one representative for government."—Rutherford's Right of Presbyteries, chap. iv. p. 53 London. 1644.

^v From sect. 5.

^z Cum Papatus vero cultus fastidium illius Hierarchie, quæ Patriarchas, Metropolitanos et Episcopos, quasi quosdam gradus divini quorum omnium supremus est, infusus vero unitus civitatis et capitis ordinarius Episcopus, si cum gradibus subduxerimus cui reliqua superiores sunt, et jure Divino subtraxerimus, hæc tota corruet moles superbi fœdissimi cum suo fastigio. Episcopi tanquam basis cui innituntur illi celsiores gradus Metropolitanos

§ 26. Which for my part, if I did not know the force of CHAP. IV.
 prejudice to be infinite, I should think strange how they
 could persuade themselves to believe; and I conceive all
 men have cause to count it strange, that consider the great
 partiality maintained by the Pope's side in the council of
 Trent, against the Divine right of Bishops. For, unless
 we believe the mystery of iniquity to be as foolish as wicked,
 we must not condemn the Pope and his parties to under-
 stand their own interest so ill, as to conceive the support
 of his power to consist in destroying the ground of it: and
 therefore, unless we understand what conduceth to maintain
 the absolute power of the Pope, better than they who think
 it their interest to uphold it, we cannot think it to be grounded
 upon the superiority of Bishops by Divine right, which we
 see is destroyed by these men that pretend to maintain it.
 And the truth is, had the regular power of Bishops within
 their own Churches been maintained, it had not been possible
 for the Pope to arrive at that degree of absolute power which
 he hath attained by the ruin of the ordinary power of all
 Churches.

§ 27. For it is manifest that the absolute power of the
 Pope subsists by the exemptions of monastical orders and
 universities, and such considerable bodies in the Church,
 from the power of their ordinaries, unto an immediate depend-
 ance upon himself, from whom they claim their privileges, in
 the silencing of provincial and national synods, and the imme-
 diate resort of such persons and causes, as they find for their
 profit, to him, which the ordinary power of every Church
 respectively concerned in them might and ought to determine.
 If then the regular superiority of all Bishops above their own
 presbyters, did necessarily infer and cast upon the Pope and
 his Church these privileges as their right, then might it very
 well and truly be said that the papacy is built upon the supe-
 riority of Bishops, and the Divine right of the same. But
 seeing it is so far from that, as that the best mean to main-
 tain the unlimited power of the Pope, in these and the like

Archiepiscoporum, Patriarcharum et
 Papae. Tametsi autem concederetur
 Episcopatum de jure esse Divinum, non
 inde tamen consequeretur tabulata quae
 super hoc pede piano strata fuerit

aeque juris esse Divini. Salmas. Ap-
 patai. p. 98. Lugd. Bat. 1645.

¶ See Right of the Church, Review,
 chap. iii. sect. 3.

CHAP. hazard of their lives by coming near infectious diseases.
 — IV. — These, the same laws of the emperors signify to have been under the Bishop of Alexandria, as an office of the Church, according as the Apostle reckons them: for we know the Church from the beginning provided a settled and constant course, not only to maintain their poor, but for the entertainment of strangers that were Christians, and of their own sick, and that so commendable that Julian the apostate, as Nazianzen saith, endeavoured to bring their orders in practice among the Gentiles, as conceiving the world had been moved to receive Christianity by the plausibleness of that kind of charity. And therefore to make either the care of government, or the providing for the sick, a public charge in the Church under the Apostles, is no other than that which hath been done in after ages of the Church, when the government of hospitals hath been under the care of the Bishop^k.

[Temporal
and spiritual
offices.]

§ 20. And thus you see that St. Paul, directing the use of all graces tending to the common benefit of the Church, speaks

statim præcipimus: ita ut pro arbitrio viri reverendissimi Antistitis Alexandrinæ urbis, de his qui ante fuerant, et qui pro consuetudine curandi gerunt experientiam, sescenti parabolani ad hujusmodi sollicitudinem eligantur — exceptis videlicet Honoratis et Curialibus. — Si qui autem ex his naturali arte fuerint assumpti, alter in ejus locum pro voluntate ejusdem Sacerdotis — exceptis Honoratis et Curialibus — subrogetur. Ut hi sescenti viri reverendissimi Sacerdotis præceptis ac dispositionibus, obsecudent, et sub ejus cura consistent. — xvi. Cod. Theodos. tit. ii. *de Episcopis Ecclesiis et Clerico*. l. 48. Gothofred's Commentary on the preceding law has these words on the subject. Sane clericorum eos numero fuisse, cum hujus legis principium, cum utraque hæc lex et sequens, sub hoc titulo collectæ ostendunt.

Τούτο δὲ καὶ οὗτος διακονηθεῖς, διδασκαλεῖα μὲν ἰδρύσασθαι κατὰ πᾶσαν πόλιν ἱστορίας ἢν βήματά τε καὶ πρεσβυρίας καὶ ὑπερβύρας, . . . καὶ ὅσα τῆς ἡμετέρας σαφὲς ἔστιν εὐταξίας. Ἐπὶ δὲ καταχώγια πύξασθαι καὶ ξενώνας ὁγνεντηρίδ τε καὶ τερβι-ώνας καὶ ὁρυσιστήρια, καὶ τὴν εἰς τοὺς διόμενους φιλοανθρωπίαν, τὴν τε

ἑλάνη ὁδόσιν καὶ τὴν ἐν τοῖς ταυρομαχοῖς συνθήμασιν, οἷς ἡμεῖς ἐξ ἑκαστοῦ ἔθνος τοὺς χηρίζοντας παραπεμπόμεν. καὶ μέλιστα τῶν ἡμετέρων εἶχε θαυμάσιον. — Orat. iv. § 3. tom. i. pp. 138, 139. ed. Ben.

^k Apostolos curam pauperum cum atque primos Christianos bene cum alimoniam pauperum distribuente pedes Apostolorum ut per ipsos pauperes dispensarentur, posuit ut tatur S. textus, *Act. iv. 3.*

Episcopi tanquam Apostolorum coadjutores etiam in curam et sollicitudinem pauperum successerunt: antiquo titulo specialiter Patres pauperum fecerunt. Imo Synodus Tridentina Sess. xxiii. cap. i. *de Reformatione*, cap. de significat, Episcopis jure Divino mandatum esse, pauperum alimoniam miserabilium personarum curam pernam gerere.

Item elemosynæ in pauperum alimoniam eroganda, nec non loca pauperibus recipiendis ac curandis designata, Episcopis tanquam spiritualibus pauperum Patribus concessita, eorumque cura et regimini præcipue commissa fuisse. — Van Espen, *Jur. Eccles. part. ii. sect. iv. tit. vi. cap. v. § 1.* tom. ii. p. 118. Lovan. 1755.

fies also, in this passage to the Romans, particular instructions for the corporal as well as the spiritual, no otherwise than you found it in the passages mentioned afore. Which moves me the more resolutely to believe that he omits not the mention of them in the place which we have in hand, 1 Cor. xii. 28, and therefore that those whom the Apostle calls "helps" and "governments" are no otherwise to be understood than I have said. Which being received then, that "difference of ministrations" which the Apostle speaks of, in the fifth verse, will have reference to these offices, by which the sick are provided for, though it may also contain others of like nature: and so, when the Apostle says "there be difference of graces but the same spirit," he seems to speak of those inspirations which Apostles, evangelists, and prophets had: when he says "there be diversities of ministers, but the same Lord," he seems to speak of those that ministered to the bodily necessities of the poor and the sick, of whom he nameth afterwards "helps" and "governments:" when he says "there be diversities of operations, but the same God, that worketh all in all," he seems to speak of curing diseases and working miracles, which he mentions afterwards, in the twenty-eighth verse.

§ 21. That which is said, p. 121¹, that the Jews had some elders that were learned and some that were not, is to be rectified by that which went afore, that some judges of the Jews' consistories were masters of the law, others not; in correspondence whereunto it is to be thought that many were promoted to the clergy for the godliness of their conversation and Christianity, who had no great abilities in learning to interpret or maintain it, as I said before^m. And herewith agrees Salmasius in his *Apparatus*ⁿ, where he renders this

¹ Rel. Assembl., chap. iv. sect. 43.

^m Sect. 16, above.

ⁿ Duorum autem generum presbyteros in Ecclesia fuisse, ut et in synagoga, certum est. Erant enim qui docere possent, ut et in synagoga, quos et διδασκαλούς vocabant, alii qui reliquas gubernationi vacabant ac Sacramentorum administrationi. Hos duplices presbyteros ita clare distinguit Paulus in priore ad Timotheum cap. v. 11, ut tunc oculis Petavii ad eam lucem colligere tantum liceat

Ut in ordine et collegio Apostolorum

quidam cæteris antistabant
Quid mirum igitur si in presbyterorum ceteris, quos Episcopus Ecclesiæ præponant Apostoli, quidam eloquentia et doctrina magis valebant, alii diversis facultatibus et virtutibus præditi erant. In duplici præcipue genere eorum differentia constitit, cum essent qui melius populum possent docere, cæteris magis idoneis ad Sacramenta administranda et res ecclesiasticas præcurandas — Appar. ad I bros de Primato, pp. 221, 223. Lugd. Bat. 1645.

CHAP. V. — primitive order of it, which you have afterwards in the last chapter of this Discourse. For seeing it appeareth thus also by that which is further said in the Right of the Church in a Christian State, chap. iii.^a, that the only prayers which were offered by the Bishops and presbyters—the only ordinary preachers—were those which were offered with the Eucharist, at the celebration thereof, and that this is not the least title in all the Scriptures to shew that the prayers before or after the sermon have any ground or example in any precept or practice of the Apostles; what reason can there be to draw the Apostle's words into a sense depending upon a custom taken up the other day in the Church?

[Notes.] § 3. That signification of this word *νοῦς*, when the Apostle saith, 1 Cor. xiv. 15, "I will pray with my understanding, will sing with my understanding," in which it is here, p. 11, maintained to be put for "a meaning understood," or "a sense that is intelligible," is much confirmed to me by what I find in those ancient glosses which I have alleged in the Review of the Right of the Church, p. 130^m, and before in the afore divers times: where the word *νοῦς*, in this place of St. Paul, is interpreted *ἡ σύνεσις τῶν ἀκροαμένων*, "the understanding of the hearers:" those I take to be the true words, but to that purpose I am certain, for the book is now in my hands. And this sense not only the consequence of the Apostle's discourse justifies, as you see I have declared here, but also the use which we all make of it in the discourse about the service of God in an unknown tongue, which requires not only that he who prays understand what himself says, but that his hearers also understand it. But the explanation which Grotius'sⁿ annotations have given us since, seem to be somewhat more proper, though to the very same purpose: "I will pray with the Spirit, but I will pray with understanding;" that is, saith he, I will pray in an unknown tongue that which the Spirit inspireth, but I will pray in those conceptions of mine own, which may interpret

^a Sect. 35—37.

ⁱ Hel. Assembl., chap. v. sect. 11.

^m Chap. iv. sect. 37.

ⁿ Orabo spiritu, orabo et mente;
Hoc optandum est ut orem, id est, oret

aliquis, non tantum motu illo afflatus
verum etiam his quæ ipse excogitat
— Grot. Opp., tom. ii. p. 816. London
1679.

which the Spirit had moved me to speak afore in an unknown tongue: the sense whereof, by consequence, is understood of the hearers. Thus the effect of these words is the same with that which went afore, "He that speaketh in an unknown tongue, let him pray that he may interpret." And so, when the Apostle saith just afore, "my understanding is fruitless," his meaning will be, my conceptions benefit not the hearers.

§ 4. When the Apostle saith, "The spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets, for God is not the author of confusion but of peace, as in all the Churches of the saints," he declareth, that even the immediate revelations and inspirations of the Holy Ghost were dispensed by such an orderly providence, distributing indeed prophetic graces unto inferiors in rank and degree in the Church, but more sublime and glorious ones to their superiors, that for the effect and consequence even of things revealed to themselves, inferiors must submit to superiors, that peace may be preserved and confusion avoided in the Church.

§ 5. Of this we have a very good argument in that which is here, p. 158^a, alleged out of Theodoret, concerning the prophets and sons of the prophets in the Old Testament. For seeing we must needs believe that the sons of the prophets had their revelations also, and yet were subject to their chiefs, in respect of whom they are called sons, it followeth that the chief of God's graces and revelations were bestowed in the first place upon these chiefs, that they might be fit to govern their inferiors, though prophets themselves. And this, as it holdeth under the New Testament between the chief Apostles and their inferiors, as Theodoret instanceth in Paul and Timothy, so it is strongly proved by that which hath been said in the Right of the Church, pp. 52, 53^b, of Paul and Barnabas, though prophets themselves, going to Jerusalem to be resolved by the Apostles and council there, Acts xv., of the matter in question at Antiochia: as also by the words of the Apostle which here follow, alleged there. For when St. Paul saith, "Came the word of God from you, or came it to you alone? If any man think himself a prophet or spiritual, let him acknowledge the things that I write you to be the commandments of God:"

CHAP.
V.

[Sons of
the pro-
phets.]

^a Rel. Assembl., chap. v. sect. 38.

^b Chap. ii. sect. 8, 9.

CHAP. V. it is manifest that he requireth even the prophets to obey his orders, contrary to their own will and practice, lest the word of God came from him first to others as well as to them, that is, because he was of the chief Apostles.

[Discern-
ing of
spirits.]

§ 6. The grace of discerning spirits is more probably the Review of the Right of the Church, p. 130⁹, than consist in discerning who truly spoke by the Holy Ghost who only pretended—according to that which you have at pp. 103, 104¹⁰, where you have the Apostle's rule of discerning them—than as here, p. 161¹¹, in discerning the meaning of those things which were spoken by the Spirit, though it also was necessary, as you see here by the premises. Origen *Homil. i. in Lucam*¹²; *Sicut olim in populo Judæo erant qui prophetiam pollicebantur, et quidam erant pseudo-prophetæ quibus unus fuit Ananias filius Azor, alii vero propheta: de gratia in populo discernendorum spirituum, per quam alii et prophetas recipiebantur, nonnulli quasi ab exercitatissimis tropizitis reprobabantur: ita et nunc in Novo Testamento multi cœperunt scribere evangelia, sed non omnes recepti*: “As of old among the people of the Jews, many professed to be prophets whereof some were false prophets, of whom was Ananias son of Azor, [Jer. xxviii. 1,] others true prophets: and there was among the people a grace of discerning spirits, by which some were received among the prophets, others rejected, as by most expert bankers: so also now in the New Testament, many have endeavoured to write gospels, but all have not been received.” Intimating withal, that by the use of this grace St. Luke and his Gospel were admitted by the Church, others being rejected. And it appeareth that the words of St. Ambrose, reported in the place afore alleged¹³, are borrowed from this passage of Origen's.

CHAPTER VI.

THAT which is here said from p. 178¹⁴, as also that which you have afore in this Review, pp. 31, 32¹⁵, may be resolved

⁹ Chap. iv. sect. 37.

¹⁰ Rel. Assembl., chap. iv. sect. 25.

¹¹ Rel. Assembl., chap. v. sect. 34.

¹² Origen. Opp., tom. iii. pp. 932, 933. Paris, 1740.

¹³ Sect. 6, above. See Right of the Church, Review, chap. iv. sect. 37.

¹⁴ Rel. Assembl., chap. vi. sect. 17.

¹⁵ Review of Prim. Govern., chap. i. sect. 5.

are briefly thus: that it is one thing to compare the prayers CHAP. VI
 the Church with preaching, which are both the acts of
 those whole congregations that pray or hear a man preach:
 other to compare that which is done by him that prayeth
 and preacheth, in that and in this. For it is plain that it is
 more to preach than to pray what the Church prescribeth, as
 the graces which God giveth for the edification of the Church
 are more seen in that than this: but the office of preaching,
 and hearing what is preached, is not therefore to be compared
 with the prayers of the Church, no more than the means can
 be compared with the end. Now those prayers which the
 Eucharist is celebrated with, and which are offered to God
 with the same, are the most excellent of all prayers, as being
 proper to Christianity, and that most acceptable to God:
 therefore, of all offices which God can be served with in the
 Church, the Eucharist is the most excellent, and which,
 being proper to Christianity, ought also to be more frequent
 than preaching, because, not requiring those abilities to the
 right, it shews not that appearance of scandal in the wrong
 performance of it. As for the indisposition of the receivers,
 as it is not scandalous when not seen, so it indisposeth as we
 to hear as to communicate.

§ 2. By that which you have in the Right of the Church, [The Eu-
 pp. 116, 120^a, it appeareth that in the words of Ignatius quoted christ
 here, p. 184^a, *ὁ ἐκτὸς ὧν τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου* is he that is out of the unity
 the unity of the Church, who, saith he, cometh short of the of the
 bread of God, that is, as we use to speak, cannot receive the Church.]
 thing of the Sacrament.

§ 3. That the veil of women spoken of by St. Paul, [Veiling
 1 Cor. xi. 5, 6, was to cover the face, though coming down of women]
 from the head, appears by what you have in the Review of
 the Right of the Church, pp. 152, 153^b; see also Tertullian,
 quoted here, p. 145^c.

§ 4. The abolishing of things in use under the Apostles by [Changes
 the Reformation—whereof p. 196^d—is justified not only by in the
 those things which are said here, but also by the right which Church.]
 particular Churches had to reform themselves, without the

^a Chap. iii. sect. 31, 36

^b Rel. Assembl., chap. vi. sect. 18.

^c Chap. v. sect. 21

^d Rel. Assembl., chap. v. sect. 20.

^e Rel. Assembl., chap. vi. sect. 50.

CHAP. VI. consent of the whole, of which in the Right of the Church, p. 273^a, without which right it would be an act of disobedience contrary to the use of the whole, to establish any thing in any part of the Church.

§ 5. Of the concurrence of secular and ecclesiastical powers in the giving of laws to the Church, whereof here, p. 273, you have at large in the fourth and fifth chapters of the Right of the Church in a Christian State.

[Indifferent things.] § 6. That many things are indifferent for their nature, appears as clear as the truth of the Scripture, by St. Paul, 1 Cor. xiv. 6; that nothing is indifferent that is particularly done, by the end of that chapter, because, as whatsoever is not of faith is sin, so whatever is sin is not of faith, and therefore nothing is either of faith or not of faith. And this is the distinction that is touched here, p. 205^d.

CHAPTER VII.

[Of immediate inspirations.] By that which hath been said a little afore, it appears that those who pretend to preach or pray in the Church, without the immediate inspiration of God's Spirit, are bound to acknowledge superior inspirations in their superiors, to which they are bound to submit themselves. For seeing the Apostle declareth that God granted His graces with such disposition, that inferiors were no less bound to depend upon their superiors in the use of them than if they had proceeded from their natural and habitual abilities for preservation of peace and unity in the Church, it followeth that they would not be granted without the like dispensation at this time. Therefore if they are indeed counterfeit revelations and inspirations, they are pretended without this acknowledgment, but if they are true the peace of the Church would require it. This is the second reason against that sense of St. Paul's words which the enthusiasts imagine, to be added to that which you have seen, p. 213^a.

[The Puritan preachers do not include the people.] § 2. Now whether the people have been abused by the pretence of praying and preaching by the Spirit, and

^a Chap. v. sect. 33.

^d Rel. Assembl., chap. vi. sect. 40.

^e Rel. Assembl., chap. vii. sect. 1.

demand thereupon made, either of general licence for gifted men to preach, or of abolishing the established form of Divine service, that spirits might not be quenched in the public prayers of the Church, as it is here justly doubted, p. 214^b, I leave to every man's knowledge to give sentence. But if the people had not been induced to think that there was something more than human—that is, subject to error, as all men's doings are—in the prayers and preachings of them that pretended the change, had they been put to their choice, whether to have their devotions guided by forms settled upon mature advice, or by the conceptions of every one that should be admitted to speak in the Church, I suppose they would not so much have desired to make trial of that which experience hath taught them to loathe. For it is manifest that not only the imperfections and unskilfulness, but the impieties and profaneness, which have been exercised in officiating the pretended service of God, according to the discretion of every one that hath been employed about it, are now so visible to the people, that nothing hath been so effectual to put the Directory out of date.

§ 3. And indeed, they that acknowledge and profess to pray and preach that which they have studied afore, must by consequence, when they allege the prohibition of “quenching the Spirit,” for a pretence that they are not to be tied to any prescript form, understand “the Spirit” not to signify the graces of God's Spirit, but the conceptions of their own, which the Apostle distinguisheth from and against the inspirations of God's Spirit by the name of “the understanding,” when he saith, 1 Cor. xiv. 15, “What is it then? I will pray with the Spirit, but I will pray also with the understanding; I will sing with the Spirit, but I will sing also with the understanding.” In which words I have shewed afore that “the Spirit” signifieth those things that were immediately suggested by the Holy Ghost, “the understanding” a man's own conceptions intelligibly uttered in prayers and the praises of God; and therefore they are wide of St. Paul's meaning when they allege these words for their purpose.

§ 4. Whether they impose upon the people or not, by

^a Rel. Assembl. chap. vii. sect. 6.

[or pre-
script
forms.]

CHAP.
VII.

inducing them to cast off and desert those orders, which themselves had professed before God and His Church, to follow in the exercise of their functions¹, to be guided by their own conceptions, in which they cannot pretend to see more of God's Spirit to be seen than in the forms established by the mature advice of the Church, and that by virtue of this prohibition of "quenching the Spirit," God who knows all things is a competent judge. But thus much for certifying and setting aside the act of schism, which I have shewed in the Right of the Church in a Christian State, chap. v.¹, that attempt involveth—though some perhaps may please themselves so much in the opinion of their abilities, as to think this precept given by the Apostle on purpose that it might be seen in what fine terms, and with what ingenious conceptions, they are able to pray—which for my part, the depth of the mind not comprised, I admire how any Christian can imagine that God is pleased with—yet, if we look upon ordinary performance, experience shews—and the effect is, the esteem which the Directory hath obtained, justifying that it had been better their spirits had been quenched, than confining their conceptions to the established form, that the spirits of the people should be quenched by confining them to the untoward conceptions of every one that undertake such offices upon their own abilities. For I have shewed that though their spirits had been thus quenched, St. Paul's meaning had been untouched².

[How
necessary
they are,]

§ 5. And this experience justifies the meaning of the same St. Paul, when he saith, Rom. viii. 26, "Likewise the Spirit helpeth our infirmities," to be that which I have said, to wit, that God stirred up those extraordinary graces of His Spirit at that time in the Church, that they might be furnished with such as might be according to the will of God in behalf of their assemblies, which because lamentable experience witnesseth that all are to be employed in officiating Divine service are

¹ "That the Book of Common Prayer, and of ordering of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, containeth in it nothing contrary to the Word of God, and that it may lawfully so be used; and that I myself will use the form

in the said Book prescribed for public prayer and administering the Sacraments and none other." Can. 36. London, 1603.

² Sect. 38.

³ Rel. Assembl., chap. vii. sec.

able to do, it remaineth that all refer themselves to what shall be established upon mature advice of the Church. And if it be thus in the ordinary and daily prayers of the Church, what shall we say of those wherewith the Sacraments are to be ministered, and other public offices of the Church celebrated. The nature and intent whereof being subject to so many and so nice disputes in all Churches, it is not possible for any common sense to be satisfied that every one that must be employed about such offices understands himself so well as certainly to do what he pretends to do.

§ 6. I will instance only in the consecration of the Eucharist. Cassander¹ in his Consultation complains of those of the Reformation for abolishing that form, the substance whereof all Churches ever since the Apostles have always used in consecrating the Eucharist, being that which the Scriptures signify by the title of "blessing and thanksgiving," from whence the Sacrament itself is called the Sacrament of the Eucharist or thanksgiving, and sometimes absolutely, without any addition, the Eucharist, the effect whereof I have set down more at large chapter x^m. This reproof of Cassander's being seconded by Grotius² in his annotations, Dr. Rivet³, for

CHAP.
—VII.

[especially in the most solemn acts of Divine service.]

¹ Sed præterea alia sunt, in Missarum nec carne—ut ipse venare maluerant—celebratione, quomodo, ab ipso fit, que ecclesiastica haud levis excelsit: illud enim præter commune et fœdus omnium Ecclesiarum consuetudinem est, quod in consecratione Sacramentorum canonica precem, in qua invocatio facti hominis, mortis Domini recordatio, et membrorum corporis mystici commemoratio adhibetur, tutum insistant. Dominica autem verba recitant illi quidem historica narratione, non quod per illa ex Divina potestate consecrationem et Domini corporis præsentiam effici possint, hanc enim magiam esse dicunt, qua in re certe, et non modo ab universa Christi Ecclesia vetere et recenti dissonant, verum etiam quod cogitare horrendum est, eam magis incantationis et præstigii instaurant. Cassander Consult. Art. xxiv. de Missa, apud Grotii Opp., tom. iii. p. 599. Londini, 1679.

² Rel. Assemb., sæc. from sect. 38.

³ Laudabile est quod volunt Protestantes, ut in omni Missa sive Liturgia aliqui sint qui communicent, ut mox

quoque dicemus. Sed eodem Protestantes recte admonet Cassander, non recte ab eorum precibus ad Deum per quas oratur ut Spiritus suo dona sanctificet, faciatque et Corpus et Sanguinem suum, quales precibus habes in omnium gentium Liturgia antiqua: qui consecutus nihil addere incantandi non est repudiandus.—Grot. Annot. in Cassander. Consult. de Missa, tom. iii. p. 625. Lepidii, 1679.

Res ipsa per se vera est, quod Protestantes non admittunt celebrationem Eucharistie, in qua nulli sunt qui cum ministro communicent. Omitti autem ab his precibus ad Deum, quibus oratur, ut Spiritus Sanctus dona sanctificet, corpus suum Corpus et Sanguinem suum, dici non potest de omnibus Protestantibus. In Liturgia Anglicana orat minister, ut Deus concedat incrementum hæc ipsa creantur panis et vinum, ut iuxta sacramentum institutionem filii ejus, sint participes corporis et Sanguinis ejus. Ecclesiarum in Gallia reformationum Liturgia habet etiam precibus, quibus petit, quemadmodum non solum Dominus noster semel obtulit

ist's Church and all necessities of them, all which, in all of the Church, were always made at the celebration of Eucharist, and now are pretended that they ought to be in the pulpit.

CHAP.
VII.

9. The form of Divine service may be said to have been prescript, two ways: in some points actually, in all at virtually. For seeing God hath established an order of government in His Church, by which establishment whatsoever is not determined in the proceedings thereof, and by process of time comes to be determinable, may and ought to be determined, in this regard it is truly said that the whole order of ecclesiastical offices was prescript from the beginning, in regard of that living order which all estates in the Church are bound to follow.

[The form
of Divine
service
prescript,
virtually.]

§ 10. As for those parts of that service of the Church which are actually prescribed by the word of God, you have first the Lord's Prayer, which having always been so used, that no service was tendered to God without this solemn piece of the prayer of His Son, carries with it a sufficient mark that it was prescribed to that purpose. Secondly, you have the book of Psalms, which having been always used in the Church, as in the synagogue, all reason convinces that it was indited by the hand of God, and delivered to His people for the same purpose. The third is the consecration of the Eucharist, and the prayers which, according to the Apostle, 1 Tim. ii. 1, it is and always was offered to God with, as you may see more at large here, chap. x.* For having shewed here that the evangelists and St. Paul, by the terms of "blessing," or "giving thanks," signify the consecration of the Eucharist—which, by the concurrent testimonies of Ignatius, Justin, Irenæus, Epiphanius, Dionysius of Alexandria, and others†, either related there or which might be related more plentifully if any question were, appears to have been understood by the same terms in the primitive times of the Church—it follows those terms of *εὐλογία* and *εὐχαριστία* have the nature of words of art, or formal terms comprising the whole prayer which the Sacrament was consecrated with: so that when the evangelists say that "our Saviour blessed and gave thanks," it is manifest that their meaning is to inti-

[and
actually.]

* Rel. Assembl., sect. 83.

† See below chap. x. sect. 1.

CHAP. VII. mate that He did that which all Christians knew was to be done in the Church at the celebration of the Eucharist under that name. Which, had it not been so well known to all Christians, must have been further described: but it was always the same for substance, among all Christians sufficiently understood by one word, signifying the same form.

[Form of consecration from the Apostles.]

§ 11. And with this moderation the Maronite's saying mentioned here, p. 250^a, may pass, that the form of it was prescribed by the Apostles themselves—though received in our Lord, and that which He did at His last supper, at consecrating this Sacrament—notwithstanding that the powers and graces of God's Spirit were employed under the Apostles to do it according to the intent, and in the manner in which it ought to be done. For this reason it is called by St. Cyprian as you have it here, p. 241^z, *solennis benedictio*, as always in the Church: and for the same cause it is reckoned by St. Basil *de Spiritu Sancto*, cap. xxvii^r, among traditions descended from the Apostles, though not recorded in the Scriptures otherwise than as I have said: and therefore, we doubt ought no more to be abolished by any Church than the other precepts of the Apostles.

CHAPTER VIII.

[Of times of assemblies.]

To set aside appointed times for the exercise of religion and the refreshment of men by releasing their ordinary labours, is a custom and law of all nations, civil or barbarous: the practice whereof is most eminent among the people of God. The frequency of these times, the reasons and occasions which must difference them from others, the office

^a Rel. Assembl., chap. vii. sect. 14.

^z Rel. Assembl., chap. vii. sect. 34.

^r Τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ πεφυλαγμένων δογμάτων καὶ κηρυγμάτων, τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῆς ἐγγράφου διδασκαλίας ἔχουσι, τὰ δὲ ἐκ τῆς τῶν Ἀποστόλων παραδόσεως διαδοθέντα ἡμῖν ἐν μυστηρίῳ παρεβεβημένα: ἀπερ' ἀμφοτέρω τὴν αὐτὴν ἰσχύν ἔχει πρὸς τὴν εὐσεβείαν. . . . τὸ πρὸς ἀνατολᾷς τετραβῆναι κατὰ τὴν προσευχὴν, ποῖον ἐδίδασκεν ἡμᾶς γράμμα; τὰ

τῆς ἐκτελέσεως ῥήματα ἐπὶ τῇ ἐκ τοῦ ὁρτου τῆς εὐχαριστίας ἐκ τοῦ ποτηρίου τῆς εὐλογίας, τίς τῶν ἐγγράφως ἡμῖν καταλείπει; καὶ δὴ τοιούτοις ἀρκοῦμεθα, ὡς ὁ Ἀπὸλος ἡ τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον ἐπεμνήσθη, ἐκτελέγομεν καὶ ἐκτελέγομεν ἐν μεγάλῃ ἔχοντα πρὸς τὸ μυστήριον ἰσχύν, ἐκ τῆς ἀγράφου διδασκαλίας παραλαβόντες.—§ 66. pp. 54, Ben.

religion which they are to be celebrated with, together with the circumstances of the same, are those things which Christianity determines to Christians. As for the recreation after bodily labours, which all nations intend their festivals for, it leaves them to give account to the law of all nations, that think that indulgence a grievance which the most barbarous of them do not refuse. Only, by the service of God in the offices of Christianity, provision is made that men's recreations upon Christian festivals dishonour not the profession of Christianity. This is that which is here said, p. 257^a, that the Church is not engaged to forbid bodily labour, or to enjoin bodily rest, upon the festivals of the Church—further than it may be a means to hinder the frequenting of Divine service—unless, upon a mistake in Christianity, an opinion should prevail, that bodily recreation upon such days is contrary to it. Which, tending to superstition and will-worship—by tendering to God our bodily rest for His service, as the Jews do, or by tendering Him the offices of Christianity, as acceptable to Him for the day—the Church is bound to prohibit.

§ 2. As it is not possible to imagine, now the world is come into the Church, that all Christians should be always disposed to communicate in the Eucharist: so, that the want of communicants should be such as to enforce the laying aside of the celebration of the Eucharist to a few days of the year, is that for which no reason can be given but the decay of Christianity^a. But this decay of Christianity cannot be the means to shew that preaching ought to be more frequent than the Eucharist, by the institution of the Apostles. It is manifest that the outward work of preaching requires more ability and industry to the doing of it without offence to the Church than that of celebrating the Eucharist, and therefore that this may be more frequent by the nature of the work^b. And it is

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[The celebration of the Eucharist ought to be more frequent than preaching.]

^a Rel. Assembl., chap. viii. sect. 3.

^b The Rubric directing the communion to be made of all parishioners three in the year was objected to by the Puritan party at the Restoration, for the following reason:—

"Forasmuch as all parishioners are not duly qualified for the Lord's Supper, and those habitually prepared are not at all times actually disposed, but may be hindered by the providence of God, and some by the distempers of

their own spirits: we desire this rubric may be either wholly omitted or they altered. Every minister shall be bound to administer the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, at the least thrice a year provided there be a due number of Communicants manifesting their desires to receive."—Proceedings of the Commissioners of both Petitions for the Review of the Book of Common Prayer, p. 21. London, 1661.

^c "The Communion or Supper of

CHAP. VIII. as manifest to whosoever will inquire into the Scripture practice of the Church from the beginning, that so it was and therefore, that so it ought to be. Add this to p. 261^c.

[How the Jews kept the Sabbath.]

§ 3. That the Sabbath was to be celebrated by the Jews with festival gladness, above all the festivals of the Law; here it is said, p. 268^d, may appear by the Jews' constant enjoining them to eat and drink better and more largely, namely, to eat flesh and drink wine, all that can have, and all to eat three meals a day—than at other times, or the other festivals.

[The dispute about Easter.]

§ 4. Though the primitive Christians were divided in the time of celebrating the resurrection of our Lord, which here, p. 273^e—which afterwards was determined to be held always on the Lord's day, yet they who formerly with the Jews for the Passion day, did hold the remembrance of the resurrection, after that time that our Lord was taken from the grave, computed from the Passion day which they celebrated. Whereby it appeareth, as sure as the resurrection of Christ, that the festival, whereof all the Lord's days in the year were but the echo, that so sure the time going before it was, though how long before the time upon which our Lord was laid in the grave it appears the whole Church could not agree not, as well by that which follows here, and the passage of Tertullian, alleged p. 283^f—where, as a Mother he objecteth unto the Catholics that they also had their fasts unto the days on which the bridegroom was taken from the Church, that is, on which Christ was in the grave—as by the passages of the ecclesiastical histories and Constitutions of the Apostles which are wont to be alleged in this business.

[Communion of goods.]

§ 5. It is commonly understood that the primitive Christians at Jerusalem, of whom we read in the first chap-

the Lord is frequently to be celebrated: *But how often, may be considered and determined by the ministers and other Church governors of each congregation, as they shall find most convenient for the comfort and edification of the people committed to their charge. And when it shall be administered we judge it convenient to be done after the morning service.*

"The ignorant and the scandalous are

not fit to receive this Sacrament of the Lord's Supper."—Directory for the Worship, p. 23. London, 1648.

^c Rel. Assembl., chap. vii. 7, 8.

^d Rel. Assembl., chap. viii.

^e Rel. Assembl., chap. vi.

21, 22.

^f Rel. Assembl., chap. viii.

^g Rel. Assembl., chap. vi.

22—26.

The Acts, made all their goods common, and so lived in community of all things, upon that common stock which their goods made, which gave occasion to the Anabaptists to do the like, and to require the like of all Christians. But if we will understand their act by that which other Churches did under the Apostles, and in the first ages of the Church, it will appear that this supposition is contrary to that which appears in the Scriptures. It is said indeed, Acts ii. 44, 45, that "all that believed were together, and had all things common, and sold their possessions and goods, and distributed them to all, as every one had need." And it is said again, Acts iv. 34, 35, that "all those that had lands or houses sold them, and brought the price and laid it down at the Apostles' feet." But this is spoken by the like figure of speech as where it is said that "Jerusalem and all Judæa, and all the country about Jordan, went out to John Baptist," Matt. iii. 5, and that the Apostles are sent to preach the Gospel to all nations, [St. Mark xvi. 15.] and that the faithful know all things, [1 St. John ii. 20.] and that all flesh shall see the salvation of God, [St. Luke iii. 6.] and in common speech *communia amicorum omnia*, and the like, signifying things very general, but not tying the truth of the sayings to the laws of universal propositions.

§ 6. For when it is specified that Barnabas sold his estate as well as the rest, Acts iv. 36, suppose it were greater than other men's, what peculiar commendation was there in doing that which all were to do that would be Christians of that Church? But in the business of Ananias and Sapphira, the case is plain, where it is said, Acts v. 4, "Was it not thine own, when it was thine? and being sold, was it not in thy power?" It is manifest that neither he was by any law constrained to sell it, nor, being sold, to give it up to the Church, which could not have been said had it been a condition of all that Church to do it, but that by the profession of doing so, and falsifying the same, he became guilty of so grievous a sin. And therefore, that which was done there, was the same which hath been done in all after ages of the Church, in offering and dedicating the goods of this world to the maintenance of God's service, though with more zeal in the beginning of Christianity and

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more plentifully, because the propagation thereof required them more continual communion, in the offices of Christianity than the condition of this world could suffer all that afterwards converted to Christianity to exercise, as you see it here, p. 280^b.

[Of the
ecclesi-
astical
goods.]

§ 7. Of those contributions to the maintenance of the Church in the communion of Christianity under the Apostles, you may see what is said, in the Right of the Church from p. 203ⁱ, where it appeareth that the offering of them was a dedicating and a consecrating of them to the service of God, whereupon Ananias and Sapphira incurred the crime of sacrilege. For when it is said that "they continued together in prayer and the doctrine of the Apostles, breaking of bread," that is, celebrating the Eucharist, the Syriac translateth it, Acts ii. 42, 46, and again, that they tributed their estates, is it not manifest that they contributed their estates to the end that the poor as well as the rich might continue in the communion of Christianity, in particular of those common suppers at which the Eucharist was celebrated, which is therefore called "the daily ministrations," Acts vi. 1, and for which, called "the attendance on the table," Acts vi. 2, the deacons were first created, as always the office was to attend on the celebration of the Eucharist. It is manifest that the general custom of the ancient times was to make but one set meal a day, and that at night: that refreshment which men used to sustain themselves at supper time, the name of a "dinner" shews well enough that it was, being nothing else but *dejejunare* in Latin^b. And when St. Paul willeth those that stayed not for the congregation, that, if they made that haste for hunger, they should rather eat at home than do so, 1 Cor. xi. 34, he shews that it was late of the day when those assemblies of the Church and the Supper of the Lord were celebrated.

[Effect
of conse-
cration.]

§ 8. In fine, all circumstances agree to shew us that in those feasts of love whereof the remembrance remains in

^b Rel. Assembl., chap. viii. sect. 28.

ⁱ Chap. iv. sect. 41 = 50, 80, 61.

^h *Dejejunare* Jejunium, ut vocant, infringere, solvere. Regula Magistrorum, cap. 28. [Broekie Cod. Regg. tom. i. p. 256. Aug. Vindelic. 1759.] *Dejejunatum jam fratrem non vellet tabernaculum*

accipere. Hinc nostra Dejejunum jentaculo, quod qui jentant, pro jejunio gradum infringant. . . . et inde vox Dinner pro prandere, estur abbreviata ex dejejunare. Cauge, in voc.

oldest of ecclesiastical writers, which the Christians at Jerusalem frequented day by day, those of Corinth not so often, but the same. And therefore, that it is the same which Pliny understandeth in the place here quoted, p. 291¹. And that the intent of all that give any thing to the support of the Church, being the same with that of these primitive Christians, to maintain the assemblies of the Church, and the persons frequenting the same, in the communion of Christianity, how great soever be the difference in the manner—according to the vast difference between the state and condition of the Church then and now—the effect of consecration, following upon the dedicating of things so offered to the service of God, must needs be the same, and the consequence of sacrilege, upon those that violate this intent, by applying them to any other use, the same that came upon Ananias and Sapphira.

§ 9. In that which here is observed, pp. 271, 277^m, that the custom of assembling on Wednesdays and Fridays, came into the Church upon the example of the synagogue, that had the like order upon Mondays and Thursdays, it is considerable that no days of the week could be appointed so fit for that purpose, as those on which our Lord was betrayed and crucified, because of the convenient distance both between them, and between each of them and the Lord's day: whereupon the appearance is very pregnant not that the Apostles thought themselves commanded by the words of our Lord "the days shall come that the bridegroom shall be taken from among you, and then shall you fast on those days," to appoint those days for fasting: but that seeing it is an inconvenience that the Church should go less than the synagogue in the order for the public service of God, having received of Him so much greater a measure of grace and knowledge of Him, therefore the like number of days in every week being to be appointed, that correspondence and allusion to our Lord's words, concurring with the reason specified, caused the choice to fall on those days. And this the reason why the custom of fasting was not so strait upon those days, as we see by Tertullian, here quoted, p. 277, because so it had been under the synagogue.

(Wednes-
days and
Fridays.)

¹ Rel. Assembl., chap. viii. sect. 10. 20, 26, 27.

^m Rel. Assembl., chap. viii. sect.

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[Of the
Directory.]

§ 10. Having thus far vindicated the laws of the Church of England, in this point of the times and occasions of the service of God, and the offices which they are to be celebrated with, it will be both reasonable and necessary to demand a reason of the order established by the Directory, whereby there is to be no assembly of the Church, or service of God, without preaching. For it concerned that pretended to do nothing without God's word, to abolish and silence so much of His service as those laws made effectual might have glorified Him with, till it shewed some pretence out of the Scripture for so great an alteration as this. But on the other side, that which is about, being so apparently against the Scriptures, by its own misuses, it was wisdom not to touch that which would have burnt their fingers. For first, the daily morning and evening service of God, the Wednesday and Friday assembly, the institution of festivals and solemn fasts, being so well grounded upon the Scriptures, it must be some other thing beside the Scriptures that must put them down.

[How it
requires
sermons in
all assemblies.]

§ 11. Secondly, if we consider that which hath been the frequent celebration of the Eucharist, according to the practice of the Apostles, we shall easily see how gross the error is, and how ridiculous the pretence, that the Sacrament may be made by the accession of the word to the element, and may be celebrated without preachingⁿ. For it is not the will of every one that has the boldness to mount the pulpit

ⁿ Atque hoc est quod vulgo dicunt, constare Sacramentum verbo et externo signo. Verbum enim intelligere debemus, non quod sine sensu et fide insurratum, solo strepitu velut magica incantatione, consecrandi elementi vim habeat: sed quod prædicatum intelligere nos faciat quid visibile signum sibi velit. Quod ergo sub Papæ tyrannide facilitatum est, non caruit ingenti mysteriorum profanatione. Putarunt enim satis esse si Sacerdos, populo sine intelligentia obstopente, consecrationis formulam demurmuraret. Imo id data opera caverunt, ne quid doctrinæ inde ad plebem perveniret. Omnia enim Latine pronuntiabant apud homines illiteratos. Postea consuevit erumpi superstitione, ut consecrationem non nisi rauco murmure, quod a paucis exaudiretur, rite peragi crederent. Ac longe aliter

de verbo sacramentali docetur. Accedat, inquit, verbum, et fiet Sacramentum.

Vides ut prædicationem unde nascatur fides. Nec ex hac probatione laboremur, minime obscurum est, quid fecerit; quid nobis facere inquit secuti sint Apostoli, qui Ecclesiam observaverit. Imo usque mundi notum est quod aliquod obtulit Deus sanctis in inseparabilem fuisse doctrinam sine qua attoniti nudo aspectu nostri redderentur. Ergo quod verbo sacramentali fieri mentidimus, promissionem intelligamus clara voce a ministro prædicato, eo manu ducat, quo signum in nos dirigit.—Calvin. Inst., lib. xiv § 4.

makes the Sacrament, but the word of God which ordained it, and giving His Church power to celebrate it, gave thereby assurance of His presence to the effect of it. And what sermon can seem to tend towards making a Sacrament, but that which concerneth the subject of it? And what a pleasant thing would it be, to tie the Church to so many sermons of the purpose of Baptism and the Eucharist, as persons are baptized or Eucharists are to be frequented, according to the premises?

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§ 12. Thirdly, it is a rule which the induction of particulars verifies to come from the Apostles themselves, that all acts wherein the public power of the Church is exercised and seen, are to be celebrated with the offices of Divine service, at assemblies of the Church, as public as the cause requires. Thus ordinations, specified in the Scriptures to be made by the Apostles, must needs be understood to be made at the assemblies of the people, for the service of God—for the Church never knew any other assemblies of the Church—by all that alleged them for the interest of the people, in those elections. Therefore the custom of the Church, described in the Apostolical Constitutions^p, agreeing with all other records of the Church, requireth them to be made with the Eucharist beside the other offices of Divine service. The like is to be said of the reconciliation of those under penance, seeing the communion of the Eucharist is that whereunto they are

[All public acts of the Church ought to be made with celebration of the Eucharist.]

^a According to the Directory, Baptism is not "to be administered in private places or privately, but in the place of public worship, and in the face of the Congregation, where the people may most conveniently see and hear: and not in the places where fonts in the time of popery were unfily and superstitiously placed. Before baptism the minister is to use some words of instruction, touching the institution, nature, use and ends of this Sacrament," then follows the substance of this sermon, in which "the minister is to use his own liberty and godly wisdom." The celebration of the Eucharist is directed to be made in the same way;—"When the day is come for administration, the minister having ended his sermon and prayer, shall make a short exhortation."

^p Καὶ μετὰ τὴν προσευχὴν, εἰς τὸν

Ἐπισκοπὸν ἀναφέρειν τὴν θύραν ἐπὶ τῶν χειρῶν τοῦ χειροτονηθέντος. Καὶ τῇ ἰσθμῷ ἐνδοξάζειν εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν διαφέροντα τόπον παρὰ τὸν λοιπὸν Ἐπισκοπὸν πάντων αὐτῶν φιλησάτων τῷ ἐν Κυρίῳ φιλήματι.—Lib. viii. cap. v. Labbei, tom. i. col. 484. ed. Venet.

The presbyterian rule is this;—"in the ordination of their ministers they use none of the ridiculous toys, and apish conceits of Popery; but according to the simplicity of the Apostolical and ancient Church, content themselves with fasting, prayer and imposition of hands; prayer to bring down a blessing upon the person on whose head the hands are laid, and fasting to make the prayer to ascend the more fervently." The Government and Order of the Church of Scotland, p. 11. Edinburgh, 1641.

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thereby restored⁹. It is manifest what a door is opened by fineness by making marriages of those that pretend Christians, without the authority and allowance of the Church. Beside that which I have pointed at in the Right Church, p. 241¹, the passage of Epiphanius is remarkable where he affirmeth that our Lord Christ was invited to marriage at Cana in Galilee, on purpose that He might bless the marriage: this blessing necessarily implying an authority thereof, by the authority which He had as a prophet in the synagogue. The epistle of Ignatius to Polycarp, which I have given a reason afore, why I take it to be genuine—sheweth that by the order established in the Church of the Apostles, whom he spent part of his time with, with the allowance of the Bishop no marriage was to be made: it is plain that in Tertullian's time, the custom of the Church was to celebrate marriage with the Eucharist².

(Burial of
the dead.)

§ 13. As for the burial of the dead, it is manifest that by the law it was commanded as a matter of religion to

¹ Albaspinus denies that *Communio* in the ancient canons means the Eucharist. *Existimare autem verbum hoc, Communionem, pro Eucharistia, ac non potius pro absolutione sumi oportere, insignis imprudentiæ et ineptiæ est; Deinde primis illis sæculis duo illa a se distingui et magnopere dissidere videbantur, absolutionem dare, et Eucharistiam. certumque est protinus de uno, antequam de altero, verba mentionemque fieri: nunquamque ad Communionem quæquam peccatorem admissum Eucharistiæ, quin prius actum esset de communionem quæ illi cum fidelibus esse deberet. Hinc existimari potest et intelligi quando canones ita loquuntur, In fine accipiat, aut non accipiat Communionem: id ita interpretandum ex rita formulaque disciplinæ Ecclesiasticæ de absolutione, quam triennio aut quadriennio ante Eucharistiam distribuunt. Eucharistia autem non administrabatur penitentibus, quamvis moribundis, nisi per Episcopum, uti mox dicemus, propterea in canonibus in quibus illa verba legis, nec in fine, verbum, Communionis eadem plane acceptione sumitur, quæ absolutionis.*—Observ. lib. ii. *Canonum auctoritas*, Obs. viii.

² "Although marriage be no Sacrament, nor peculiar to the Church of God, but common to mankind, and of

public interest in every commonwealth, yet because such as marry are to be instructed in the Lord, and have special instruction, direction, and blessing from the word of God at the time of their marriage, it is thought expedient, that marriage should be solemnized by a lawful minister of the Word, that he may according to the commandment of God bless them and pray for a blessing upon them."—Directory for Public Worship, pp. 27, 28. The Scotch order has the same effect; "Although marriage be no Sacrament, nor part of the Word of God, yet they conceive it to be a duty, that the Minister of the Word, at the time of the marriage, should read the Word of God, and pray for the blessing of God upon them."—24, 1653, the English Church passed an Ordinance by which marriages after the 20th of March then next ensuing were directed to be contracted before a justice of the peace. Notices of such marriages were to be published either in the meeting-house or chapel to which the parties married resorted, or in the market-place twenty-one days before; and marriages thus contracted were held valid, and none other.

³ Chap. iv. sect. 86.

⁴ Right of the Church, chap. iv. sect. 11.

⁵ Chap. iv. sect. 11, above.

⁶ See Right of the Church, chap. iv. sect. 43, note e.

with mourning: for therefore Aaron and the priests are exempted from it by a particular precept, [Levit. xxi. 1—12]: and the ceremony thereof alluded to by the prophet Zachary, ii. 12—14, sheweth that it was so practised. Now if under the law it was a duty of religion to mourn for the dead, as being under that wrath of God which the law worketh; is it not, by the correspondence of the Gospel to the law, a duty of religion for Christians to praise God for the departure of Christians to the blessedness which the Gospel establisheth? Thus much for certain, so were the funerals of the primitive martyrs celebrated by the primitive Christians: and so is the hope of the resurrection, and all the blessed consequences of it, best established in us, while we praise God for it in others⁷. And in the exercise of this office the power of the Church is clearly visible in regard that the work of the keys thereof is to distinguish between those that are admitted to the communion of the Church, and those that are not; and, by being admitted to the same, men are qualified for that burial which distinguisheth Christians either from brute creatures or from men that have not the hope of Christians⁸.

§ 14. The same reason is seen in the Communion of the Sick, but most visibly in those that are restored to the communion of the Church in consideration of their sickness, lest they should depart out of the world without the peace of the Church, that is, the communion of the Eucharist, as the ancient Christians called it⁹. The reason and practice whereof is derived from the precept of the Apostle, Jam. v. 14, as you may see by that which hath been said,

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[Communion of the sick.]

⁷ The Directory forbade all funeral rites whatsoever, after the precedent of the Scotch discipline.—"When any person departeth this life, let the dead body upon the day of burial, be decently attended from the house to the place appointed for public burial, and there immediately interred, without any ceremony. And because the customs of kneeling down, and praying by, or towards the dead corpse, and other such usages, in the place where it lies, before it be carried to burial, are superstitious. And for that, praying, reading and singing, both in going to, and at the grave, have been grossly abused, are no way beneficial to the dead, and have proved many ways hurtful to the

living, therefore let all such things be laid aside." Directory, p. 85.

⁸ *Ecclesiastica sepultura para est Christianæ communionis quæ etiam post mortem manet, ideoque ab illa repelluntur, qui viventes ea communione carebant, atque ab Ecclesia sejuncti ex hac vitamigrarunt. Quamobrem ecclesiastica sepultura privatur Judæi, Ethnici infideles omnes, atque etiam infantes mortui sine baptismo, &c.* - Devoti Inst. Cur. lib. ii. tit. ix. § 9. tom. ii. pp. 368, 369. Romæ, 1825.

⁹ The Directory prescribes the Visitation of the Sick, but there is no direction for the celebration of the Eucharist, for communicating them.

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chap. i.^b of the Right of the Church in a Christian State, though the doing of it cannot be more public than the end of the business will endure.

[Confir-
mation.]

§ 15. In the last place, for Confirmation, what can be given why the Apostles, having sent Philip the deacon to preach the Gospel, and do miracles to add it in Samaria, should not enable him to give the Holy Ghost, but that they must come themselves to do it? that the power of baptizing being in Philip, by their commission, and originally in themselves; it pleased God reserve the testimony of the effect thereof to be dispensed them in whom the chief power rested, as a testimony of the same. This testimony of the effect of Baptism being the chief power of granting it necessarily remaining, that the execution of it be delegated to the ministry of so many as the increase of Christianity requireth; yet it remains very requisite that the allowance of that which is done by them should be testified by that chief power without which no man can have access to communion with the Church.

[A sign
of the
episcopal
authority
and suc-
cession.]

§ 16. Thus is the practice of Confirmation, being lineally descended from the practice of the Apostles, an evident proof of the succession of the Apostles, preserved in Bishops and their power over their respective Churches. How necessary the continuance thereof is, in this state of the Church, where all are baptized infants, not only the agreement of Calvin and Cassander may argue^d, which in every thing falls not out

^b Sect. 26.

^c Utinam vero morem retineremus quem apud veteres fuisse admonui, priusquam abortiva hæc Sacramenti larva nasceretur, non enim confirmatio talis qualem isti fingunt, quæ sine baptismi injuria nec nominari potest. Sed catechesis, qua pueri aut adolescentiæ proximi, fidei suæ rationem coram Ecclesia exponerent. Esset autem optima catechizandi ratio si formula in hunc usum conscripta esset, summa continens et familiariter omnium fere religionis nostræ capitum, in quæ universa fidelium Ecclesia consentire sine controversia debet. Puer decennis Ecclesie se offerret ad edendum fidei confessionem. rogaretur de singulis capitibus, ad singula responderet: si quid ignoraret, aut minus in-

telligeret doceretur. Ita unicam, et sinceram fidem qua unus Deus unum colit fidelium præteste et spectante Ecclesia profiteretur. Hæc disciplina si hodie valeret præparentum quorundam ignavia evanesceret, qui liberorum institutionem rem nihili ad se pertinentem, negligunt, quam tum sine publico core omittere non possent. Major in populo Christiano fides conciperetur nec tanta multorum inscitia et rursus. — Inst. lib. iv. cap. xix. § 13.

^d De tempore quoque confirmatio video bonis viris utriusque parti displicere, si ejus usus ad ætate paulo adultiorem differatur, quod viris præter antiquæ Ecclesie consuetudinem ut in qua ad baptismum et si fieri poterat, confirmatio sacri

attempt of our pretended presbyteries may prove, though without proving their own gross mistakes⁷. For what is the examination of those that come to the Communion their apocryphal triers⁸ and lay-elders testify, but the necessity that the faith of those that were baptized infants should be allowed by the Church, before they be admitted to communion of the Eucharist? But what doth the examination of men's knowledge only in the mysteries of faith, without the profession of their obligation to continue in that faith, and to live according to the rule of Christianity—in which the act of the keys in admitting, and the power is the same, in excluding them from the Church, is grounded? What doth this, I say, signify, but a want of consideration wherein the power of the Church consisteth? And what doth referring of so great a power to triers, not tried but by themselves, to lay-elders, whose neither learning nor conversion can represent them probable to preserve the sublime possession of Christianity entire; I say, what doth this argue but that upon condition that they might be suffered to seize chief part of the power of their Bishops—which they had in many ways professed before God and man to maintain—their own hands, they would be content to share so con-

⁷ *Accedebat—tamen exemplo non uteretur; . . . Quod quo minus infirmationis quoque sacramento vetur, nil prohibet, vel hanc certe usum, ut parentibus, susceptionem Ecclesiarum Praefectis occasio pueris de fide, quam in baptismo prius sunt diligenter instituendi et docendi. Huiusmodi sane institutionem seu catechismum explanationem in eis fieri debere, et Veteres praecipit, et recentiores quoque ex utraque conveniunt. Consult. Art. xix. Grævi Opp. tom. iii. p. 671. An. 1679.*

⁸ None are admitted to the Lord's Supper, but such as upon examination found to have a competent measure of knowledge in the grounds of Christian religion, and the doctrine of the sacraments, and are able, according to apostle's commandment, and promise themselves willing, to examine selves, and to renew their covenant with God in baptism, promising all as becometh Christians, and submit themselves to all the ordinances of Christ.—The Government

and Order of the Church of Scotland, p. 20. Edinburgh, 1641. The English Directory prescribes a like course; see note h, sect. 2.

⁹ There was passed an ordinance of Parliament on the 29th of August, 1648, nominating certain persons to be triers of "Congregational elders in the several classes within the province of London"—and the elders approved by them for each congregation were empowered by Parliament to suspend from, and admit to, the Communion. The Ordinance contains a summary of doctrine in which the people were to be examined before their admission. "Those who have a competent measure of understanding concerning the matters contained in these articles shall not be kept back from the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper for ignorance, and the examination and judgment of such persons as shall for their ignorance of the aforesaid points of religion not be admitted to the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, is to be in the power of the eldership of every congregation."

CHAP.
VIII.—

[Portant-
ed perver-
sion of
Divine
service.]

siderable a part of it with the laity? Which sacrilege but can excuse, for my part I cannot imagine.

§ 17. Instead of all these solemnities, by which the of the Church is to be preserved in the reverence of Christians, instead of all these holy offices and ordinances by frequent celebration whereof, at the public assemblies of Church, God is to be glorified, what reason is there given why we should accept of a psalm, of a prayer, according to the discretion of every one that dare go into the pulpit, sermon oftener than he can tell what to say, and of the tence of an Eucharist three or four times a year—but whether consecrated or no, who knows?—in exchange? it is indeed, for the maintenance of the power of the pulpit, upon the purses of the hearers, or upon the quiet and able estate of the world, but how it should be thought for the advancement of Christianity, it is past my nation how any Christian should imagine.

CHAPTER IX.

[Original
of super-
stition.]

THE original of superstition pointed at here, pp. 308 consisteth in two principles or ingredients: the one is the natural sense which the soul of man hath of God of the account which we owe Him of all our actions; the other is, the inclination of corrupt nature to do contrary to that which the light of nature declares that He requireth of our hands. For seeing that these things being supposed men must needs find themselves in that quality which St. Paul in the beginning of his epistle to the Romans representeth both Jews and Gentiles of being debtors to God and behind-hand with Him in account, which condition representeth exceedingly terrible; it followeth, that all men must needs seek the means to be discharged of this account to continue at peace with God. And seeing the corruption of nature must needs remain unwilling to part with pleasures in the enjoying whereof the satisfaction of it consisteth, it followeth that all seek to discharge themselves of this account, and remain at peace with God by doing

things as may not be inconsistent with their beloved concurrences.

§ 2. This is the occasion and ground of all those voluntary observations which several religions have taken up, and always practise, to persuade themselves that by them they make satisfaction to God for their sins and continue in His peace; and therefore superstition is generally nothing else but a kind of bribery, by which we pretend to win the favour of God, and hold it without doing His will; as if any thing of our choice were dearer to Him than that which His unchangeable goodness requireth, or His blessed will determineth. Thus all idolatry, which is nothing else but the head, and, as it were, the metropolis of all superstitious, finding it easier to persuade ourselves that we please those gods which we have made ourselves, than that one true God which indeed made all things, setteth up unto itself for God what man fancieth to have the favour of that God at a cheaper rate, as obliged to man for being made God. {Purpose of it.}

§ 3. Now it is certain that there can no order of the public service of God, and the circumstances and ceremonies of the same, be so appointed by any Church, that the observation of it may not become the matter of superstition in those that are ill-disposed to themselves: which is to say, according to the premises, in those who not being careful enough to maintain their peace with God, by such means as He alloweth, seek to content Him by being precise in observing those things which, being of their own nature indifferent, are not necessarily the matter of His service, but only because appointed by Him, or by authority claiming under Him. But this is of no force to infer that therefore the Church ought not to prescribe any such order, or any such solemnities, because of the reason alleged in the Right of the Church, p. 190^b, that the superstition is as great if men think they please God by not observing any such order, which all that are not express hypocrites, and yet stumble at such observations, must needs do. {No good reason against the due keeping of rites.}

§ 4. It is enough that such observations may be used to the advancement, and are probable to be a means in general for the advancement of God's service. Nay, though it be not

^b Chap. iv. sect. 28.

forbear that freedom which the substance of Christianity
alloweth. CHAP.
IX.

CHAPTER X.

THERE be many reasons to shew that the consecration of
the Eucharist is made by that thanksgiving which I here
prove to contain also prayer, that the elements become the
Sacrament, p. 358¹—according as I have delivered afterwards,
p. 363^m—and not by the rehearsal of the words, This is My
body, this is My blood, as operative. For it is most manifest
by the testimonies produced, pp. 351—353ⁿ, that the word
εὐχαριστία, thanksgiving, signifieth that which the Church
did to this purpose, from the preface, Lift up your hearts,
unto that Amen, which, by the testimonies of Justin Martyr
and Dionysius of Alexandria here produced, appears to have
been always the conclusion of it: which being executed and
done, the elements themselves are called thenceforth *εὐχα-
ριστία*, the Eucharist or thanksgiving, in regard of this
thanksgiving passed upon them, as Justin Martyr and Irenæus
witness.

§ 2. Now it is necessary to grant that the Church was,
and always is, to consecrate the Eucharist by the same means
as our Lord instituting the Sacrament at His last Supper,
consecrated it: otherwise, what should become of our Lord's
command, Do this? And by comparing the use of this
word *εὐχαριστία* in the testimonies alleged, with the use of
it in the Gospels, where they speak of the institution and
consecration of it by our Lord at His last Supper, and espe-
cially in St. Paul, 1 Cor. xi. 24; xiv. 16, 17, it appears that
εὐχαριστία—being the same with *εὐλογία*, or blessing, both
in the Gospels and in St. Paul, 1 Cor. x. 16; xiv. 16, as all
agree—in the Scriptures, signifies the same thing as afore,
in the most ancient ecclesiastical writers. Therefore of neces-
sity it follows, that the Eucharist which our Lord celebrated
at His last Supper, was consecrated by this thanksgiving,
which went afore, before the words, This is My body, this

¹ Rel. Assembl., chap. x. sect. 43.

ⁿ Chap. x. sect. 39—41

^m Chap. x. sect. 51.

[The con-
secration
of the Eu-
charist.]

[How the
consecra-
tion is
wrought.]

being be more manifest than that it behoveth that the Sacrament be consecrated before it be delivered to those that communicate? CHAP. —X.

§ 4. To say truth, nothing can be more against common sense than that which Bellarmine is forced to affirm², that the words, This is My body, this is My blood, spoken then by Christ, were both affirmative and operative, but spoken always since by the priest, are also both rehearsive of what our Lord said and did, and operative of what He did by so saying. For if it be unreasonable to say that our Lord made the elements to become the Sacrament, by saying that so they were, when the Scriptures mention always something else, which the Church ever since used, to depute the elements to that purpose; much more unreasonable must it needs be to say that the priest doth the same by rehearsing the words by which our Lord both consecrated the elements and declared them to be consecrate: all reason in the world shews that it is requisite that the Church always consecrate by the same means by which our Lord consecrated at first, and not by rehearsing by what means our Lord did it. And therefore the rehearsing of the words of institution was, and is always used by the Church, in the consecration of the Eucharist, to allege the ground upon which the Church proceedeth in celebrating it, which is the institution of the Sacrament, expressing a command, and containing a promise of God's presence, to the effect of it.

§ 5. And thereupon divers of the Latin Fathers say that the elements are consecrated by the words of our Lord.

[What is said by the Latin Fathers.]

² Ad illam confirmationem respondet, verba esse operativa, etiam si non ponatur est pro fact, quia cum Deus qui mentiri non potest, dicat aliquid esse, necesse est ut illud sit, et ideo si ista non fuerit, necesse est ut tunc lat. . . . De Sacramento Eucharist., lib. i. cap. xi. col. 147.

Tertium est, sacerdotem in actione altaris usque ad illa verba, qui pro se quam poteretur agere personam tantum non Christi, ut patet quia contraque orat, vel laudat, ab illis autem verbis usque ad finem consecrationis, gerere personam suam et Christi et ideo peritativa simul et significative verba pronuntiare intendit eum recitare

quid Christus egerit, et dixerit, et simul omnia narrari in persona Christi, ac si Christus per ipsius ministerium iterum omnia faceret, et diceret, esset revera invisibiliter ita fit. Et hinc est, quod cum dicitur *Accipit panem*, ipse simul accipit panem, et cum ait: *Elevatum est calicem*, et ipse elevat e. u. l. in calicem, et cum ait: *Benedixit*, et ipse benedixit, et cum ait: *Hoc est Corpus meum*, et dicendo fecit, ut esset ita etiam de panis isto, qui tunc accipit, idem Christus per os Sacerdotis dicit: *Hoc est Corpus meum*, et dicendo efficitur. It., lib. ix. cap. xiv. col. 707. Colon. Agrip. 1609.

CHAP. X. And Irenæus, when he saith, v. 1^o, that the elements receiving or receiving the word of God, become the Eucharist, means not the words "This is My body, this My blood," but the institution, containing the command "Do this," by virtue whereof the Eucharist is celebrated and the effect thereof assumed. Therefore many of the Church writers do also affirm that the Eucharist is consecrated by the mystical prayer, by calling upon God, the thanksgiving, by solemn blessing^r: meaning always prayer or thanksgiving wherewith the Church, ever since Christ, hath always consecrated this Sacrament, according to His command and example, from whence it hath its name. And to this purpose Justin Martyr, *Apolog.* i. 6, says that it is consecrated by the word of prayer, that is, by ordinance of our Lord, whereupon this prayer is made.

[No true Eucharist celebrated by the Puritans.]

§ 6. If therefore the observation of the form always practised by the Church—the substance whereof, I shew afterwards, is the service of this Church retaineth¹—be so necessary to the execution of our Lord's command, with what assurance can any man presume that the Eucharist is consecrated by one of them that shall undertake to do it according to his discretion, having cast off the true form before they understood, by the original practice of the Church, what is to be done? Men's discretion always suggesting to them that the best, which is furthest off from that form which they have cast away, that they may seem to have reason in so doing. To which fault, of itself wide enough, if we add the crime of schism, which I have proved in the Right of the Church, chap. v.², to lie at their door, with what assurance can any man presume that he shall receive at their hands the Sacrament of God, not the sacrilege of man, is be-

¹ Καὶ ὅτι περὶ τὸν τρόπον τὸ ἐξ ὅλου τῆς ἀντιλήψεως κλειθὲν εἰς τὴν γῆν τῷ ἰδίῳ καιρῷ ἐκαρποφορήσει, καὶ ὁ κόκκος τοῦ σίτου πεσὼν εἰς τὴν γῆν καὶ διαλυθεὶς, πολλοστὸς ἐγέρθη διὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος τοῦ Θεοῦ, τοῦ συνέχοντος τὰ πάντα· ἔπειτα δὲ διὰ τῆς σαρφίας τοῦ Θεοῦ εἰς χρῆσιν ἐλθόντα ἀνθρώπων καὶ προσλαμβάνοντα τὴν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ εὐχαριστία γίνεται, ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ Σώματος καὶ Αἵματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ—Cont. Irenæus., lib. v. cap. ii. § 3. p. 294. ed. Ben.

^r For some of these see Bellarmine, *De Sacramento Eucharist.* lib. iv. c. xiv., whom he cites and explains.

² Ὡτως καὶ τὴν δι' εὐχῆς λόγον παρ' αὐτοῦ εὐχαριστηθεὶσαν τροφήν αἷμα καὶ σάρκα κατὰ μετέωρην τρέφονται ἡμῶν, ἐκείνου τοῦ σώματος θέντος Ἰησοῦ καὶ Σάρκα καὶ Αἷμα δάχθμεν εἶναι.—Apologet. i. cap. p. 83 ed. Ben.

¹ Rel. Assembl., chap. x. sect. 38.

my understanding to imagine: the Apostle having said to the Corinthians that divided themselves, and celebrated their feasts of love out of the unity of the Church, "when you come together therefore, this is not to eat the Supper of the Lord."

§ 7. For though there is that difference between the Lord's Supper and the Sacrament thereof, that the Lord's Supper containeth the whole feast at which the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was celebrated, yet, if not the Supper of the Lord, by consequence, neither can the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper be celebrated, nor the grace thereof received, in schism. And that the Apostle intendeth to charge them that they "discerned not the Lord's body," that "they eat damnation to themselves," that "they were visited with diseases," for this sin, is plain by his conclusion, 1 Cor. xi. 33, 34, "wherefore, brethren, assembling to eat, stay for one another, and if any hunger, let him eat at home, that ye meet not to condemnation:" to wit, because divided in the communion of the Eucharist. And this is the meaning of Ignatius's words, quoted in the former Discourse²: "Be not deceived, brethren, he that is out of the sanctuary comes short of the bread of God;" that is, he that is not in the unity of the Church, participates not of the Sacrament: "for," saith he, "if the prayer of one or two be so effectual"—to wit, by the promise of our Lord in the Gospel—"what shall we say of the prayers of the Bishop and the whole Church," by which, I have shewed, that the Eucharist is consecrated? And in the words here quoted, p. 351⁷, "Let that be counted a sound Eucharist which is under the Bishop, or him whom he appointeth:" what shall that then be accounted that is not?

§ 8. The reason for which the Eucharist hath the nature of a sacrifice, and is so declared to be by the ancient Church, as here is said, p. 379⁴, is manifestly enough grounded upon the Scriptures, and dependeth not at all upon the conceit of transubstantiation, which since prevailed in the Church. For when the Apostle warneth the Corinthians of things sacri-

(Difference between the Supper of the Lord, and the Sacrament of the Supper.)

(The Eucharist a sacrifice.)

¹ Prim. Govern., chap. x. sect. 5.

² Rel. Assembl., chap. x. sect. 40.

³ Rel. Assembl., chap. x. sect. 67.

See Right of the Church, chap. iii. sect. 28.

CHAP. X. ficed to idols, saying, 1 Cor. x. 20, 21, "I would not
 you to communicate with devils. Ye cannot drink
 cup of the Lord and the cup of devils; ye cannot partake
 of the Lord's table and the table of devils:" he says
 that, as the Gentiles, in the feasts which he warned
 not to be present at, participated of the sacrifices of
 those feasts consisted of, with their idol gods, so the Chris-
 tians, in the Eucharist, do participate of the sacrifice of
 Christ upon the cross. Which he also supposeth
 when he argueth from the sacrifices wherein the Israelites
 did communicate, in these words, "Behold Israel
 communicating to the flesh; do not those that eat of the sacrifices
 communicate with the altar?" that as the Israelites did
 communicate with the true God, in eating of His sacrifices,
 so did the Gentiles with their false gods, that is, with
 devils, in eating of their sacrifices: the consequence
 he inferreth thereupon, that Christians, who eat of the
 Eucharist, cannot communicate in those feasts, considering
 this, that they, correspondently, in the Eucharist, so com-
 municate in the sacrifice of Christ on the cross. For the
 sacrifices appointed by the law of God agreed with the idolatry
 of the Gentiles in this, that the remains of some sacrifices
 were left, either to the priests or to the sacrificers, to eat
 upon afterwards: whereupon St. Paul, in that place, warns
 them not to be idolaters, as were some of the Israelites;
 it is written," saith he, "the people sat down to eat and
 drink, and rose up to play." And Belshazzar, in Daniel,
 "praised his gods of wood and of stone," at his feast, be-
 cause their feasts consisting of their sacrifices, were a
 part of their idolatries. The same thing is supposed in
 the Apostle's discourse, Heb. xiii. 10, 15, as I have shewed
 in the Right of the Church, pp. 112, 114^a, whereupon the
 Church is called in the Revelation *θυσιαστήριον*, as
 is shewed.

§ 9. Therefore, though the Eucharist is a sacrifice in a general
 notion, in regard of the prayers which it is presented with,
 yet there is also a more particular reason why it is
 in regard, first, of the offering of the elements by the priest,
 to be consecrated and made that Sacrament; secondly,

* Chap. iii. sects. 27, 29, 31.

of the offering and presenting of it—that is, of the CHAP.
X.
imitation and commemoration of the Passion of Christ, is always offered to God within the veil, as the Apostle Hebrews shews—for the obtaining of the necessities of Church and the members thereof, which the Church sends to God at the celebration of it. This reason depends on the doctrine of transubstantiation, nor any great agreement with that reason of the sacrifice they of the Church of Rome do imagine^b; but this infers the frequent celebration of the Eucharist, which the Apostle presses, Heb. xiii. 15, which St. Paul enjoins, 1 Cor. x. 16, 17, as this chapter sheweth, and which the daily celebration thereof, under the Apostles, among the Christians is manifest in the Acts, inferreth.

The power of the keys is seen as well in granting of penance, as in penance, as I have shewed in the Discourse of the power of the keys in baptism, of the Church, chap. i.^c; therefore it consisteth not in pardoning but in procuring remission of sins, as here is shewed, p. 388^d. For, as St. Peter saith, “it is not the washing with water of the flesh that saveth, but the profession of a good conscience to God:” but this profession is not available, unless it be made in the communion of the Church, which is the duty of a Christian obligeth him to maintain: whereupon

statit igitur potissimum ratio Missæ in eo quod quantum ad consecrationem, qua dicitur, *Corpus meum. Hæc est Sanguis meus* et Sanguis Christi exhibetur, separata, et per consequens quasi mactatur et immolatur, dum dicunt veteres in Missæ Christum mactari seu immolante, non videtur perturbationem panis et vini in illud Sanguinem in se considerantem, videlicet est tantum ratio quædam substantiæ in panem, sed magis ad hoc quod consecrationem exhibentur et rector ut separata Corpus et Domini, quæ revera in passione separata fuerunt. Iuxta hanc mentem si heret mutatio panis in Christum per huiusmodi verba. Christus, non esset sacrificium peractio, quia Christus non ex-immolatus. Nec vero Christus non immolari in panis nihil patitur. Est enim

hæc immolatio mystica et talia quædam Christo nunc competere potest. Quantum enim est ex parte verborum consecrationis Christus immolatur, id est, Sanguis Ejus a Corpore separatur. Nam et si perus ita immolaretur, ut tamen per miraculum partes divise adhuc viverent, vel in utraque tota substantia maneret, adhuc diceretur immolatum, et si animal secaretur in partes in quibus miraculose adhuc vita remaneret, uti fit in partibus Sacramenti, post fractionem, diceretur nihilominus tale animal immolatum vel sacrificatum, dummodo talis mactatio vel divisio fieret in agnitionem autem domini. Recte proinde dicere videntur qui dacent, hujus sacrificii rationem consistere in consecratione, quia Christus in Altari per modum hostiæ immolatur, seu præsens exhibetur. Et hæc quidem de consecratione. See also Beelarmin, de Missa, cap. xviij.

^a Sect. 14, 19.

^b Rel. Assembl. chap. x. sect 77.

CHAP. X. the Church, by bringing unbelievers to believe, by instructing them in Christianity, by allowing the profession thereof when there is reason to take it for sincere, by admitting to baptism thereupon, doth more a great deal than does the remission of sins, which the communion of the Church whereof baptism is the door, presupposeth.

[and in penance.]

§ 11. Now when any man, upon forfeiture of his Christianity professed, whereupon he was admitted to the communion of the Church, is removed from the same, it is manifest that the power of the keys hath the same force and effect, in restoring him, as it had in admitting him afore. For though he hath not forgotten the Christianity which he learned afore, yet, till it appear to the Church that he hath learned it to be so necessary to the communion of the Church, and the kingdom of heaven, that it cannot be had otherwise, he is not to be re-admitted. Therefore such a one is said by the Apostle, in the epistle to the Hebrews, *ἀνακαινοθῆναι εἰς μετάνοιαν*, "to be instructed again to repentance:" because the penance prescribed is the means to teach him what Christianity requires at his hands. And the power of the Church, being empowered to enforce him to fulfil the same, if he seek the communion thereof, it is manifest that the effect of it goes before the declaration of forgiveness of sins, even to the procuring and effecting of it.

[Of satisfaction.]

§ 12. This hinders not that the disposition of the penitent and the prayers of the Church, the one whereof the power of the keys procures, the other it allows, be counted a nearer means of procuring remission of sins, when, by the premises, they are brought to pass by the right use of the power of the Church. For the power of the keys, obligeth the penitent to that humiliation which it requires, is the means to procure and tender that which the ancient Church called satisfaction to God, as you see in the words of Firmilianus here quoted, p. 390*. Not according to the sense of school-doctors, who teach that, the sin being remitted—upon that contrition which they require, and submission to the keys of the Church—by virtue of the Sacrament, there remains satisfaction to be made for temporal pains, to be pur-

* Rel. Assembl., chap. x. sect. 78.

purgatory, if not prevented here¹: but according to the true sense of those that spoke good Latin, in which *satisfacere* signifies neither more nor less than to appease the wrath of Him that is offended, to the recovery of His favour again. In which sense, though satisfaction be tendered, not only to the Church, as most men understand it now, but to God, as all the ancient Church professes, it will be no prejudice to the satisfaction of our Lord Christ, being quite of another nature, and in another regard, nor signify any more than contrition, executed under the knowledge and witness of the Church.

§ 13. Of the frequency of preaching which is touched in p. 404^a, besides what you have afore in this Review, you may see further in the Right of the Church, p. 327^b.

CHAPTER XI.

It is necessary to distinguish two things signified by one and the same term of preaching, either in the Scriptures, or in common use of speaking. For it is manifestly the duty of all Christians to publish the Gospel of Christ, and to labour to convert unbelievers unto it: but this duty hath relation to those that are not members of the Church, before they come to that estate. Again, I have shewed in the Right of the Church, chap. iii.¹, that the offices of preaching and of baptizing are inferior to the power of the keys, with which the

CHAP.
X.

(Of preach-
ing.)

¹ Primum ergo quod hujus rei fundamentum est, docetminus remissio peccato sen ut Scholae Doctores loquuntur, remissa culpa non semper simul ac statim remitti omnem penam peccato debitam, sed saepe ac plerumque fieri, ut soluto reatu aeternae damnationis — qua solutio in remissione culpe intelligitur — relinquatur adhuc solvenda poena aliqua temporalis laque vel futuri saeculi — Estin Comment. in iv Sent. Dist. xv. § 7.

Quicumque post hunc vitam pro peccatis puniuntur, temporale supplicium de morte Dei suscipientes, non illi in poena, sed pro poena satisfaciunt. Hoc enim patet quod iustitia Dei tanquam fixa lege ordinavit patiendam pro peccatis remissa culpa. Atque haec

satisfactio est animarum in purgatorio. Verum si quis tempus istud non expectet, sed sollicito praeventat, poenas in hoc saeculo de seipso calgens iuxta modum Apostolicae traditione et ecclesiastica consuetudine probatam, quam talem commutationem rive redemptionem poenae Divina benignitas recipit, uno et praecepit ac requirit, cum monet ut dignos poenitentiae fructus faciamus — illius inquam, qui sic facit, non jam in poena, sed pro poena satisfactio est, quia videlicet seipsum licet punit, ut preparatum in futuro saeculo poenam evadat. — Ib., § 9.

^a Rel. Assembl. chap. x. sect. 93.

^b Chap. v. sect. 92.

^c Sects. 21 = 24.

CHAP. power of celebrating the Eucharist is adequate &
 — XI. — vertible. So that those who are trusted with that power
 delegate the office of preaching to their inferiors—and
 therefore in former times done it to some of the laity
 out prejudice to the unity of the Church, and the power
 maintains it. Which being provided, from hence it
 can be drawn for erecting congregations and holding
 sabbaths by such as are enabled to preach only by their
 being nothing else but the usurpation of the supremacy
 of the Church.

* "The seals of the covenant—to wit, the Sacrament of Baptism and the Lord's Supper—are administered either by the pastor or by the teacher; and though with some godly learned Divines, it be a question whether the teacher may dispense the seals, yet the question doth rather concern school-doctors than the teachers of a particular Church; but we, who have only the teachers of particular Churches, do believe that they to whom the preaching or dispensing

of the Gospel, or covenant—unto the Church is committed—is committed also the dispensing of the seals of the covenant; but to as well as to the pastor, is the dispensing of the Gospel—unto the Church—therefore to him—as well as to the teacher—other is committed the dispensing of the seals of the covenant.' Way of the Churches, chap. p. 67. London, 1645.

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